

REGISTER
HISTORY
OF THE
WORLD

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From her brother
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March 3, 1900

Vol No 1
Miss Nellie A. P. Linn
from

Her bro

Geo. S. Linn

March 15 - 1900 -



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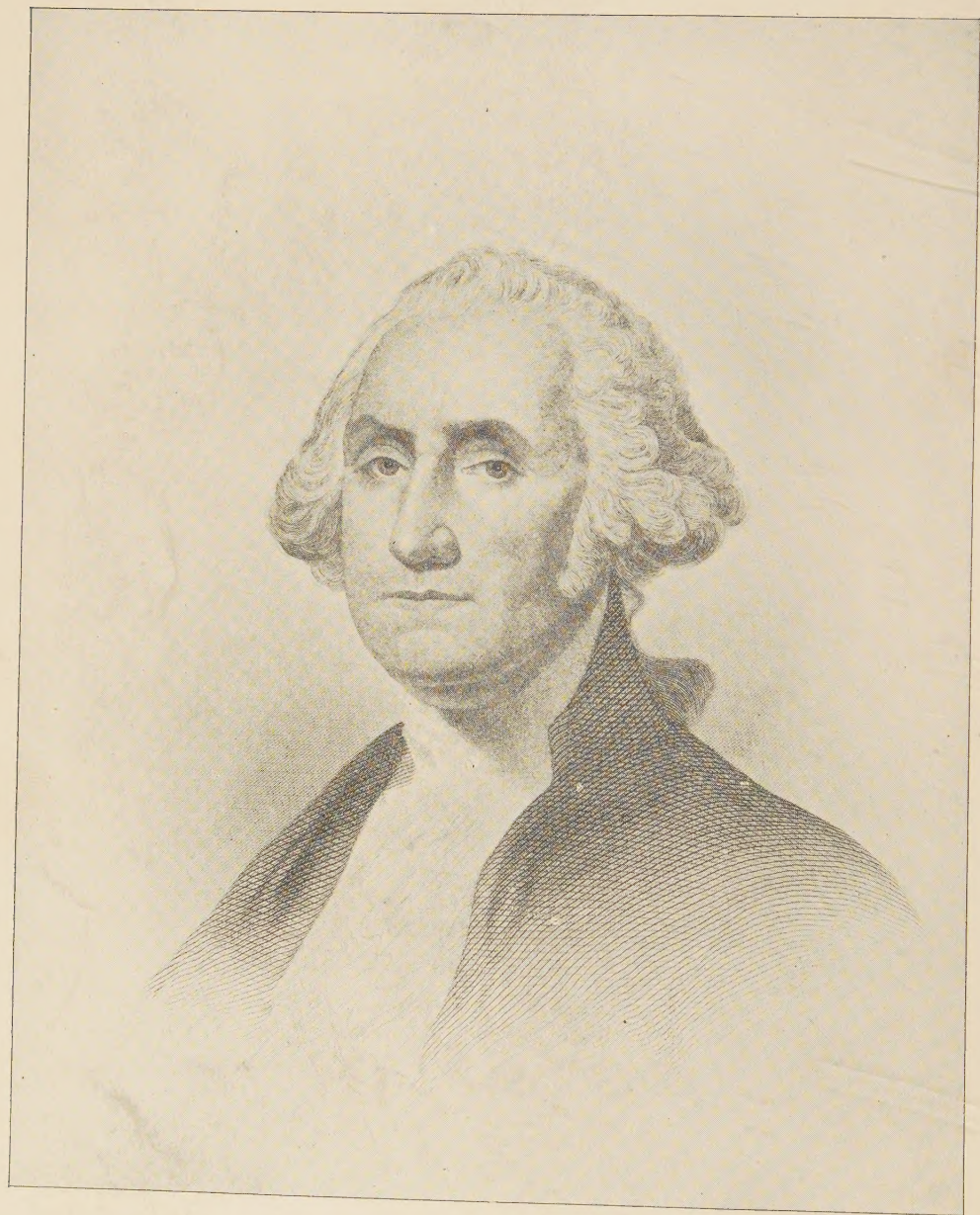
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WITH SKETCHES OF THE LEADING CHARACTERS IN THE WORLD'S HISTORY.

By JAMES D. McCABE,

AUTHOR OF "THE PICTORIAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES," "HISTORY OF THE WAR BETWEEN GERMANY AND FRANCE," "PATHWAYS OF THE HOLY LAND," ETC., ETC.

BROUGHT DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME.

By HENRY DAVENPORT NORTHROP,

THE WELL-KNOWN HISTORIAN.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

THE need of a reliable History of the World has long been felt by all classes of our people. This want led the author several years ago to undertake the preparation of this volume, in which he has endeavored to give in a concise and compact form all the principal events in the world's history.

One of the most gratifying evidences of the intellectual progress of the American people is the increasing interest that is manifested by them in historical studies. Nor is this the case in our own land only. In the old world men are giving more attention to the events of the past, and trying to learn from them lessons of wisdom for the future. This has led to most important results. So many discoveries have been made in the domain of ancient history, so many of the old ideas and traditions have been exploded and shown to be mere myths and legends, that the subject may be said to be almost entirely new, and he who was well informed in history twenty years ago will find himself unable to discourse intelligibly upon it now, unless he has kept up with the advance of historical knowledge. The labors and researches of Champollion, Niebuhr, Mariette, Bunsen, Arnold, Rawlinson, Mommsen, Curtius, and others have thrown a flood of light upon the history of the ancient world, and the inscriptions discovered and deciphered by these diligent and gifted workers enable us to read the deeds of the great personages of ancient times in their own words, and have given to this department of history an authority which it never before possessed. Thus, for instance, in Egypt—a country the early records of which were once believed to be lost, or at the best to rest upon the doubtful testimony of a foreign writer—the kings and heroes speak to us from the walls of their palaces and tombs, in the inscriptions which have defied the defacing hand of time.

So also in Assyria, Babylonia, Greece, and Rome, modern discovery and criticism have swept away the ancient myths, and have placed the history of these countries upon a substantial and enduring basis. "At the present day," says Le Normant, "one cannot, without unpardonable ignorance, adhere to such a history as has been written by good old Rollin."

So too in the domain of mediæval and modern history. The great fact that the civilization of Europe did not perish with the Roman empire, but was taken up and carried out on a more perfect and glorious scale by the great Teutonic race, has received the attention it merits only from comparatively recent writers. In many things it may be said that the world's history after the disruption of the Roman empire has not been fully or properly understood until our own times. Nor have we had until recently any reliable knowledge of the history of China and Japan, which have heretofore been as sealed books to the rest of the world.

These discoveries have not been made known to the general public. They are only to be found in voluminous and very costly works which are inaccessible to the great mass of the people. There is therefore a real necessity for a work which shall embody in a single volume the very latest results of historical research, and shall be accurate and comprehensive in statement and popular in style.

In the arrangement of this volume the history of each country is given separately. This seemed best to the author, as it admitted of a continuous and detailed narrative. The work being contained in a single volume, it is of course easy for the reader to make the comparisons and references necessary to give him a clear idea of the general course of history. In order to avoid repetition, the events relating to several nations in common are narrated at length in the history of the country which they principally concern, and in other portions of the work where they occur the attention of the reader is directed, by references, to the main narrative. Thus the wars of Napoleon I. are related at length in the *History of France*. In the *History of England* this period is treated in less detail, reference being made to the French history. In this way the reader is kept fully informed of the events of the history of each country, and is not wearied with needless repetition. The history of those nations that have played the chief part in the world's career is given at greater length than that of those which have been less prominent, but at the same time the history of the most unimportant country is related with sufficient fulness to give the reader a clear and comprehensive idea of it. While great prominence is given to ancient history, the author has endeavored to direct the reader's attention especially to the events of the middle ages and of modern history.

It has been the earnest aim of the author to embody in these pages the latest conclusions of the most eminent authorities in the various departments of history. He has tried to make the narrative not a mere dry statement of facts, but to present a picture of the life and manners of every nation of which the work treats; to point out the real causes of the growth, prosperity, and decay of the empires of the ancient and modern world; and to bring before his readers the various great men—the sages, warriors, poets, and orators—of the past, as they appeared in life; to show the secret motives of their actions, and to point out the lessons which their lives teach us. It is only by knowing and pondering upon the lessons of the past that we can properly shape our conduct in the future. All down the long “avenues of time” the voices of the great departed are calling to us, warning us to avoid the errors which wrecked the mighty empires and kingdoms of the past. How shall we do this if we are ignorant of their history? The author trusts that this work may be fruitful in presenting these lessons.

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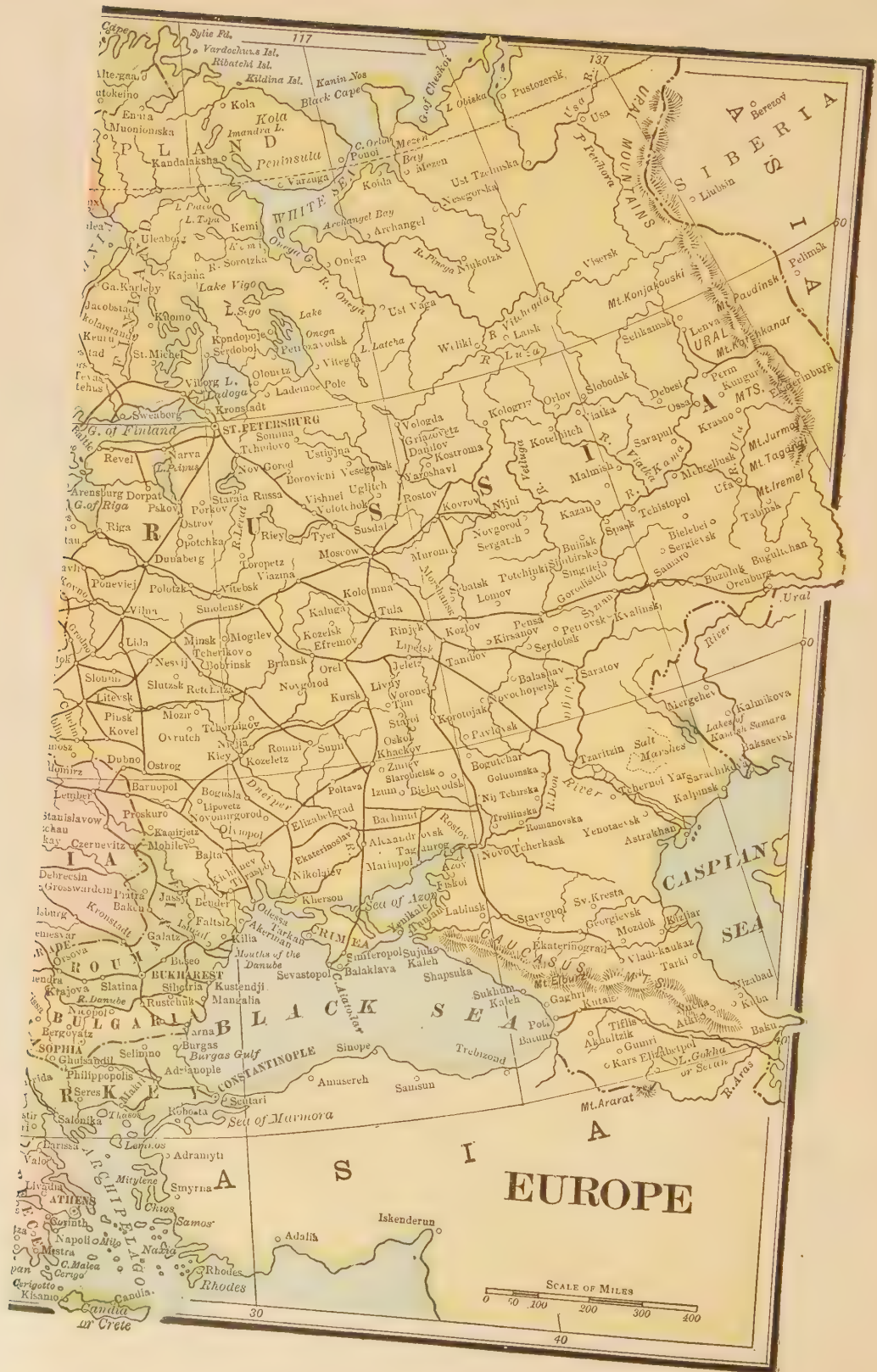
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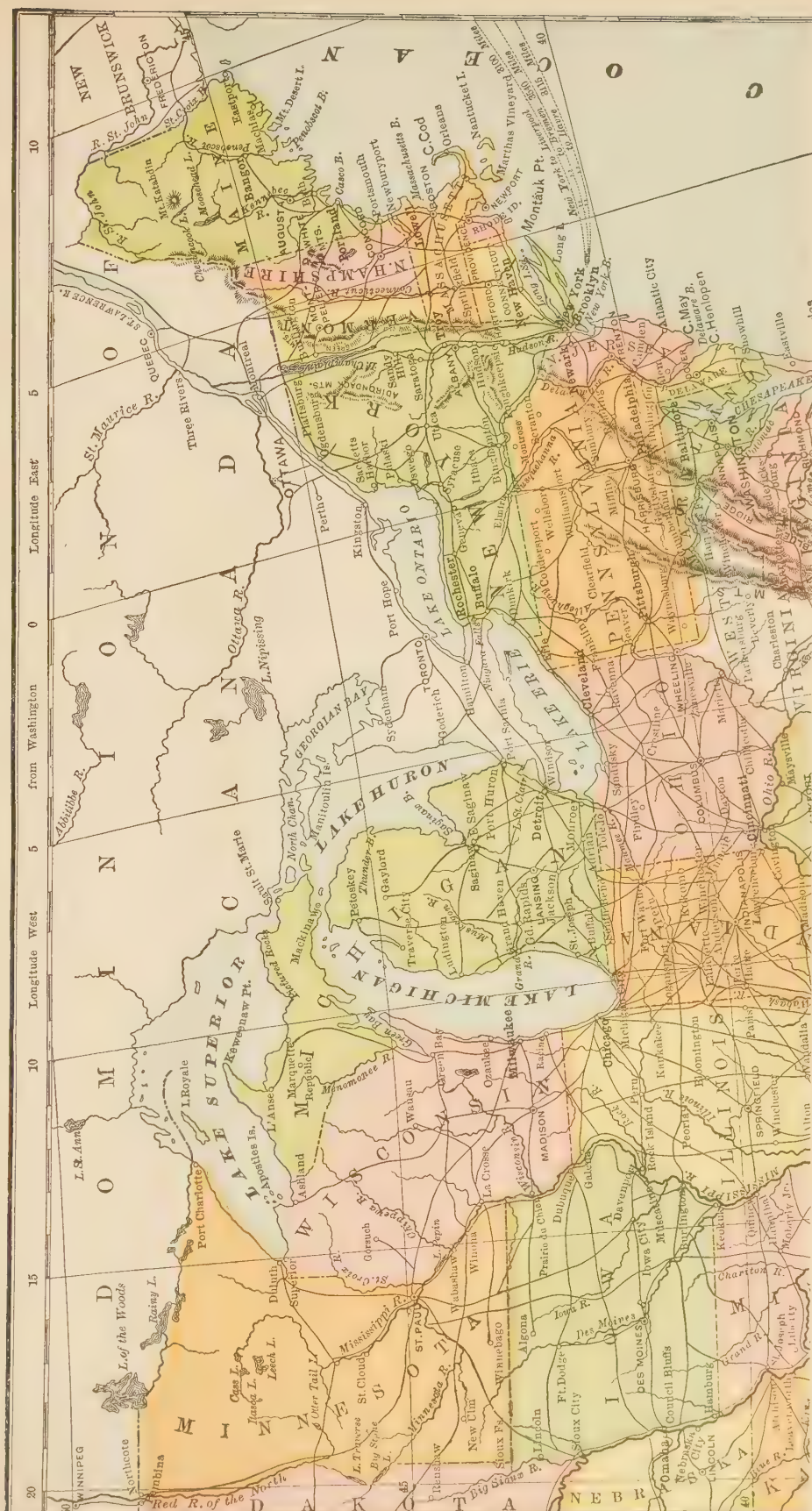
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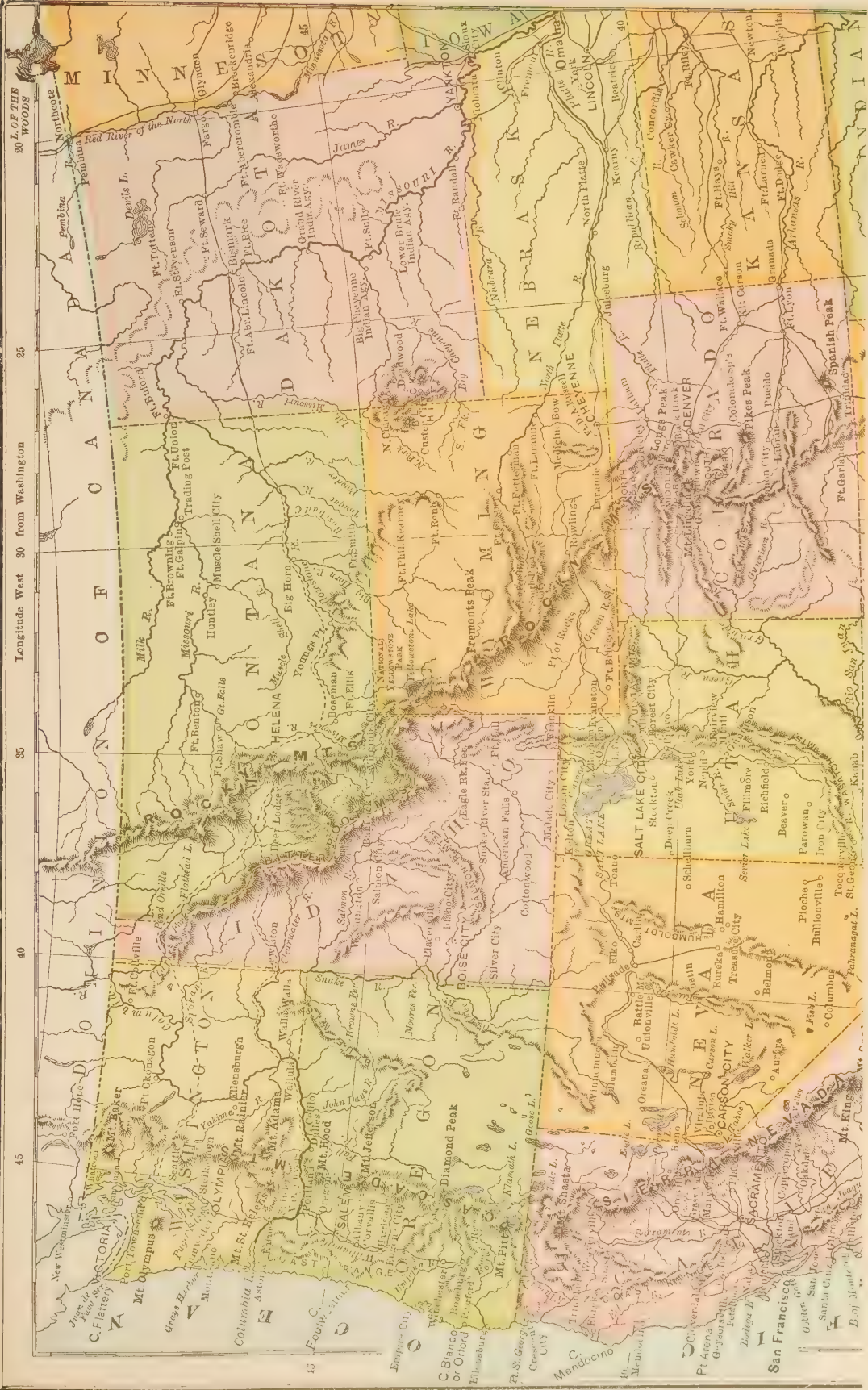
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 SACRED History begins with an account of the creation of the world and of man by Almighty God. The Bible assigns no date for these events; neither has science been able to fix them with certainty.

The various chronologies which have been constructed for the earlier epochs of man's existence are purely arbitrary, and have no dogmatic authority. The Bible does not attempt to furnish us with any system of chronology. It teaches simply that the world and man were created by Almighty God, for a definite purpose, and that the human race is descended from one original pair—the first man and the first woman created by God—the Adam and the Eve.

The human race is believed to have be-

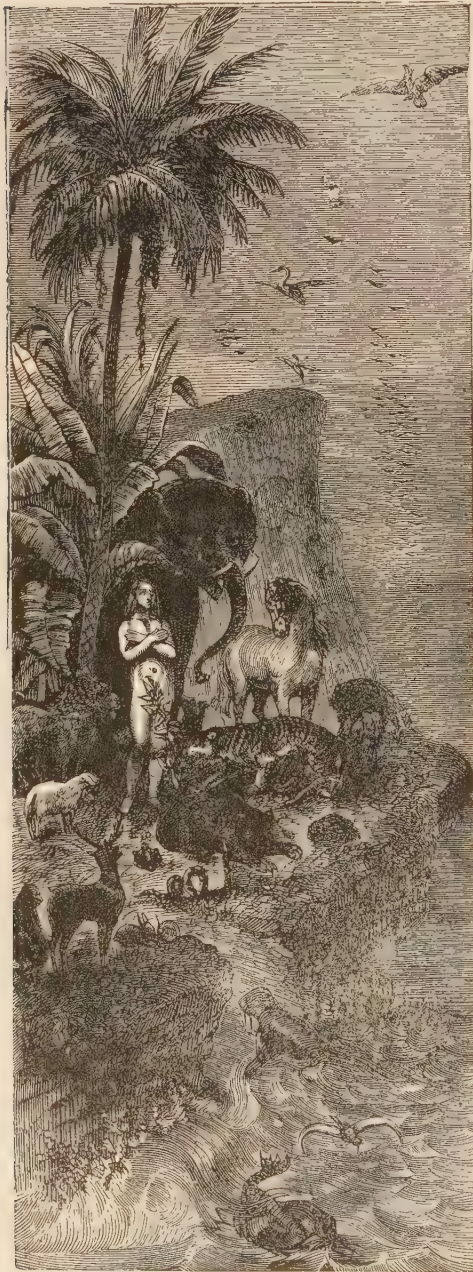
gun its existence in Asia; most probably in some portion of the vast region lying between the mountains in which the Amoo and the Indus take their rise, on the east, and the mountains in which rise the Euphrates and the Tigris, on the west. It was in this delightful and fertile land that the great trial of man's obedience, and his fatal surrender to evil, occurred. Driven from Eden, Adam and Eve were condemned to painful and arduous labor, as the condition of their existence. Hitherto their labor had been pleasant.

Adam and Eve had two sons, Cain and Abel. The first led an agricultural, and the latter a pastoral life—two modes of existence which are thus shown to be as old as humanity. Becoming jealous of the greater purity of Abel's life, Cain slew him, and thus became the first murderer. Upon hearing his sentence of punishment from the lips of his Maker, he became an exile with his family, and wandered into the country to the east of Eden, where he built the first city, which he called "Enoch," after his first-born. Cain had a numerous posterity, to whom the Bible attributes the invention of the industrial arts and music.

A third son was born to Adam and Eve after the death of Abel. They named him Seth, and he was the patriarch from whom the Hebrews traced their descent. Seth had a numerous family, and lived to the age of 912 years. It was through this family that the religious traditions of the

primitive revelation were preserved faithfully down to the time of the Deluge.

The eighth in descent from Seth was



THE EARTH AT THE CREATION

themselves over to vice of all kinds. So terrible had the condition of the world become, that we are told that "it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart." To purge the world of its wickedness, the Almighty resolved to destroy every living thing upon it with the exception of a certain number of each kind which he designed for the reproduction of their various species. "Noah," we are told, "was a just man, and perfect in his generations, and Noah walked with God." In consequence of this, he was exempted from the general destruction, together with his family, and was ordered to prepare an ark, or floating house, of gopher wood, according to a plan revealed to him by God, who informed him of his purpose to bring a flood upon the world. When the ark was finished, Noah was ordered to enter it with his family, and to take with him seven couples of every clean and unclean animal, "two of every sort" "of every living thing of all flesh." He obeyed the Divine command, and they "went in male and female of all flesh, as God had commanded him; and the Lord shut him in." Then the Deluge commenced. "The fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened. And the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights. . . And the waters increased, and bare up the ark, and it was lifted up above the earth. And the waters prevailed, and were increased greatly upon the earth, and the ark went upon the face of the waters. . . And all the high hills, that were under the whole heaven, were covered. Fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail; and the mountains were covered. And all flesh died that moved upon the earth, both of fowl and of cattle, and of beast, and of every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth, and every man; all in whose nostrils was the breath of life, of all that was in the dry land, died. And every living substance was destroyed which was upon the face of the ground, both man and cattle, and the creeping things, and the fowl of the heaven; and they were destroyed from the earth: and Noah only remained alive, and they that were with him in the ark. And the waters prevailed upon the earth a hundred and fifty days."

Noah, whose family retained the worship of the true God. The world had grown desperately wicked, and men had given

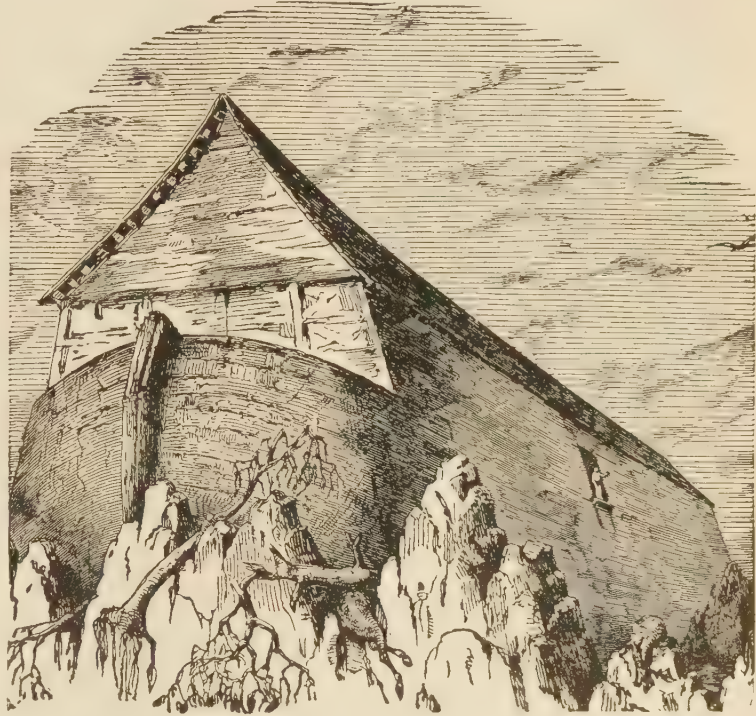
At the end of five months the waters went down, and the ark rested "upon the mountains of Ararat." "And the waters

decreased continually until the tenth month ; in the tenth month, on the first day of the month, were the tops of the mountains seen. And it came to pass at the end of forty days, that Noah opened the window of the ark which he had made ; and he sent forth a raven, which went to and fro, until the waters were dried up from off the earth. And he sent forth a dove from him, to see if the waters were abated off the face of the ground. But the dove found no rest for the sole of her foot, and she returned unto him into the ark ; for the waters were on the face of the whole earth. Then he put forth his hand, and took her, and pulled her in unto him, into the ark. And he stayed yet other seven days, and again he sent forth the dove out of the ark. And the dove came into him in the evening, and lo, in her mouth was an olive leaf plucked off ; so Noah knew that the waters were abated from off the earth. And he stayed yet other seven days, and sent forth the dove, which returned not again unto him any more."

The earth being dry, Noah, his family, and the creatures that were with him, left the ark. Noah's first act was to build an altar and offer a sacrifice to the Lord, who made a covenant with him and his race. Noah, his wife, and his three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth, then resumed the cultivation of the earth. Noah lived three hundred and fifty years after the flood, and died at the age of nine hundred and fifty years.

From the three sons of Noah were descended the races which repopled the earth after the deluge. The region in which the sons of Noah settled after leaving the ark

appears to be the mountain mass of Little Bokhara and Western Thibet, where the great rivers of Asia, the Indus, the Oxus, and the Jaxartes, take their rise. Some generations later the descendants of Noah, who had increased with great rapidity, wandered westward, and fixed their dwellings on the great plains watered by the Tigris and the Euphrates, in the country originally called Shinar. Here their pride in their numbers and strength led them to believe that they could baffle even God, and they began the erection of a city, and of a tower the top of which was to reach to heaven, and



THE ARK.

so enable them to escape any subsequent deluge that might be sent upon the earth. Up to this time all men spoke a common tongue. God punished their insolence by confusing their language. Unable to understand each other, they were compelled to discontinue their work, and to disperse, "each family, or group of families, carrying with it the new language, from that time to become its own, and whence the idioms, science now attempts to classify according to their analogies, are descended." The unfinished tower was called Babel, or,

"confusion," on account of the confusion of languages which took place there. By this dispersion the descendants of Noah were scattered over the world.

The descendants of *Shem* were: the Persians, whose progenitor was Elam; the Assyrians, who were descended from As-shur; the Hebrews and the Arabs, who sprang from Arphaxad; the Lydians, who were the descendants of Lud; and the Assyrians, who were descended from Aram. The descendants of *Ham* were: the Ethiopians, who sprang from Cush; the Egyptians,

Minor; Tiras, the ancestor of the Thracians; and Javan, the progenitor of the Ionian Greeks. This enumeration, which is made in accordance with the statements of Moses, refers exclusively to the white race. For some reason, Moses gives us no account of the origin of the yellow, the red, and the black races. The object of the sacred writer was evidently to give the pedigree of the Hebrews, and the mention of other nations is purely incidental.

The tenth patriarch from Noah, in the line of *Shem*, was Abram, the great ances-



THE TOWER OF BABEL.

who sprang from Misraim; the Libyans, who sprang from Phut; and the Phoenicians, who sprang from Canaan. The children of *Japheth* were: Gomer, from whom were descended the Germans, Scandinavians and Gauls, in Europe, and the Armenians in Asia; Magog, from whom sprang the great Turanian race, usually divided into the Ugro-Finnish and the Dravidian branches; Madai, from whom were descended the Medes; Tubal, from whom sprang the inhabitants of the valleys of the Caucasus; Meshech, the ancestor of the nations of Asia

tor of the Hebrews. His father was Terah, who dwelt in "Ur of the Chaldees" with his family and kindred. Some writers have identified the ancient city of Ur with Orfah, in the highlands of Mesopotamia (Aram), which unite the tableland of Armenia to the valley of the Euphrates. In later ages the city was called Edessa by the Greeks. While living there, Abram was called by God to leave his home and go into a land which God would show him. In consequence of this call the family of Terah quitted Ur and removed to Haran,

or, as it is more properly called in the New Testament, Charran, east of the Euphrates. Here Terah died, after a residence of some years, and here Nahor, his son, pleased with the beauty and fertility of the country, took up his permanent abode.

Meanwhile Abram, as soon as his father was buried, and, it would seem, in obedience to a second call from God, took leave of his brother Nahor, and continued his journey with Sarai, his wife, and his nephew Lot. He went out in implicit reliance upon the divine promise, his future home being merely described to him by the

Promised Land, making his first halt in the Valley of Sichem, or Shechem. Here God appeared to him again and renewed his promise that this land should be the home of the patriarch's descendants; and here Abram erected the first altar that was set up to Jehovah in Palestine.

The country at this time was occupied by the Canaanites, who were the descendants of Canaan, the fourth son of Ham. Abram took up his abode in the mountain region, which though it protected him from the Canaanites, who occupied the more fertile plains below, gave him but scanty pas-



A SHEPHERD IN THE TIME OF ABRAHAM.

Almighty as "a land that I will show thee." Crossing the Euphrates, he separated himself entirely from the land of his birth. Hence the Canaanites called him the "Hebrew," "the man who had crossed the river," "the emigrant from Mesopotamia." Passing through the Syrian desert, he seems to have tarried a while at Damascus, which was even then a city. Here he appears to have met with his faithful servant Eliezer, whom he made "steward of his house." From Damascus he journeyed farther south, crossed the Jordan and entered the

ture for his cattle. He continued to move southward until the scarcity of food forced him to enter Egypt. Fearing that the Egyptian king would be tempted by Sarai's beauty to kill him in order to get possession of her, Abram passed her off as his sister. Supposing her to be an unmarried woman, the Egyptian monarch took her to his harem, and heaped wealth and honors upon Abram. The king was warned of his mistake by plagues sent upon him and his household, and he at once restored Sarai to her husband, rebuked him for his deceit,

and sent him out of Egypt with the wealth he had acquired. Abram moved back through Palestine to his old encampment at Bethel, where he again established the worship of Jehovah. Here he and Lot became involved in quarrels about their cattle, and separated, Abram remaining in the mountains, and Lot descending to the fertile plain near Sodom. Abram then removed southward to the "oaks of Mamre," near Hebron. This place became from this time his usual abode.

Shortly afterwards Chedorlaomer, the

feated them, rescued Lot, and recovered all the spoil that had been taken from the five cities.

Some time after this, it pleased God to make a solemn covenant with the patriarch, and on this occasion the Almighty revealed himself to his servant by his name JEHOVAH, and renewed his promise to make "Abram the father of a great nation." "Lord God, what wilt thou give me, seeing I go childless . . . and . . . one born in my house is mine heir," said the patriarch. The divine answer was prompt:



THE VALLEY OF THE JORDAN.

king of Elam, and chief of a great empire in Western Asia, invaded Southern Palestine, and conquered the five cities of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim, and Bela (afterwards called Zoar), which had revolted against him. In this war Lot and all his cattle were captured and carried off by the victors. As soon as he heard of this, Abram collected a band of 318 of his own people and a force of his Amorite allies and pursued the forces of Chedorlaomer. He overtook them near Damascus, and de-

"Look now toward heaven and tell the stars if thou be able to number them; and he said unto him, So shall thy seed be." The childless man believed the promise of God, "and he counted it to him for righteousness."

"The promise was as specific as it was solemn. It included: I. The bondage of the Hebrews in a strange land for 400 years. II. Their delivery, with great wealth, and amid judgments on their oppressors. III. Their return to the Promised Land in the fourth

generation, when the iniquity of its inhabitants should be full." Somewhat later, God renewed his covenant with Abraham, and added the sign of *circumcision* to it.

After a sojourn of ten years in the land of Canaan, Sarai began to despair of becoming the mother of the patriarch's heir, and advised Abram to take to wife her servant Hagar, an Egyptian woman, by whom

should be born, *Ishmael* (which means, *God shall hear*). He also foretold the character of the child and his destiny, in the following words, which accurately describe the Bedawin Arabs of the present day, whose great progenitor the child became: "He will be a wild man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell in the face of all



CAPTURE OF LOT AND HIS FAMILY.

he had a son. Before the child was born, Hagar, puffed up by pride, became so insolent to her mistress that Sarai punished her. Hagar fled into the wilderness of Kadesh, southeast of Abram's abode. Here the angel of God appeared to her, and commanded her to return to her mistress; he encouraged her by promising that she should be the mother of a great nation, and commanded her to name her child, when it

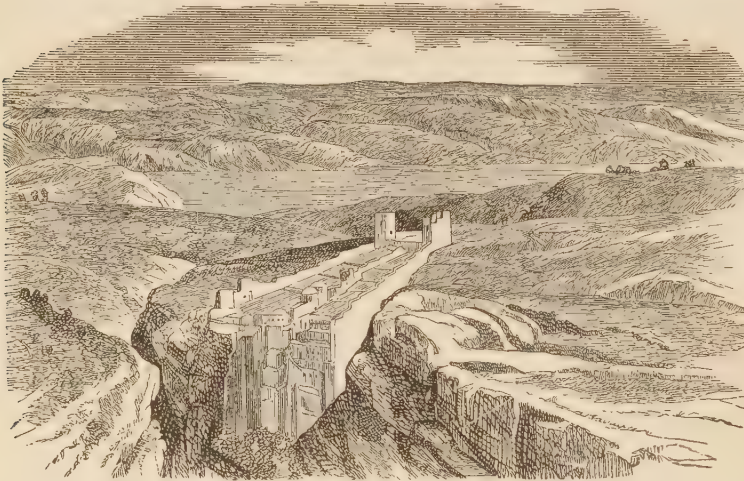
his brethren." The latter prediction means that the territory of Ishmael's descendants should be to the *east* of the country occupied by the tribes descended from Abraham's true heir. Hagar returned to her mistress, and in due time Ishmael was born. Abram was eighty-six years old when his son was born. The patriarch regarded the child as the heir God had promised him, and lavished upon him all a father's love.

Thirteen years after the birth of Ishmael, when Abram was ninety-nine years old, God appeared to the patriarch by the name of EL-SHADDAI (God Almighty), and renewed his covenant with him. The Almighty now promised the patriarch that he should be the father of many nations, and, in consequence of this, changed his name from Abram (exalted father) to Abraham (father of a multitude). The Almighty declared to the patriarch that he would be his God, and the God of his descendants, and as a sign of this renewed covenant instituted the rite of circumcision, which was thenceforth to be performed upon all the males of Abraham's race. The uncircumcised was cut off from all the benefits of the

for Ishmael, God assured him that he would shower temporal blessings upon Ishmael, and would make him the father of a great nation. The higher, spiritual blessings, however, were reserved to Isaac and his posterity. Abraham immediately caused himself to be circumcised, and performed the rite upon Ishmael, who was now thirteen years old and upon all the males of his household.

Some time after this Abraham was sitting one evening at the door of his tent, when he saw three men approaching. With true Eastern hospitality, he arose and welcomed them, and urged them to lodge with him that night. They accepted his invitation, and when they had partaken of the

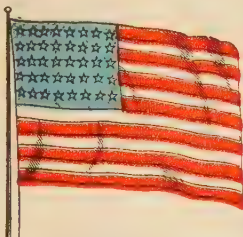
meal he set before them, revealed themselves to him. One was the angel Jehovah, the others two attendant angels. They renewed to him the promise of God that Sarah should bear him a son within a year. Sarah, who was within the tent, heard them, and, being ninety years old, laughed at the prediction. The angel heard her, rebuked her unbelief, and assured Abraham that God would



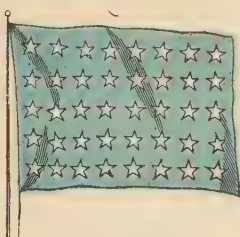
THE DEAD SEA, FROM THE CONVENT OF MAR SABA.

covenant, while even the stranger who received circumcision was admitted to them. It was made the duty of the head of every family to extend this rite to his servants as well as his children. It was to be performed upon children on the eighth day after their birth, and upon slaves immediately after their purchase. The name of Sarai was changed to Sarah (princess), in token of her exalted dignity as the ancestress of a great race. God also informed the patriarch that at a certain time in the next year his wife, Sarah, should bear him a son, who should be his true heir. He was commanded to name the child Isaac, and was informed that the promises of the covenant should descend to Isaac and his seed forever. In response to the patriarch's prayer

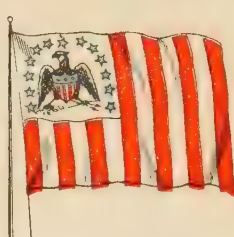
certainly keep his promise. They then departed in the direction of Sodom, and Abraham accompanied them a part of the way. In consideration of the favor with which the Almighty regarded him as the progenitor of the chosen race, the angels informed Abraham of the purpose of God to destroy Sodom and Gomorrah and the cities of the plain as a punishment for their desperate wickedness, and told him that they were on their way to warn Lot and his family to flee from the doomed cities. When the angels departed, Abraham in vain interceded for the cities. God promised, in response to the patriarch's prayer, that if ten righteous men could be found in the cities, he would spare them. The requisite number could not be found,



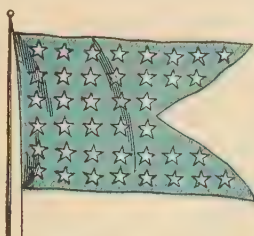
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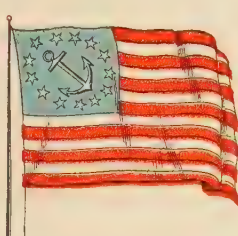
UNION JACK.



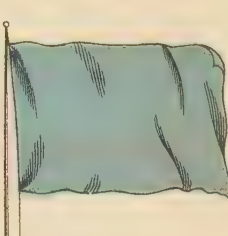
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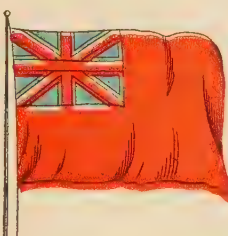
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U. S. YACHT.



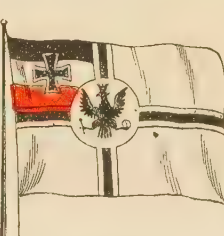
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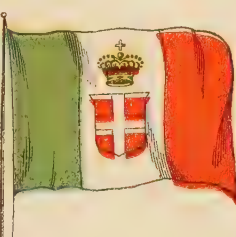
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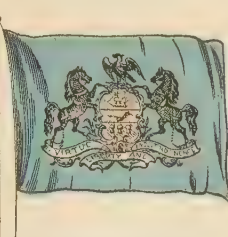
IRELAND.



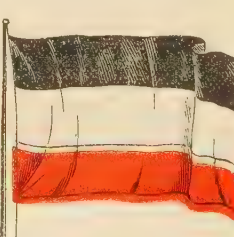
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ITALY.



PENNSYLVANIA STATE.

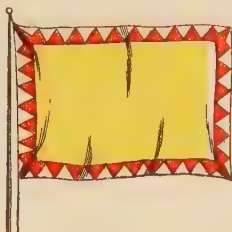


GERMAN MERCHANT.

FLAGS OF ALL NATIONS.



GREECE.



INDIA.



PERU.



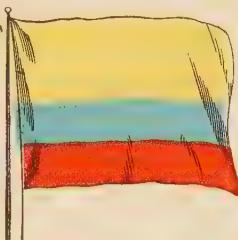
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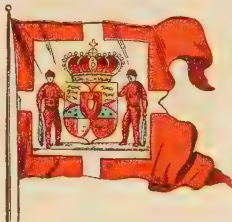
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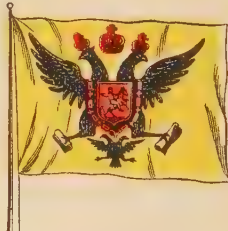
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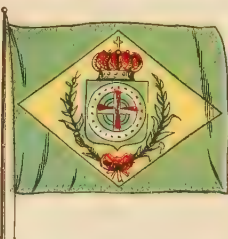
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DENMARK.



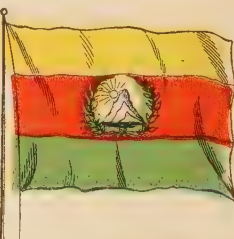
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BRAZIL.

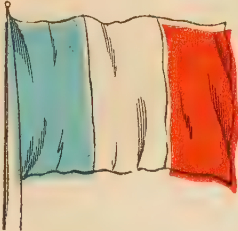


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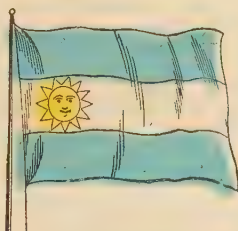


BOLIVIA.

FLAGS OF ALL NATIONS.



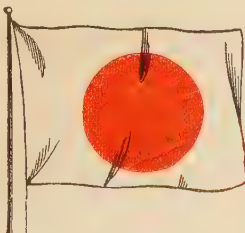
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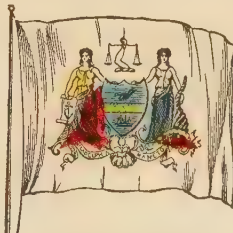
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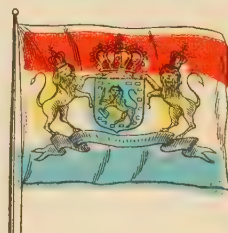
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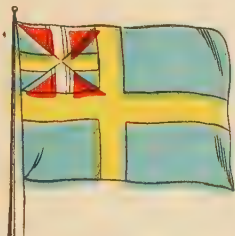
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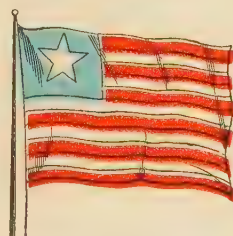
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HOLLAND.



SWEDEN.



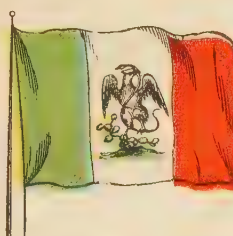
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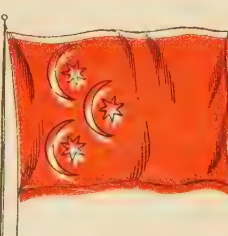
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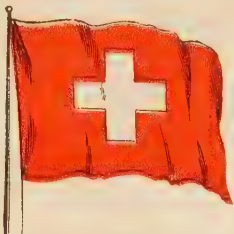


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EGYPT.

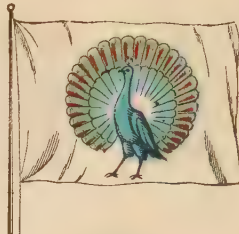
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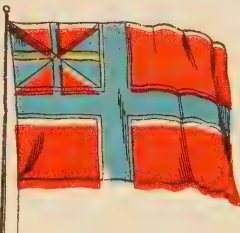
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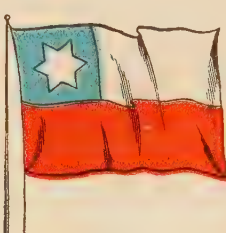
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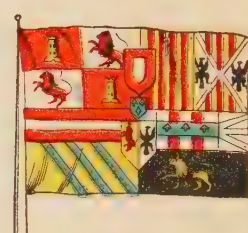
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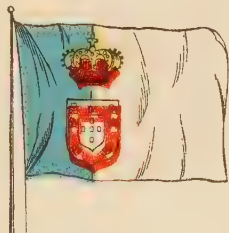
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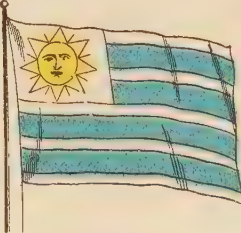
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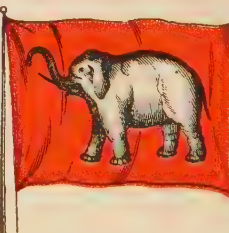
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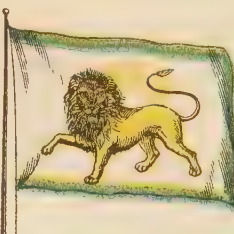
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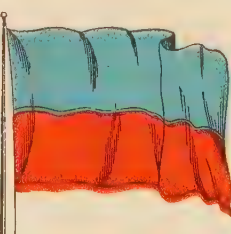
URUGUAY.



SIAM.



PERSIA.



HATTI.



NEW GRANADA.

FLAGS OF ALL NATIONS.

however. Lot and his family obeyed the divine warning, and fled from Sodom. His wife disregarded the warning of the angels not to look behind her, and was destroyed for her disobedience. Lot and his daughters took refuge in Zoar, which was spared in answer to his prayer. Then Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboiim were destroyed by a terrific convulsion of nature, not a soul of all their inhabitants escaping the dreadful doom. Lot, fearing to remain in Zoar, fled to the hill country, and took

in memory of the occurrence, Beersheba (the Well of the Oath). While living at Beersheba, his wife, Sarah, gave birth to the long promised heir, who was circumcised and named Isaac, in accordance with the divine command. The patriarch was one hundred years old when his heir was born.

When Isaac was weaned Abraham celebrated the occasion by a feast. During the festival Sarah saw Ishmael mocking or taunting her son, and her anger was



MEETING OF ISAAC AND REBEKAH.

refuge in a cave east of the Dead sea. In this place occurred the incestuous birth of Moab and Ammon, from whom were descended the Moabites and Ammonites, whom Moses and Joshua found established in the country east of the Jordan and the Dead sea.

Shortly after the destruction of the cities of the plain, Abraham journeyed southward and fixed his residence in the region between Egypt and Palestine. He made a treaty with the king of that country, named Abimelech, beside a well, which he named,

aroused. She demanded of her husband that Hagar and Ishmael should be sent away, in order that Isaac might have no one to dispute his position in his father's house. The patriarch was tenderly attached to Ishmael, and hesitated; but God appeared to him and commanded him to do as Sarah had said, promising that he would bless Ishmael and make him the father of a great nation. The next morning Hagar and her son were supplied by the patriarch with provisions and were sent away. Wandering in the wilderness of Beersheba, they

were on the point of dying with thirst, when they were rescued by an angel. Ishmael grew up in the wilderness and became a skilful archer. His mother took him a wife from among the Egyptians, her own people, and he became the ancestor of the Bedawin Arabs. The Koreish tribe, which inhabited Mecca, traced their descent directly from Ishmael. The principal sanctuary of this tribe was the Caabah, which they believed was built by Ishmael and Abraham. From this tribe was descended Mohammed, the great prophet of Islam.



ABRAHAM'S ENCAMPMENT.

Abraham appears to have dwelt many years at Beersheba. While residing there, occurred the great trial of his faith. He was commanded by God to take his son, Isaac, and offer him up as a burnt sacrifice to God. Though his heart was nearly broken, he unhesitatingly obeyed, and taking Isaac, went with him to "the land of Moriah," which is believed to be the hill on which the temple at Jerusalem afterwards stood. There he built an altar and prepared to offer up Isaac, when his hand was stayed by God, who informed him that he had meant only to try his faith, and was satisfied with this proof of his obedience. A

ram, caught by its horns in the bushes, was taken by the patriarch and offered as a sacrifice in the place of his son. As a reward of this obedience, God renewed his covenant with the patriarch and confirmed it with an oath.

Some time after this Abraham returned to his old home at Mamre, near Hebron, and here Sarah died at the age of one hundred and twenty-seven years. Abraham purchased the cave of Machpelah from the Hittites, of Hebron, then called Kirjath-Arba, and there buried Sarah.

The cave became the place of sepulchre of his family.

After the burial of Sarah, Abraham appears to have returned to Beersheba. He was now old and felt his end approaching. He therefore resolved to secure a wife for his son, Isaac, and in order that the descendants of Isaac might be children of a pure race, decided to secure, as his son's bride, one of his own kindred. He therefore sent his steward, Eliezer, to Mesopotamia, and bound him by a solemn oath to choose for Isaac a wife from among his own family. Eliezer reached Haran, and there encountered the family of Bethuel, the son of Abraham's brother, Nahor. His choice was divinely directed to Rebekah, the youngest and most beautiful daughter of the house, who, upon learning his mission, consented to leave her own family and become the wife of her cousin Isaac. She accompanied Eliezer back to Canaan, and was joyfully received by Isaac and his

father. Isaac was forty years old at the time of his marriage.

After a union of twenty years, Rebekah gave birth to twin sons. The firstborn was named Esau, and also Edom (the Red), because of his ruddy color, and the second received the name of Jacob (the Supplanter).

Abraham, after the marriage of Isaac, took another wife, although he was one hundred and forty years old. Her name was Keturah, and by her Abraham had six sons, one of whom was Midian, the father of the Midianites, who occupied the country between the Dead sea and the

Elamitic gulf of the Red sea, to the east of the Nabetheans. Abraham gave liberal presents to these sons, but sent them out of Palestine that they might not interfere with the inheritance of Isaac. To Isaac the patriarch bequeathed all of his immense wealth, and died, it would seem, at Beersheba, "in a good old age, and full of years," being one hundred and seventy-five years old. This event took place fifteen years after the birth of Esau and Jacob.

chosen family. Jacob, on the other hand, was a peaceful, politic man, ready to gain by craft and diplomacy what Esau sought to accomplish by violence. He was smooth-skinned, and loved the peaceful pursuits of the shepherd and the quiet and repose of the tent. He was his mother's favorite.

Coming in one day, tired and hungry, from the chase, Esau beheld Jacob preparing a savory mess of red lentils, and at once asked for "some of that red." Jacob de-



HAGAR SUSTAINED IN THE DESERT BY GOD.

His sons, Isaac and Ishmael, buried him in the cave of Machpelah.

After the death of Abraham, Isaac continued to dwell by the well of Lahai-roi, in the extreme south of Palestine, and there his sons grew to manhood. Esau was a wild, reckless man, a skilful hunter, and his father's favorite. He was rough and hairy in appearance, and was a source of great trouble to his parents. At the age of forty he married two Hittite wives, in opposition to the will of his father, and thus introduced heathen alliances into the

manded the birthright of Esau as the price of the mess, and the hunter, intent only upon satisfying the hunger of the moment, consented to the bargain with a levity that showed how little value he set upon his birthright. For this, St. Paul "calls him 'a profane person, who for one morsel of food sold his birthright,' and marks him as the pattern of those who sacrifice eternity for a moment's sensual enjoyment. The justice of this judgment appears from considering what the birthright was, which he sold at such a price. Esau was, by right of birth,

the head of the family, its prophet, priest and king, and no man can renounce such privileges except as a sacrifice required by God, without despising God who gave them. But more than this, he was the head of the *chosen* family; on him devolved the blessing of Abraham, that 'in his seed all the families of the earth should be blessed;' and, in despising his birthright, he put himself out of the sacred family, and so became a 'profane person.' The cunning of Jacob did not bring him gain alone; it brought with it a retribution, as we shall see in considering his history.

At length the one hundredth year of Isaac's life approached. The great age and failing sight of the patriarch warned him



BURIAL OF ABRAHAM.

that the time had come when he must solemnly transmit to his heir the blessing of Abraham, the irrevocable gift of the patriarchal power and authority. This blessing he designed for Esau, who very evidently had not confessed to his father the sale of his birthright. As Jacob would not dare to take advantage of his trick, the father was most likely in ignorance of the transaction. Isaac informed Esau of his intention, and bade him prepare a feast for the occasion. Esau set out for the chase to obtain venison, of which his father was very fond, and during his absence Rebekah revealed to Jacob the design of her husband. With her aid the crafty Jacob succeeded in passing himself off upon his father as Esau, and obtained the patriarchal blessing, which made him the head of his family, and which, once given, could not be revoked. Esau now returned home and

discovered the fraud of which his brother had been guilty. His indignation and grief were very great. "He cried with a great and exceeding bitter cry, and said unto his father, Bless me, even me also, O my father." The spiritual blessing had passed to Jacob and could not be recalled, but Isaac blessed his first-born in a manner more in keeping with his son's character. He promised him abundant worldly prosperity, qualified by submission to his brother, whose yoke he should at length break.*

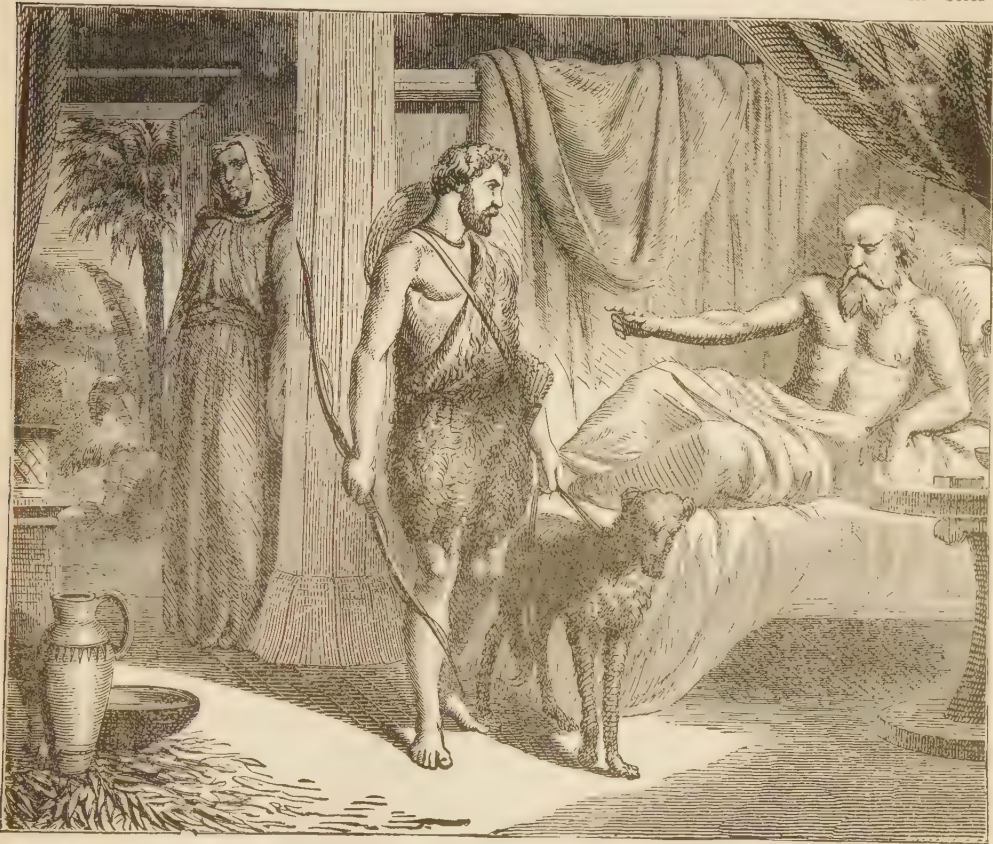
Esau, from this time, resolved to kill Jacob; but, not wishing to grieve his father, postponed his vengeance until after the death of Isaac. Rebekah, becoming aware of this, induced her husband to send Jacob to her kindred for safety. Isaac was all the more willing for this, as it would enable Jacob to obtain a wife of pure blood. With his staff in his hand, the heir of the promises set out for Mesopotamia, retracing the path by which Abraham had entered Canaan. Reaching Abraham's old encampment at Bethel, he passed the night there, taking for his pillow a stone—most probably one of those which had formed the altar of the patriarch. In the visions of the night he was visited by God, who showed him a radiant stairway reaching from the earth to the portals of heaven, along which the angels were ascending and descending upon their errands as ministering spirits upon earth, a beautiful symbol of God's provident care for his children. To crown the vision God appeared to him in his dream, renewed with him the covenant he had made with Abraham, and gave him a special promise of protection. Jacob awoke, and, in acknowledgment of the presence of Jehovah, erected an altar on the spot, which he named Bethel (the House of God), and solemnly dedicated himself and all that God should give him to the service of his Maker. This important event, the turning point in Jacob's religious life, occurred when he was in his seventy-seventh year.

* "The prophecy was fulfilled in the prosperity of the Idumæans, their martial prowess, and their constant conflicts with the Israelites, by whom they were subdued under David, over whom they triumphed at the Babylonian captivity, and to whom they at last gave a king in the person of Herod the Great."—*Dr. William Smith.*

Continuing his journey, Jacob reached the home of his uncle Laban, his mother's brother, at Padan-Aram. He was warmly welcomed, and at once fell in love with his beautiful cousin Rachel, the youngest daughter of the house. He engaged to serve his uncle as a shepherd for wages, and demanded of Laban the hand of Rachel, offering to serve him seven years for her. Laban, who was more than Jacob's equal in cunning, accepted the offer,

and bore one son, named Joseph. Leah bore a daughter, named Dinah. Besides these Jacob had four other sons by two concubines. Billah, Rachel's handmaid, bore him Dan and Naphtali; and Zilpah, Leah's handmaid, bore him Gad and Asher.

After the birth of Joseph, who was the youngest of these children, Jacob was anxious to return to his own country, but Laban persuaded him to serve him still



ESAU GOING FOR VENISON.

out took advantage of the marriage customs of the country to give his elder daughter, Leah, who was afflicted with sore eyes, and therefore hard to dispose of in marriage, to his nephew. Jacob was indignant at the fraud, but was obliged to submit; and agreed to serve Laban seven years more for his beloved Rachel. During these seven years eleven sons and a daughter were born to Jacob. The sons of Leah were Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, and Zebu-

lun. Rachel bore one son, named Joseph. Leah bore a daughter, named Dinah. Besides these Jacob had four other sons by two concubines. Billah, Rachel's handmaid, bore him Dan and Naphtali; and Zilpah, Leah's handmaid, bore him Gad and Asher. After the birth of Joseph, who was the youngest of these children, Jacob was anxious to return to his own country, but Laban persuaded him to serve him still

longer for a portion of his flocks, Jacob's share to be distinguished by certain marks. Laban undertook to defeat this arrangement by unfair means, but Jacob, who was more expert at cattle-breeding, baffled him and secured the greater part of the produce of the flocks. At length he became very rich in "cattle, and maidservants and manservants, and camels, and asses."

After a sojourn of twenty years with Laban, Jacob was commanded by God to

return to Canaan. Afraid that Laban would seek to detain him, he set out by stealth, and having crossed the Euphrates, passed through the desert by the great fountain of Palmyra, journeyed across the eastern part of the plain of Damascus and the plateau of Bashan, and entered the mountain region of Gilead, east of the Jordan, which forms the frontier between Palestine and the Assyrian desert. Here he was overtaken by Laban, with a considerable force. Rachel had carried off her father's household gods, and now, by an ingenious device, succeeded in hiding them. Laban, who had been warned of God not to harm Jacob, failing to find



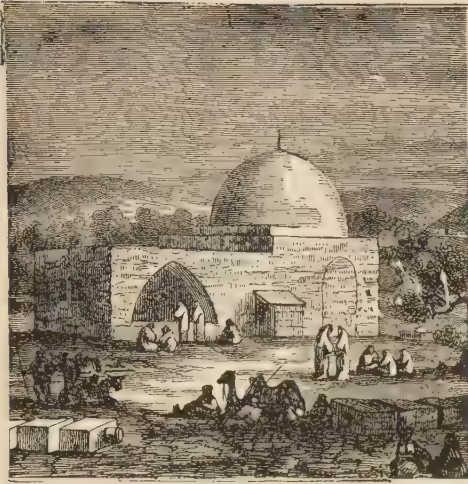
ARABIAN CAMELS.



DAUGHTERS OF LABAN AT THE WELL.

his idols, made a treaty with Jacob and set up a heap of stones as a witness of it. Jacob's eyes were now opened to see a company of angels, "the host of God," sent to protect him, forming a camp near his own.

He now approached Mount Seir, of which his brother Esau had become the powerful chieftain. He was seriously alarmed, for he feared that Esau might now seek to avenge the loss of his birthright by killing him and seizing his family and flocks. He sent him a conciliatory message, and Esau came to meet him at the head of four hundred warriors. Jacob, now thoroughly alarmed, prepared to meet the danger which seemed to threaten him. He divided his people and his flocks into two parties, in order that the second might escape if the first was attacked. Then he turned to God in prayer, after which he sent forward presents to his brother, and then rested for the night. Rising before day



RACHEL'S TOMB, NEAR BETHLEHEM.

the next morning, he sent his wives and children over the Jabbok, and remained behind to prepare himself by solitary meditation for the trial of the day. While he tarried there "a man" appeared and wrestled with him until the day broke. And when "the man" saw "that he prevailed not against him, he touched the hollow of his thigh; and the hollow of Jacob's thigh was out of joint as he wrestled with him. And he said, Let me go, for the day breaketh. And he said, I will not let thee go, except thou bless me. And he said unto him, What is thy name? And he said, Jacob. And he said, Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel; for as a prince hast thou power with God and with men, and hast prevailed. And Jacob asked

him and said, Tell me, I pray thee, thy name. And he said, Wherefore is it that thou dost ask after my name? And he blessed him there. And Jacob called the name of the place Peniel; for I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved."

Jacob never recovered from the lameness produced by the touch of the angel, and in memory of this the Israelites, in after years, would not eat of the sinew in the hollow of the thigh.

Descending into the valley of the Jabbok, Jacob encountered Esau, who greeted him most affectionately. The rough soldier had long ago forgiven his brother for defrauding him of the spiritual blessing which he did not value, and was contented with the worldly prosperity that had fallen to his lot. After a pleasant interview, Esau returned to Mount Seir, and Jacob continued his journey to the Jordan, which he crossed at Succoth. Entering Canaan he went to Shechem, now a considerable town of the Amorites. From them he bought a piece



JACOB'S WELL, AT SHECHEM.

of ground, the first possession of the chosen family in the promised land. There he built an altar to the "God of Israel," and

renewed his promise to serve him. He also dug a well, which is still shown there, and is highly venerated by the natives.

Jacob now began to experience the severest troubles of his life. Shechem, son of Hamor, prince of the Shechemites, carried off and outraged his daughter, Dinah, and though he afterwards demanded her in marriage, the sons of Jacob determined to avenge the wrong done to their sister. They consented to the marriage, and when the Shechemites were thrown off their guard, treacherously fell upon them, slew all the

Mamre and rejoined his father. Isaac lived a number of years after this, and died at the age of one hundred and eighty. His sons, Esau and Jacob, buried him in the cave of Machpelah. His death occurred about thirteen years after the sale of Joseph by his brethren.

Joseph, the eldest son of Rachel, was his father's favorite. Upon him Jacob lavished such constant and conspicuous marks of his affection, that the jealousy of the remainder of his sons was aroused. Joseph increased this feeling to a positive hatred



JACOB'S MEETING WITH ISAAC ON HIS RETURN TO CANAAN.

males, pillaged the city, and carried off the women and children, and the flocks and herds. Jacob was very indignant at this treacherous conduct, and, fearing that the Canaanites would seek to avenge the slaughter of their brethren, removed with his family and possessions to Bethel, from which he passed southward towards Mamre, where his father, Isaac, was still living. In the vicinity of Bethlehem, his beloved wife, Rachel, died in giving birth to Benjamin, and was buried there. Her tomb is still preserved. Jacob then went on to

by playing the spy upon his brothers and reporting their misdeeds to their father. When but a mere lad he dreamed several very remarkable dreams, which seemed to him to foreshadow future greatness for him at the expense of his brethren, and very unwisely told them of these dreams. This filled the measure of his offences in their eyes, and they determined to remove him out of their way. One day Jacob sent Joseph to visit his brethren, who were feeding their flocks near Shechem. As they saw him approaching alone, they resolved

to kill him. Reuben, the eldest son, persuaded the others not to kill their brother outright, but to throw him into a dry well, where he would die with hunger, meaning to rescue him afterwards. His suggestion was adopted, but during his temporary absence the other brothers sold Joseph to a caravan of Midianitish merchants, who were on their way to Egypt. They then returned to their father and induced him to believe that Joseph had been slain by a wild beast.

Joseph was taken by his purchasers to Egypt, and was sold by them as a slave to

Among the prisoners were the chief of the cupbearers and the chief of the cooks of the king of Egypt, who had been put in confinement in consequence of their complicity in some conspiracy at the court of the Pharaoh. These prisoners dreamed each a dream, prophetic of their fate. They related their dreams to Joseph, who interpreted them. His interpretation was verified in the pardon of the chief of the cupbearers and his restoration to office, and the execution of the chief of the cooks. The fortunate man promised to intercede



JOSEPH MADE RULER OVER EGYPT.

Potiphar, or Petephra, an officer of the army of the king of Egypt, who is designated in the Scriptures only by his title of Pharaoh. Joseph quickly gained favor with his master, who made him the superintendent of his house. The wife of Potiphar conceived an unlawful passion for Joseph, but was repulsed by him. Thereupon she brought an infamous charge against him, and he was thrown into prison by his master. His exemplary conduct soon gained him the favor of the authorities of the prison, by whom he was intrusted with important duties.

for Joseph, but forgot him until two years later, when, the king having had two dreams which troubled him greatly, and which the wise men of Egypt were unable to explain, the chief cupbearer remembered Joseph and told the king of the Hebrew's interpretation of his own dream and its fulfilment. Pharaoh at once sent for Joseph and related his dreams to him. Joseph informed him that his dreams were prophetic, and were sent by God to warn him that Egypt was about to be visited by seven years of abundant harvests, which

were to be succeeded by seven years of terrible famine. He urged the king to prepare for the famine by forming stores of grain at certain points in Egypt during the years of plenty.

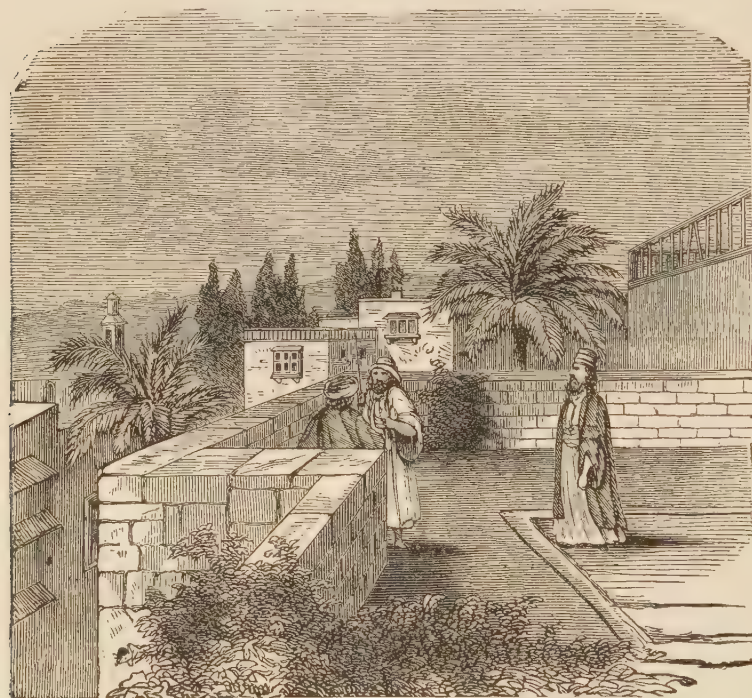
Egypt at this time was divided into two kingdoms. The upper kingdom, known as the Thebaid, was ruled by native Egyptian princes. Lower Egypt had been held for many centuries by conquerors of Canaanitish blood, known as the Hyksos, or shepherds. These had adopted the Egyptian manners and language. The king who sent for Joseph was one of this dynasty, and was

ple were ordered to obey him implicitly. He was also given a wife in the person of Asenath, daughter of Petephra, the high priest of Heliopolis, by whom he had two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim.

Joseph collected in public granaries, which he constructed for the purpose, immense stores of grain from the superabundant harvest. He accomplished this by doubling the ordinary royal impost of one-tenth of the grain. When the years of famine set in he had stores enough to supply the people of Egypt, and to sell to the surrounding countries which were af-

ected by the famine. He sold to the Egyptians on very hard terms, requiring them to surrender, in return for the food which kept them alive, the fee simple of their lands, and to pay a quit rent of one-fifth of the produce for the right of tenancy. This arrangement did not extend to the priests, who possessed the right of drawing supplies from the public stores.

The famine having extended to that part of Palestine in which Jacob was living, he sent his sons to Egypt to buy grain. They failed to recognize Jo-



EASTERN HOUSE, WITH A PARAPET.

known as Apophis, or Apepi. Being himself of foreign origin, he had not the native Egyptian dislike of strangers. He was impressed with Joseph's interpretation of his dreams and with the wisdom shown by the captive, and at once declared that Joseph was the best man in the kingdom to make the provision against the famine he had suggested. He made him his viceroy over Egypt, and gave him his signet-ring, the indisputable mark of royal power. He was magnificently clothed, was given the Egyptian name of Zaph-n-to, or "Nourisher of the Country," and all peo-

ple in the powerful Egyptian viceroy, but he knew them at a glance. He subjected them to a series of trials, partly to punish them for their treatment of him, and partly to test their affection for their father and their brother Benjamin; and then revealed himself to them, forgave them the wrongs they had done him, and brought them and their father down to Egypt, where he could provide for them. The king readily granted them lands in the province of Goshen, which lay between the Delta and the desert, northeast of Memphis. In so doing the king was simply carrying out a leading

policy of the shepherd dynasty, which was to cultivate in their dominions the growth of a non-Egyptian element, which might sustain them against a revolt of the native population. In the descent of the chosen family into Egypt, a portion of God's promise to Abraham was fulfilled.

Seventeen years later, Jacob died in Egypt, at the age of one hundred and forty-seven years. On his death-bed he blessed his sons, and declared that the children of Judah should inherit the divine promises to Abraham and should constitute the head of the chosen family—Reuben, Simeon, and Levi, the three elder sons of Jacob, having cut themselves off from the succession by their crimes. Jacob's body was embalmed in the Egyptian manner, and was carried in great state by Joseph and his brethren, with a powerful escort of Egyptian troops, back to Palestine, and was buried in the tomb of Abraham at Hebron. Joseph lived for fifty years longer, enjoying his high honors, and remaining the protector of his family. He died at the age of one hundred and ten years, and on his death-bed exacted a solemn oath of his brethren that his embalmed body should be carried up into the land of Canaan when the Israelites should leave Egypt.

CHAPTER II.

THE EXODUS AND THE WANDERINGS.

Growth of the Israelitish Nation in Egypt—Their Condition in Goshen—Expulsion of the Hyksos—Rise of the Nineteenth Dynasty—Severe Oppression of the Hebrews—Birth of Moses—He is Educated as an Egyptian Prince—His Flight from Egypt—His Life at Mount Sinai—The Burning Bush—Moses Called to the Leadership of his People—He Seeks the Court of Pharaoh—His Demand Refused—The Plagues of Egypt—Institution of the Passover—The Exodus—The Passage of the Red Sea—The March to Sinai—The Giving of the Law—The Nation Organized—The March Resumed—Return of the Spies—Rebellion of the Israelites—Their Defeat by the Canaanites—The Wanderings in the Wilderness—Death of Aaron—The Advance to the Promised Land—Conquest of the Country East of the Jordan—Defeat of the Moabites—Death of Moses.

THE real history of the Israelites as a nation does not begin until their departure from Egypt. Abraham and his descendants were merely nomads, wandering over the Promised Land, but owning no part of it.

The Israelites remained in the fertile land of Goshen for a period of 215 years,

and there prospered in such a marked degree that the family of seventy persons which entered Egypt with Jacob grew to a nation numbering nearly three millions of people. They formed a nation quite apart from the Egyptians, with their own language, manners, religious worship, and patriarchal government. It is true that they did not preserve the worship of God in its original purity, and had but a very vague idea of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, whom they worshipped, but they never adopted the idolatrous rites or religion of the Egyptians. They were ruled by their own proper chiefs, who were, in their turn, directly responsible to the Egyptian government for the collection of the taxes imposed upon the Hebrew colony.

During this period, the kings of the Thebaid had succeeded in driving out the shepherd dynasty and in extending their rule over Lower Egypt, which now became one kingdom. This native dynasty was one of the most glorious that ever reigned in Egypt, and its kings appear to have favored the Hebrew colony.

This policy was changed when the nineteenth Egyptian dynasty came into power. These kings regarded the Hebrews as dangerous because of their numbers and location, and inflicted upon them a series of cruel persecutions, the object of which was to reduce their power and destroy them as a nation. The king who inaugurated this policy was called Ramses, and was a great warrior and a cruel despot. He overburdened the Israelites with work, and compelled them to engage, under cruel taskmasters, in the labor of building cities. His efforts were unsuccessful. In spite of their heavy burdens, the Hebrews continued to increase in numbers. Enraged at this, the king gave orders that all the male children of the Hebrews should be put to death at their birth. The females were spared, as they would furnish wives for the Egyptians. In this way the king hoped to entirely destroy the race.

Amram, a man of the tribe of Levi, had married Jochebed, a woman of the same tribe. They had two children, a son named Aaron, and a daughter named Miriam. Soon after the cruel edict of the Pharaoh was issued, Jochebed gave birth to a second son, whom she hid for three months from the officers of the king. Unable to conceal him any longer she laid him in a basket,

or ark, covered with pitch, and placed him among the flags on the brink of the Nile. Here he was discovered by the daughter



THE FINDING OF MOSES BY PHARAOH'S DAUGHTER.

the king, who had gone down to the river to bathe. The princess was touched with

pity, and had the child brought to her. She gave it to Jochebed, who offered herself as nurse, and commanded her to rear the boy as "the son of Pharaoh's daughter." She named the child Moses, which means "drawn out of the water." When the boy was grown his mother took him to the princess, who caused him to be educated as one of the royal family, in consequence of which he became learned "in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," and was taught military science.

There is a tradition that upon arriving at manhood he held a high command in the Egyptian army in an expedition against Ethiopia.

In spite of his own fortunate lot, and of the favor he enjoyed at court, Moses was too truly a Hebrew not to feel keenly the wrongs of his countrymen. He brooded over their sufferings, and often went among them to cheer them. One day he saw an Egyptian cruelly beating a Hebrew; his indignation was aroused, and he killed the Egyptian. This coming to the ears of the king, Moses was obliged to fly for his life. He took refuge in the Peninsula of Sinai. One day he found himself in the territory of a Midianitish tribe, whose chief and priest was named Jethro. He was enabled to render a service to the daughters of Jethro by defending them from the violence of some shepherds who sought to drive them away from a well where they were watering their flocks. Jethro, hearing of this, invited Moses to his home, and urged him to remain with him. Moses consented to do so, and Jethro gave him his daughter Zipporah as a wife. Moses remained forty years with Jethro, and during this time a new king mounted the throne of Egypt. He pursued towards the Hebrews the iniquitous system of his predecessor. In their sore affliction the Hebrews besought the assistance of the God of their fathers, and he heard their prayers.

One day, when Moses had led his flock to a remote part of Mount Horeb, he was startled by seeing a bush burning with a bright blaze, but without being consumed. He approached it to ascertain the cause of this strange sight, but was checked by a voice from the midst of the bush, which told him that he was standing in the presence of God himself. The Almighty made himself known to Moses as the God of his fathers, and informed him of his purpose to bring the bondage of the Hebrews to an

end, and to lead them into the land which he had promised Abraham should be the home of his descendants. He revealed to Moses his purpose to make him the leader and the divine mouthpiece in this great movement. The timid nature of Moses shrank from the position, but God reassured him, and associated with him his brother Aaron, who was to be his spokesman to the Egyptian king and to the Hebrews. The entire plan of the Almighty was made known to Moses, who was commanded to

Egypt. On the way he met his brother Aaron, who had been directed by God to seek him. The two brothers returned to Egypt, and summoning the elders of the Israelites laid before them the message of God. The people agreed to submit themselves to the divine will, and promised to execute faithfully all the commands of the God of their fathers.

Having secured the adhesion of their people, Moses and Aaron next sought the presence of the Pharaoh, "to demand leave



MOSES AND THE BURNING BUSH.

reveal it to the elders or chiefs of the Israelites. God directed him to return to Egypt, assemble the Hebrew elders, make known his mission to them, and then, having secured their obedience, to go before Pharaoh and demand permission for the Israelites to leave Egypt. God told him that Pharaoh would not grant this demand, but that he would show his power over Egypt and avenge the wrongs of his people by a series of punishments such as Egypt had never known before.

Moses at once set out on his return to

in the name of Jehovah, the God of Israel, for his people to hold a feast to him in the wilderness. This was the extent of the first demand, as it had been the extent of what God had enjoined on Moses: 'Ye shall serve God in this mountain.' It was to be a solemn festival, shared in by all the people, who, as a nomad race, would of course travel with their flocks and herds. When they reached the sacred mount they would be at the disposal of their God and Father, to lead them back or forward as he pleased; and he claimed of Pharaoh that

they should be placed at his disposal, without telling him of their further destination, which had been long since revealed to Abraham, and lately made known to Moses."

The demand of Moses and Aaron was contemptuously refused by the Egyptian king, and the burdens of the Hebrews were redoubled. In their sore distress the people reproached Moses and Aaron for adding to their hardships. Moses, greatly disheart-

but as a proof to the latter that Jehovah was able to fulfil his promises to them, and that their God was more powerful and glorious than all the false deities of Egypt. The Hebrews had been so long exposed to contact with the religious system of the Egyptians that such a display of the power of God was necessary to convince them that there was "no virtue in the idols of the Nile."

Moses and Aaron renewed their demand



MOSES AND AARON BEFORE PHARAOH.

ened, complained to God that his effort had only brought sorrow upon his countrymen, but was encouraged by the prediction that though Pharaoh would steadily refuse for a time, and steadily increase the hard tasks of the Hebrews, yet God would break the stubborn pride of the king, and compel him to consent to the departure of the Israelites. This contest between Pharaoh and the Almighty was necessary, not only to punish the king for his treatment of the Hebrews,

upon the king repeatedly, and were as often refused. God punished the refusals of the king by sending upon the land of Egypt a series of terrible plagues, or afflictions. What made these plagues miraculous was their extraordinary violence, and the promptness with which they made their appearance at the call of Moses. They were ten in number, and are thus related in the Bible: 1st. The waters of the Nile, the sacred river of the Egyptians, and the chief

source of their water supply, became red like blood, and so putrid that they became offensive. Unable to use them, the Egyptians were compelled to sink wells along the shores of the river for water to drink. 2d. Frogs, which are always numerous and troublesome in Egypt, multiplied to such an extent as to become a terrible pest to the Egyptians. 3d. Swarms of lice covered the land, causing severe suffering to both man and beast. These insects were a terrible annoyance to the scrupulously cleanly

"This plague," says Dr. Smith, "seems to have been the black leprosy, a fearful kind of elephar-tiasis, which was long remembered as the 'blotch of Egypt.' It also rendered the Egyptians religiously unclean." 7th. A terrible hail storm, accompanied with thunder and lightning, swept over the country, destroying the crops and killing men and beasts. 8th. Swarms of locusts spread over the land, and devoured all that the hail had left. 9th. An extraordinary darkness enveloped the land of Egypt, and



PASSAGE OF THE RED SEA BY THE ISRAELITES.

Egyptians, and were also a religious defilement. 4th. Clouds of flies, or beetles, most probably of the great Egyptian beetle (*scarabæus sacer*), covered the country, swarmed in the houses, and ate up the harvest and shrubbery. The beetle was an object of worship to the Egyptians, who were thus scourged through their own gods. 5th. An epizootic disease made its appearance among the cattle, and carried off vast numbers of them. 6th. A grievous affliction of boils and blains broke out on the bodies of the Egyptians and their beasts.

for three days the gloom was so dense that the people were unable to see each other, or to pursue any of their avocations. None of these visitations extended to the land of Goshen, in which the Hebrews dwelt. Exempted from all these evils, they beheld with awe the fulfilment of the divine promises in the sufferings of the Egyptians. More than once Pharaoh, terrified and humbled, sent for Moses and Aaron, and besought them to obtain from God a cessation of the afflictions of his people; but no sooner did the plague cease, than the stub-

born pride of the king returned, and he refused to let the Hebrews depart from Egypt.

It now remained for God to bring the extraordinary contest to an end by striking the last terrible blow which should humble Egypt in the dust. Moses was commanded to institute the Feast of the Passover, which, as it marked the beginning of the national history of the Hebrews, was made the commencement of their year. Minute directions were given as to the manner of celebrating the feast, from which no deviation

command to march was given. All these preparations were carried out in the clear light of the land of Goshen, where there was no darkness.

At sunset on the third day of the darkness in Egypt the Hebrews began to prepare the paschal supper, and having finished it, awaited in awful suspense the commands of God. At midnight God slew the first-born in every house in Egypt, from the palace of the king to the humblest hut, and the first-born of all the animals of the country. "There was not a house where

there was not one dead." Pharaoh was completely conquered by this terrible blow. He sent in haste for Moses and Aaron and urged them to take their people out of Egypt without delay. By the command of Moses, the Hebrews asked the Egyptians for jewels of silver and gold and raiment, and their demands were instantly complied with. The Egyptians were eager to get the Hebrews out of the country, as they were fearful that any delay would result in further suffering to them.

At the command of Moses the Hebrews set



DESTRUCTION OF PHARAOH'S ARMY.

was permitted, and the feast was ordered to be made an annual celebration, a perpetual memorial of the deliverance of the nation from Egyptian bondage. God made known to Moses and Aaron his purpose to destroy the first-born of the Egyptians, and commanded the Hebrews to mark their houses by sprinkling the doorposts with the blood of the animals slain for the paschal supper. All houses so marked would be passed over by the destroying angels. The Hebrews were ordered to make ready for a hasty departure, and to set out the moment the

out upon their march, taking with them the embalmed body of Joseph. They numbered 600,000 men on foot, besides the women and children. These, with the mixed multitude which followed them, and which consisted doubtless of people of Asiatic descent, nomadic in habit, who were glad to take this opportunity of escaping from Egypt, swelled the number of the Hebrew host to nearly three millions of people. They set out under the leadership of Moses, but their route was chosen for them by God, who guided them by a bright

cloud, which moved before the host by day, and a "pillar," or cloud, of fire, which performed the same office by night.

The march of such a large body was necessarily slow, and the Israelites were three days in reaching the head of the Red Sea, or Gulf of Suez, which then extended much farther northward than at present.

In the meantime Pharaoh had recovered his courage, and, regretting the permission he had given the Israelites to depart, determined to pursue them and compel them to

the Arabian shore by causing the waters to recede in a miraculous manner. The Israelites crossed over by the path thus opened. The Egyptian army, detecting the movement, at once gave pursuit. The sea instantly flowed back at the command of God and destroyed the Egyptian host. The Bible does not tell us that the king was drowned with his troops, nor do its assertions justify such an inference. That part of the army which made the pursuit, and not the king, was drowned, and Egyptian



MOUNT SINAI FROM THE PLAIN ER-RAHAH.

return to Egypt. He set out at the head of a large army, and by a forced march came up with them as they were encamped near the Red Sea. In a military sense the Israelitish position was a false one. In front of them was the sea: on their right a difficult mountain range; and on their left and in their rear the king of Egypt disposed his army so as to cut off their escape. Without divine aid they were lost. In this emergency God came to their assistance and opened a passage for them across the sea to

history makes it certain that Merenptah, who was the Pharaoh of the Exodus, lived many years after this event, and died from disease.*

The received chronology gives B. C. 1491 as the date of the Exodus.

* The language of the Bible is as follows: "And the Egyptians pursued, and went in after them to the midst of the sea, even all Pharaoh's horses, his chariots, and his horsemen. . . . And the waters returned, and covered the chariots, and the horsemen, and all the hosts of Pharaoh that came into the sea after them; there remained not so much as one of

Having reached the opposite shore of the Red Sea, the Israelites moved down the Peninsula of Sinai towards the mountain of that name. Had it been the design of the Almighty to conduct them at once to the Promised Land, he would have led them by the direct route which lay along

have exposed them to the risk of destruction by the Egyptian army, which was accustomed to use this route in its expeditions into Asia; and even had they escaped this danger, they would have been obliged to encounter the warlike tribes of the seashore of Canaan. To protect them from these



THE MOLTEN CALF.

the shore of the Mediterranean, past the modern El-Arish and Gaza. This would

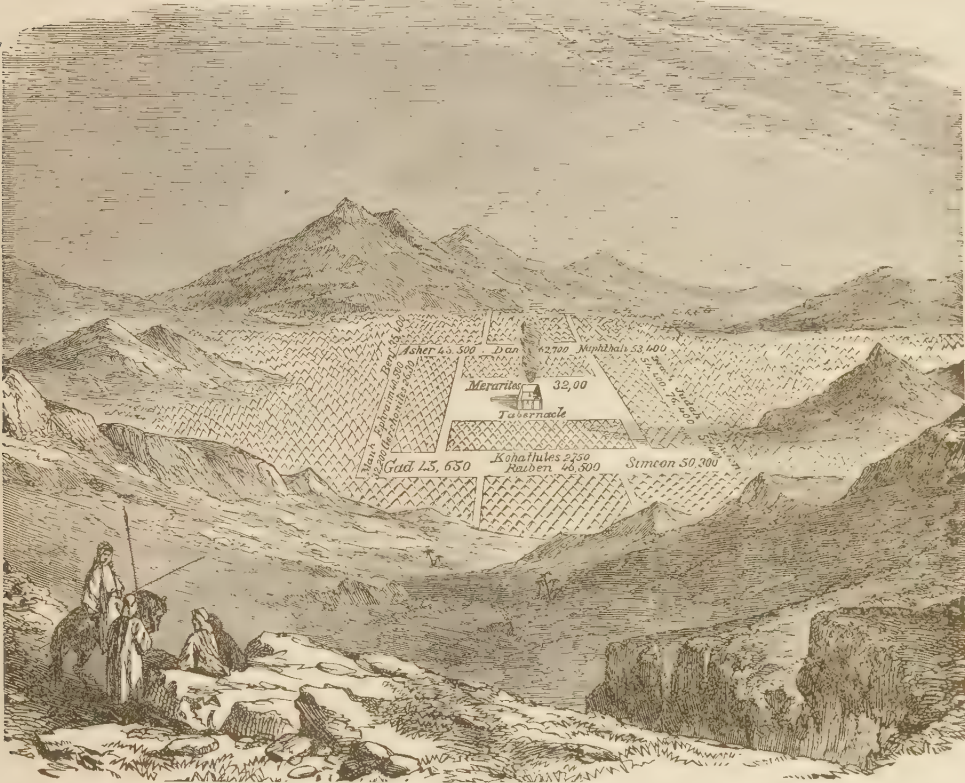
them." Many writers claim that this last clause disposes, in the language of the learned Dr. Wm. Smith, "of every theory which makes the Pharaoh of the Exodus survive this catastrophe;" but it seems clear that the portions which I have italicised make the true meaning of the Bible narrative plain beyond all chance of misconception. A few words will make this evident. Pharaoh had pursued the Israelites with a powerful army, the strength of which may be understood by the fact that it had 600 chariots attached to it. The chariot in ancient armies corresponded to the artillery of modern times, and required a certain proportion of infantry and cavalry to each chariot. An army with 600 chariots would therefore be very strong in infantry

dangers the route by way of the Red Sea was chosen. There was, however, another

and cavalry. That such was the case in this instance is also shown by the fact that the Egyptian king was pursuing a body of 3,000,000 people. The Egyptians found the Israelites encamped on the shores of the Red Sea. On the Hebrew right the range of Jebel Atakah cut off their escape, and in their front was the sea, too deep to be forded. The Egyptian king at once seized every available line of retreat, and supposed he had the Israelites in a trap from which escape was impossible. By the power of God the Egyptian camp was plunged in total darkness. (Gen. xiv. 19, 20.) When the Egyptian advanced forces discovered the withdrawal of the Israelites during the night, the king must have supposed that the Israelites had discovered some line

and a higher reason for this choice. The Israelites were not fit to enter upon their inheritance. They were to be carried through a course of instruction and discipline, which should make them truly a nation, and were to be taught a system of

which was to be found their national and individual salvation. They were to be purged of the taints which had clung to them from their long contact with the people and customs of Egypt, and to be made a "peculiar people," separate and distinct



THE CAMP OF ISRAEL IN THE WILDERNESS.

religious and civil legislation which was to constitute their national strength, and in

of retreat around the mountain range of Jebel Atakah. He knew the sea was too deep to be forded, and that his army closed every other line of escape. No conflict on any part of his line was reported to him, and the gloom which enshrouded his position rendered it impossible to obtain a clear idea of the nature of the Hebrew movement. He seems to have done what any skilful commander would have done under the circumstances. He threw forward his chariots and cavalry, "*all Pharaoh's horses, his chariots, and his horsemen,*" to ascertain the exact nature of this movement. These comprised a strong force, and we may be sure the king held his infantry ready to hasten to their support as soon as he should be reliably informed of the movements of the Hebrews. He would not have withdrawn his troops from the positions which commanded the Hebrew line of retreat to the desert north of the Red Sea, for that would have been a blunder with which we have no right to charge him. The darkness rendered the task assigned the

from any of the nations by whom they were to be surrounded, and to be endowed with

Egyptian cavalry and chariots a difficult one, and they did not discover their dangerous position in the midst of the sea until the break of day. Then the first glance filled them with terror, and the entire column became demoralized. In the vain attempt to escape the chariots broke down, and the troops became so confused as to be incapable of flight. The next moment they were engulfed by the returning waves, and not one of them escaped. I think a fair interpretation of the twenty-eighth verse of the fourteenth chapter of Exodus will show that it was only the pursuing column, or the light troops of the Egyptian army, evidently a numerous body, which perished. To suppose that the king risked his whole army in this uncertain pursuit is to believe him guilty of a gross violation of the simplest rules of military prudence and common sense. Having witnessed the destruction of his advanced column, Pharaoh evidently abandoned the undertaking and returned to Egypt.

those traits which should enable them to preserve forever their peculiarity upon which their whole future depended. No better place could be chosen for this work than the sublime solitudes of the Sinaitic desert, to which they were now conducted.

From the first God provided for the temporal wants of his people. He sweetened the bitter waters of the region through which they were marching, made water to come out of a rock for their nourishment, and sent them food, first in the form of quails, and finally in the shape of manna. This manna fell with the dew every morn-

From Rephidim the Israelites moved to Mount Sinai, and encamped in the plain and in the ravines in the vicinity of the sacred mountain.

A short season of preparation was given the Israelites, and then God descended upon Mount Sinai with a sublime display of his glory, and in the hearing of the whole people spoke the leading precepts of his law, which we call the Ten Commandments. The people, on their part, made a solemn covenant with God, in which they pledged themselves and their posterity to worship and serve him. Moses was then called up



THE HOLY PLACE OF THE TABERNACLE.

ing in the camp. Only a day's supply was permitted to be gathered, except on the sixth day, when enough was gathered to last for two days, in order that the people might scrupulously observe the Sabbath day. This supply from heaven continued every day for forty years, or during the entire sojourn of the Israelites in the desert.

Upon reaching Rephidim, which is believed to be identical with the Wady Feiran of to-day, the Israelites were attacked by the Amalekites, who sought to check their advance into the Peninsula. The Hebrew army was led by Joshua, the future conqueror of Palestine, and was victorious.

into the mountain and remained there for forty days, during which time God revealed to him the minute directions which he afterwards embodied in the code which we term "the law of Moses," and which constituted the religious and civil systems of the Hebrew nation. The Ten Commandments were engraven on tablets of stone by the hand of God.

Unable to account for the long absence of Moses on the mountain, the Israelites fell off from their covenant with God, and compelled Aaron to make a golden image of a calf, in imitation of the Egyptian god Apis. They gave themselves up to the



PRIEST.



HIGH PRIEST.



LEVITE.

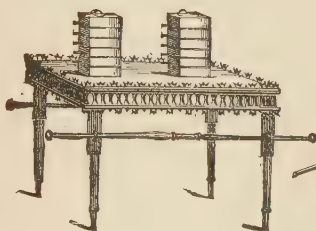
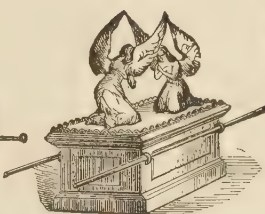


TABLE OF SHEW-BREAD.



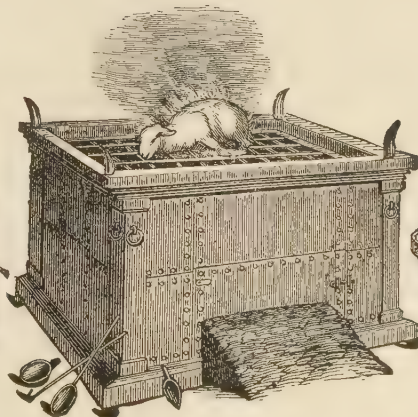
ARK.



GOLDEN CANDLESTICK.



ALTAR OF INCENSE.



ALTAR OF BURNT OFFERING.



LAVER.

worship of this idol, and Moses, upon coming down from the mountain, found them so engaged. His anger was overwhelming. Rallying the tribe of Levi, he fell upon the idolaters with the sword, slew a great number of them, and destroyed the idol. The people acknowledged the justice of their punishment, and promised to do better. For their zeal in the cause of the true faith upon this occasion, the Levites were made the sacerdotal class of the nation.

The Israelites remained at Sinai eleven months and twenty days, and during this



AARON IN THE DRESS OF THE HIGH PRIEST.

time the second celebration of the Passover was held. The long halt constituted one of the busiest portions of the life of the nation. The people had arrived at Sinai an unorganized mob, without institutions, without laws, almost ignorant of their God, and with no prescribed mode of religious worship. During the sojourn at Sinai the mob was fashioned into a compact and firmly-established nation, with a code of laws which has excited the admiration of all succeeding generations of mankind, and which remained substantially intact to the close of the career of the Hebrew nation.

The Tabernacle, or sacred tent, was constructed according to the pattern prescribed by God, and all the details of the religious ceremonial were carefully arranged. The priesthood was organized, and the succession to the sacred offices definitely arranged. The fundamental principle of the whole system, civil as well as religious, was the supreme authority of God over the Israelitish nation. "He was, in the literal sense of the word, their sovereign; and all other authority, both in political and civil affairs, was subordinate to the continual acknowledgment of his own. The other powers were instituted by God to administer affairs in accordance with his laws, but were not ordinarily chosen among the priests, descendants of Aaron, nor from the tribe of Levi, consecrated to the various functions of public worship. Each tribe had its civil authorities, although certain causes were reserved for the supreme central tribunal; but the unity of the nation was, above all, founded on unity in faith and worship, on the mighty recollections recalled each year by the solemn feasts: the Passover, or Feast of Unleavened Bread (commemorating the Exodus from Egypt); Pentecost (the promulgation of the law), and the Feast of Tabernacles, or tents (the sojourn in the desert). The one tabernacle, where the solemn sacrifices were offered, and where was deposited the ark, the symbol of the covenant made between God and his people, was equally the political and religious centre of the nation. The Mosaic law presents the spectacle, unique in the history of the world, of a legislation which was complete from the origin of a nation, and subsisted for long ages. In spite of frequent infractions, it was always restored, even although in its very sublimity it was in direct opposition to the coarse inclinations of the people whom it governed. He alone could impose it on the Israelites, who could say, 'I am the Lord thy God,' and confirm the words by forty years of miracles."

All things being arranged, Moses, at the command of God, took the census of the males of the nation, from twenty years and upwards, capable of bearing arms. The census was taken on the first day of the second month from the epoch of the Exodus (Jyar—May, 1490 B. C.), and placed the number of fighting men at 603,550. The host was divided into four camps, one of which was placed on each of the four sides

of the tabernacle, which stood in the centre of the whole camp.

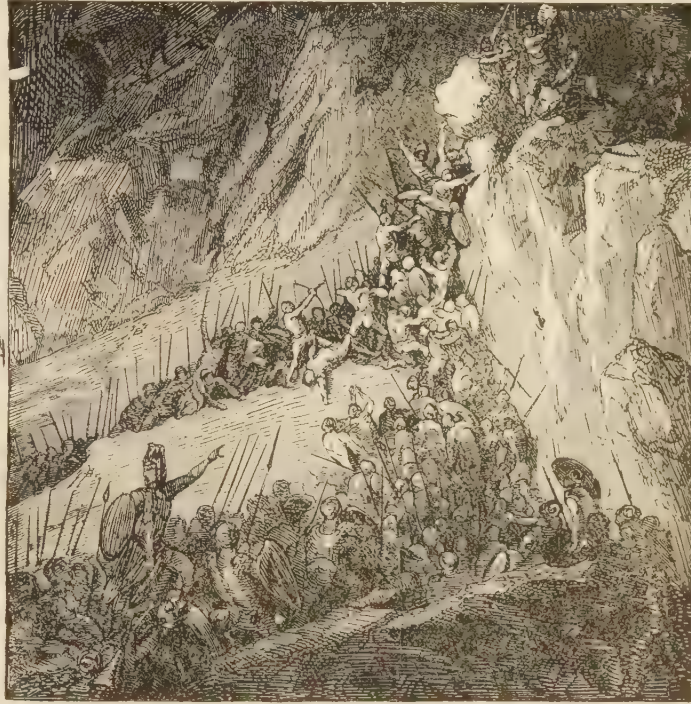
Thus organized, a nation and an army, the Israelites broke up their camp at Sinai on the twentieth day of their second year, or about May 20th, 1490 B. C., and resumed their march, led by the pillar of cloud, which had guided them since the memorable night of the Exodus, and which was to conduct them to the borders of the promised land. Thus, divinely guided, the Israelites went into the Wilderness of Paran.

After several halts the Israelites reached

Kadesh Barnea, near the borders of Palestine. From this place Moses sent twelve men, one from each tribe, into Palestine to examine the country and report the character of the people, their means of defence, the strength of their cities, and their numbers. The "spies," as they are termed, were absent forty days, during which time they explored the country from the Dead Sea to the slopes of Mount Hermon. Returning to Kadesh Barnea, they reported to Moses and the Israelitish leaders that the land was exceedingly fertile, but that its conquest by the Israelites would be impossible since its inhabitants were men of gigantic size, who dwelt in strongly fortified cities. This unfavorable report greatly excited the people.

In vain did Joshua and Caleb, who were of the "spies," declare to them that their colleagues had exaggerated the difficulties of the conquest, and endeavor to encourage them with a more favorable report. The people were panic-stricken, and the next morning broke into open mutiny and declared their intention to choose a chief who should conduct them back to Egypt. In vain did Moses and Aaron fall on their faces before the people; in

vain did Joshua and Caleb repeat their assurances of victory and conquest, and urge them not to rebel against God. The people took up stones and were about to kill the faithful four, when the glory of God suddenly blazed forth from the tabernacle, and brought the rebels to their senses. God spake to Moses, declaring that he would disinherit the rebellious nation and choose as his people the descendants of Moses. The great lawgiver earnestly interceded for his countrymen, and at length obtained their pardon. But, in pardoning them, Jehovah declared that he would punish the



THE ISRAELITES DEFEATED BY THE CANAANITES.

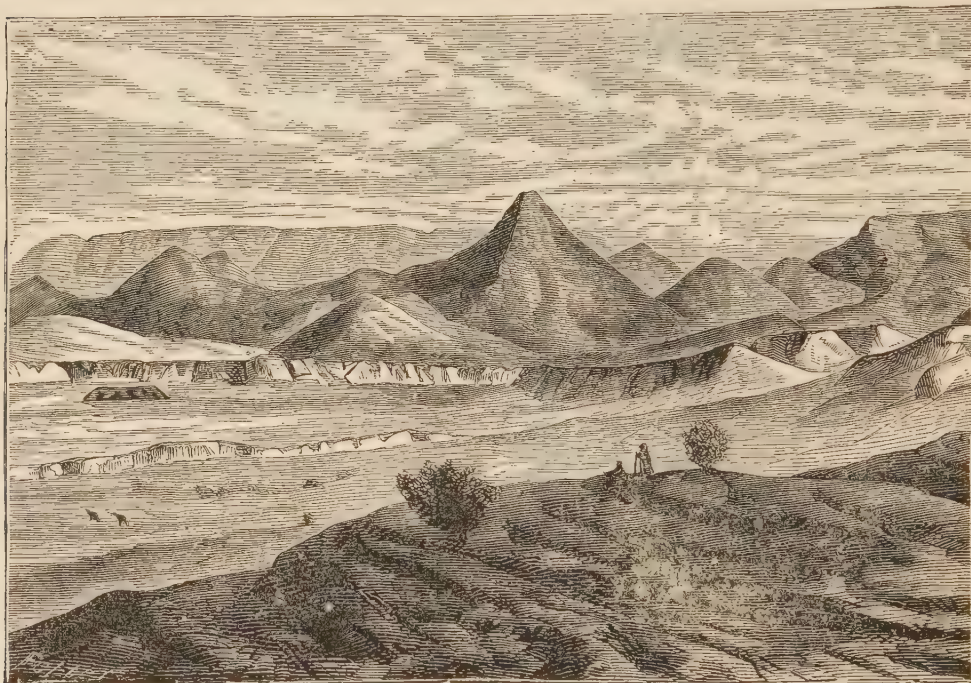
rebels. He informed Moses that, with the exception of Joshua and Caleb, not one of the men of the nation, from twenty years old and upward, should enter the promised land. They should all die in the wilderness, in which the tribes were condemned to wander for thirty-eight years longer. Their children should enter upon the promised inheritance.

Upon hearing this doom the Israelites were seized with remorse, and were eager to be led into Canaan; but the divine decree was irrevocable. The people persisted in

their determination, and, in spite of the warnings of Moses, who refused to accompany them, endeavored to force their way through a mountain pass which was held by the combined armies of the Canaanites and Amalekites. The Israelites suffered a bloody repulse, and were driven back into the desert.

For thirty-eight years the Israelites led a nomadic life, roaming through the desert which lies north of the peninsula of Sinai, to which the Arabs have given the name of *Et Tih*, or *Tih Beni Israel* (the Wander-

after the Exodus, Aaron, the brother of Moses and the high priest of the nation, died at Masera, in Mount Hor, at the age of one hundred and twenty-three years, and was buried there. Mount Hor was on the border of the territory of the Edomites, the descendants of Esau. Moses requested of the Edomites a free passage through their country for the hosts of Israel, offering to respect the property of the inhabitants, and to pay for even the water which his people used. This request was refused, and the Hebrews, who were forbidden by



WILDERNESS OF THE WANDERINGS.

ings of the Children of Israel). Their range extended from Kadesh Barnea on the north to the head of the Elanitic gulf (Gulf of Akabah) on the south. They do not appear to have been troubled by any of the neighboring tribes. During this period the males of the nation, from twenty years upward, died. The generation which succeeded them consisted of men trained to fatigue and war, hardy and courageous, and accustomed to freedom; a generation superior to that which had been reared in bondage in Egypt, and had suffered from the taint of that slavery.

At the beginning of the fortieth year

God to attack their kindred, turned southward, marched to the head of the Elanitic gulf, and turning the range of mountains, moved northward again, east of the territory of Edom. The Canaanites of Arad undertook to bar the way of the Israelites, but were defeated. The Edomites allowed the Israelites to march past their territory without molesting them. Moses was forbidden by God to attack the Moabites and Ammonites, who were descended from Lot.

The Hebrews had now reached the Arnon, a small stream which falls into the Dead Sea on its eastern side. This stream formed the southern boundary of a new kingdom,

which Sihon, an Amorite adventurer, had conquered from the Ammonites and Moabites. The Jabbok formed the northern boundary of this kingdom, and Sihon had established his capital at Heshbon. Moses sent a peaceful embassy to Sihon, asking for a free passage through his territory, promising to keep his people to the highway on their march, and to pay for everything they used. Sihon insolently refused this request, and marched with his army to attack the Israelites. He was completely routed, his capital was taken by storm, and his kingdom became the prize of the Hebrews. Og, the gigantic king of Bashan, whose territory extended from the Jabbok

curse upon the Israelites and devote them to destruction. Instead of cursing the chosen people, Balaam was compelled by the Almighty to bless them, and to predict to Balak their future triumphs. This scheme having failed, the allies undertook to seduce the Hebrews from their faith by inducing them to take part in their immoral and voluptuous worship of their god Baal-Peor. This design succeeded so well that Moses was obliged to resort to severe measures to check the evil. All the Hebrews guilty of the sin were put to death. A plague broke out in the camp and carried off 24,000 men. A war of extermination was begun against the Midianites, their



MOUNT NEBO.

to Mount Hermon, and who was also a successful Amorite adventurer, now took the field to avenge Sihon. He was defeated and killed, and his kingdom was conquered by the Israelites, who by these victories became masters of all the country east of the Jordan, from Mount Hermon to the Dead Sea.

The Israelitish host now encamped on the fertile plains opposite Jericho. Balak, the king of Moab, alarmed at the presence of so powerful a nation on his borders, made an alliance against them with the Midianites. Not deeming himself strong enough to attack the new comers, Balak endeavored to induce Balaam, a famous diviner from the country of the Ammonites, to lay a

armies were defeated, their country ravaged and an immense booty carried off.

A new census of the nation was now taken, and showed that there were 601,730 fighting men in the host.

The country that had been conquered east of the Jordan was very fertile and was admirably adapted to grazing purposes. Pleased with the region, the tribes of Reuben and Gad and the half-tribe of Manasseh asked permission of Moses to take this country as their inheritance, as they had numerous cattle. Moses sharply reproached them for sowing the seeds of division in the nation; but consented to the arrangement upon receiving the promise of these tribes that they would only leave their families

and their cattle in their new homes, while their fighting men would cross the Jordan with the other tribes and assist in the conquest of the promised land. The tribe of Reuben was given the southern part of the country east of the Jordan, from the Arnon to Mount Gilead; the tribe of Gad was assigned the country north of this, including Mount Gilead, to the southern end of the Sea of Chinneroth (the Sea of Galilee); and the half-tribe of Manasseh received the country north of Gad as far as

Kadesh to give water to his people. Moses assembled the entire nation, recited the law in their hearing, bestowed upon them a prophetic blessing, foretelling their future glories, named Joshua as his successor, and exhorted the people to remain faithful to Jehovah as the indispensable condition of individual and national happiness. He then took an affecting farewell of the nation, and at the command of God went up into Mount Nebo, from which God showed him the whole of the land.



MOSES VIEWING THE PROMISED LAND FROM MOUNT NEBO.

Mount Hermon. The two tribes and a half faithfully kept their pledges to their brethren and rendered good service in the conquest of the country west of the Jordan.

The work of Moses was now completed. He had brought the children of Israel to the border of the promised land at a point where they could easily enter it, and he was warned by God that his death was at hand. Both he and Aaron had been refused permission to enter the land, because of the failure of their faith when God had commanded them to speak to the rock in

which was to be the home of the Hebrews. "So Moses, the servant of the Lord, died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord. And he buried him in a valley in the land of Moab, over against Beth-peor; but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day. And Moses was an hundred and twenty years old when he died; his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated."

The Israelites spent thirty days in mourning the death of their great leader.

CHAPTER III.

THE CONQUEST OF CANAAN—THE JUDGES.

Joshua Succeeds Moses—Passage of the Jordan—Occupants of the Promised Land at the Time of the Conquest—Description of Palestine—Capture of Jericho, Ai, and Shechem—Defeat of the Five Canaanitish Kings—Division of Canaan Among the Tribes—Death of Joshua—Evils Which Followed His Death—A Period of Anarchy—The Judges—Character of the Office of Judge—Exploits of Ehud—Barak Defeats Sisera—Gideon's Victory—Eli, High Priest—Wickedness of his Sons—Birth of Samson—His Exploits and Death—Birth of Samuel—His Call to the Prophetic Office—Defeat of Israel by the Philistines—Capture of the Ark—Death of Eli—Samuel Judge of Israel—His Authority—The Israelites Demand a King—Samuel's Warning—Saul Chosen King of Israel.

AT the expiration of the thirty days of mourning for Moses—precisely forty years from the time of their departure from Egypt—the Israelites broke up their camp on the plains of Moab, and moved towards the Jordan, under the leadership of Joshua. The column was headed by the priests bearing the Ark of the Covenant. The Jordan was swollen with the spring freshets, and was too high to be forded. As the priests stepped into the stream, bearing the sacred ark, the waters were miraculously divided, as the Red Sea had been, and a broad path was opened along which the host passed to the western shore of the river and entered Palestine (April, B. C. 1451). That night the Israelites encamped at Gilgal, on the plains of Jericho. Here the supply of manna ceased, and from this time the people lived upon the products of the country they had come to conquer.

It will be well to glance at the character of the people against whom the arms of Israel were now to be turned.

During the patriarchal period, the Promised Land was occupied by a number of tribes of Canaanitish origin, descendants of Canaan, the fourth son of Ham. Canaanite properly signifies

sometimes used to designate a particular tribe occupying a certain portion of Palestine; but in its more general sense it was applied to all the inhabitants of the Holy Land, and included seven different nations. These were :

"I. The *Canaanites*, the 'lowlanders, who inhabited the plain on the lower Jordan, and that on the sea-shore. These plains were the richest and most important part of the country.

“II. The *Perizzites* seem, next to the Canaanites, to have been the most important tribe. . . . In Judges i. 4, 5, they are placed in the southern part of the Holy Land, and in Joshua xvi. 15-18, they occupy, with the Rephaim, or giants, the ‘forest country’ in the western flanks of Mount Carmel.

“III. The *Hittites*, or children of Heth, were a small tribe at Hebron, of whom Abraham purchased the Cave of Machpelah. They are represented as a peaceful people.



EMBLEMS ON THE STANDARDS OF THE TRIBES.

“IV. The *Amorites*, ‘mountaineers,’ a warlike tribe, occupied first the barrier

heights west of the Dead Sea, at the same place which afterwards bore the name of En-gedi, stretching westward towards Hebron. At the time of the conquest they had crossed the Jordan and occupied the rich tract bounded by the Jabbok on the north and the Arnon on the south, the

by the Philistines, a strong and warlike nation, concerning whose origin authorities differ, some claiming for them a Hamitic and others a Semitic descent. It seems most probable that they were descendants of Ham. They are supposed, by those who favor the latter view, to have come into



SHEKEL OF THE SANCTUARY.

Jordan on the west, and the wilderness on the east.

"V. The *Hivites* are first named at the time of Jacob's return to the Holy Land, where they occupied Shechem. At the time of the conquest by Joshua, they were living on the northern confines of Western Palestine.

"VI. The *Jebusites*, a mountain tribe, occupying Jebus (Jerusalem), where they continued to dwell with the children of Judah and Benjamin to a late date.

"VII. The *Girgasites*, whose position is quite uncertain." *

During the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, several important changes took place in the character and location of the inhabitants of Palestine. The maritime nation of Phœnicia, lying immediately upon the north of Palestine, had grown up silently and rapidly, and had become the most enlightened and the wealthiest community of the ancient world. Phœnicia had not attained its greatest point of prosperity and power at the time of the conquest of Palestine by the Israelites, and did not reach it until about 1050 B. C. At the time of Israel's entry into Palestine, the Phœnicians, whose country lay along the northern sea-coast, and was included within the limits of the heritage of the tribes, had secured a firm hold upon their territory, and were in a condition to defend it stubbornly against the new-comers.

The sea-board of the Holy Land proper, on the coast south of Phœnicia, was held

by the Philistines, a strong and warlike nation, concerning whose origin authorities differ, some claiming for them a Hamitic and others a Semitic descent. It seems most probable that they were descendants of Ham. They are supposed, by those who favor the latter view, to have come into Palestine from Egypt; the advocates of their Semitic origin, on the other hand, regard them as having crossed over from the island of Crete. They are believed to have come into Canaan before the days of Abraham, and during his sojourn in that country they were a pastoral tribe in the neighborhood of Gerar. During the patriarchal period and the residence of Israel in Egypt, the Philistines aban-

doned their nomadic habits, and grew into a permanent and powerful nation. They settled in the fertile plain which bordered the sea-coast, and which was in consequence called the Plain of Philistia. The immense fertility of this plain was the secret of their wealth and prosperity. In times of scarcity and famine



PROMONTORY AND CONVENT OF MOUNT CARMEL.

all the neighboring nations looked to them for bread. The low country which they inhabited was favorable to their growth as a military power, as it enabled them to move their troops with ease and rapidity, and admitted of the manœuvres of war chariots, "the artillery of the ancients," in

* Dr. Wm. Smith.

which they were always very strong. They are believed also to have possessed a navy, as they are several times mentioned by profane historians in accounts of naval expedi-



SCENE ON THE JORDAN.

tions and battles. Gaza and Askelon were seaports. Numerous well-fortified cities were built by the Philistines in the plain, the undulating character of which offered many admirable sites for such strongholds.

Thus the two most prominent nations occupying Palestine at the time of the conquest by the Israelites were, the Phœnicians, on the north, and the Philistines, on the south; for it will be remembered that the Land of *Promise* extended from the Arabian Desert to the Mediterranean, and from the Desert of Sinai to "the entering in of Hamath," the name given in Scripture to the low range of hills which forms the water-sheds between the Orontes and the Litâny. The northern part, or Phœnicia, was never occupied by the Israelites. The Philistine plain was a source of constant contention, and was rarely ever a secure and peaceful possession

of Israel. The Land of *Possession* extended only from Dan, on the north, to Beersheba, on the south.

As regards the land itself, it was in many respects a remarkable country. It is singularly disproportioned in size to its importance in history. Palestine is a small territory, about as large as the principality of Wales, or the State of New Jersey. Its extreme length from north to south is about 180 miles, and its average breadth about forty-five miles, giving it an area of about 8,000 square miles. It lies between latitude $30^{\circ} 40'$ and $33^{\circ} 42'$ north, and longitude $33^{\circ} 45'$ and $35^{\circ} 48'$ east. It is bounded on the north by Syria, on the east by the Jordan and the country now known as the Haurân, on the south by the Desert of Et Tih, and on the west by the Mediterranean. It lies in Western Asia, to the north of Egypt, and to the east and north of Arabia.

It is essentially a mountainous country. It possesses no independent mountain ranges, and is surpassed by other lands in the height and grandeur of its mountains; "but every part of the highland is in greater or less undulation." The mountain region occupies the centre of the country, and is bordered on each side, both on the east and on the west, by lowlands, extending from the foot of the uplands to the boundaries of Palestine. On the west this



SEA OF GALILEE, FROM THE NORTHWEST COAST.

lowland spreads out into the two great plains of Philistia and Sharon, which extend from the foot of the mountains to the sea. On the east the mountains are bor-

dered by the remarkable depression of the Jordan Valley, which is continued by the still more remarkable depression of the Dead Sea and by the Ghor. "The slopes or cliffs which form, as it were, the retaining walls of this depression are furrowed and cleft by the torrent beds which discharge the waters of the hills, and form the means of communication between the upper and lower levels. These three features—the mountains, the plains, and the torrent beds—make up the principal physical characteristics of the Holy Land."

battle-field of Palestine. North of this plain the mountains are met again, first in the low hills of Galilee, and rising higher until Hermon and the Lebanons are reached. The mountains once more push their way out to the sea, and terminate in the white headland of Ras Nakhûra. North of this is the ancient Phœnicia.

The mountainous region has a generally uniform height along its entire course, averaging from 1,500 to 1,800 feet above the level of the Mediterranean Sea. "It can hardly be denominated a plateau," says



THE FALL OF JERICHO.

A little more than half way up the coast, the plain is suddenly broken by a bold spur of the mountain range, which leaves the central mass and runs abruptly to the northwest to the sea, terminating there in the magnificent promontory of Mount Carmel, which is the name of the entire spur or ridge. North of Carmel the plain begins again, and this time pushes back the mountains and extends entirely across Palestine to the Jordan Valley. This is the plain of Esdraelon, or Jezreel, the great

Dr. Smith, "yet so evenly is the general level preserved, and so thickly do the hills stand behind and between one another, that when seen from the coast or the western part of the maritime plain, it has quite the appearance of a wall." This appearance of monotony, however, is broken at intervals by greater elevations, which form the prominent features of the landscape. The water-shed of the country lies between these highest points, and on either hand the numerous torrent beds descend to the

Jordan Valley on the east, and the Mediterranean Sea on the west. The eastern valleys are very steep and rugged, especially in the southern and central portions of the country; but those on the west slope more gradually. The level of the maritime plain being higher than that of the Jordan Valley, gives them a more gradual descent, and this is made easier by the greater distance intervening between the mountains and the sea than between the mountains and the Jordan. As upon the eastern side, so upon the western, the valleys or wadies form the only means of communication between the plains and the mountains. All the roads from the borders to the interior lie along these valleys. These mountain passes, for such they are, constitute a peculiar feature of Palestine, and in ancient times were of the greatest importance to it. Being difficult, they presented very great obstacles to an armed force encumbered with a camp train or baggage. Though the western passes were easier than those of the eastern border, they were still difficult, and rendered it no slight task for an enemy to enter the Israelitish territory. The Israelites, secure in their mountain fastness, were often unmolested, while the cities of the plain below them were taken and retaken by the contending forces of Egypt and Asia. While the plain of Esdraelon became the great battle-field of Palestine, the mountains were comparatively exempt from war.

The Jordan formed the eastern boundary of the Promised Land. It is one of the most remarkable rivers in the world. Rising on the slopes of Mount Hermon it flows through an extraordinary depression, known as the Jordan Valley, and passing through Lake Huleh and the Lake of Tiberias, or Sea of Galilee, finally empties into the Dead Sea. Its source is 1,700 feet *above* the level of the Mediterranean; its mouth is 1,317 feet *below* the level of that sea, making the total descent of the river 3,017 feet. The length of the river is 200 miles; the distance in a straight line is sixty miles. The Jordan was never navigable, and in ancient times was passed only by its fords. It was not until the Roman conquest that bridges were thrown over it. No cities stood on its banks. Jericho and the other towns were located at some distance back from the river.

The first task devolving upon the Israelites after their entrance into Palestine was

the capture of the strong city of Jericho, which stood immediately in front of their place of crossing the river, and commanded the Jordan Valley. As the Israelites possessed no means of laying siege to the city, God came to their assistance; the walls of the town were thrown down in a miraculous manner, and the Israelites entering over the ruined fortifications, put the people to the sword and destroyed the city. Only one family, that of "Rahab the harlot," was exempted from the general massacre. She had received and befriended the spies which Joshua had sent into the city before its fall, and they had promised protection to her and her household. She subsequently became the wife of one of the spies, and was the ancestress of David. Advancing up the Jordan Valley, Joshua turned to the left and captured the stronghold of Ai, near Bethel, by stratagem, and moving rapidly to Shechem carried that place without a blow, and planted himself in the heart of the country.

The Canaanitish tribes now recovered from the surprise and dismay into which the rapid and successful movements of the Israelites had thrown them, and formed a general coalition against the invaders. Joshua defeated the combined forces of the Canaanitish kings in the great battle of Bethhoron, in which the day is said to have been miraculously prolonged in order to give the Israelites an opportunity to complete their victory. The kings of the five Canaanitish nations were made prisoners, and were hanged. This victory was followed by the capture by the Israelites, in quick succession, of the cities of Makkedah, Libnah, Lachish, Egion, Hebron, and Debir, the inhabitants of which were exterminated. These successes made the Israelites masters of Southern Palestine.

A second coalition was now formed against the Hebrews, and consisted of all the tribes of Northern Palestine. Its leader was Jabin, king of Hazor. Joshua routed this force on the banks of Lake Merom (now Lake Huleh), and Jabin was made prisoner and put to death. A number of the cities of Northern Palestine now fell into the hands of the Israelites, and their inhabitants were killed. The Anakim of Southern Palestine were then attacked and exterminated. Six or seven years were spent in these conquests, and at length the Israelites were masters of the Promised Land from the foot of Hermon to the borders of



DEFEAT OF THE FIVE CANAANITE KINGS BY JOSHUA.

Edom. The Canaanites still held a number of their strongest cities in the midst of the Hebrew conquests; the Philistines held the sea-coast, and Phœnicia had not as yet been molested.

Joshua was now very old, and decided to suspend his conquests, and devote his remaining years to establishing his people firmly in the lands they had won. He was now commanded to divide the Promised Land by lot among the nine tribes and a half; the two and a half having received their allotment east of the Jordan from Moses, and the Levites having no special territory assigned them. The withdrawal of the Levites from the number of the tribes to devote themselves especially to the service of God, was made up by the division of the tribe of Joseph into the two tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. The territory divided among the tribes included many places still occupied by the Canaanites and Philistines, and Joshua left to each tribe the task of reducing such places within its limits.

The tribe of Judah received the South Country. Its southern border touched the Edomite territory and the desert, and its northern border was a line drawn from the mouth of the Jordan westward to the sea. This line passed on the south side of Jerusalem, which was thus in the territory of Benjamin. The eastern border was the Jordan, the western the Mediterranean. A large part of the Philistine plain was included in this allotment. The children of Joseph were given the central portion of the country, from the Jordan to the Mediterranean. Of this region Ephraim had the southern part. His southern border "was drawn from the Jordan along the north side of the plain of Jericho to Bethel, whence it took a bend southward to Beth-horon, and thence up again to the sea near Joppa. The northern border passed west from the Jordan opposite the mouth of the Jabbok, past Michmethah to the mouth of the river Kanah." It included the sacred valley of Shechem and the maritime plain of Sharon. The half-tribe of Manasseh held the region north of Ephraim as far as the range of Mount Carmel and the plain of Esdraelon, from the Jordan to the sea. Benjamin was given the hilly region north of Judah, and south of Ephraim, from the Jordan as far west as Jerusalem. Dan was given the region between Ephraim in the north, Judah on the south, Benjamin on

the east, and the Mediterranean on the west. This region was almost entirely occupied by the Philistines. For this reason, and because their territory was too small for them, a part of the people of Dan marched northward, and took the city of Leshem or Laish, at the sources of the Jordan. They named the city Dan, and acquired considerable territory around it. It became the great northern landmark of the Promised Land, as Beersheba was the southern, the phrase "from Dan even to Beersheba" being commonly used to describe the whole extent of the land from north to south. The tribe of Simeon was given an inheritance out of Judah's portion, and was settled in the southwestern part of the maritime plain. Their frontier bordered the desert from Beersheba to Gaza; and their sea-coast extended as far north as Askelon. Issachar received the great and fertile valley of Jezreel, sometimes called the plain of Esdraelon. Zebulun was given the mountain range which borders the plain of Esdraelon on the north, and which in later times formed the upper part of Lower Galilee. He had a small strip of sea-coast north of Mount Carmel, and his eastern border included the Sea of Chinneroth (Sea of Galilee). Asher was given the plain along the Mediterranean from Mount Carmel, northward, including a great part of Phœnicia. The Israelites never attempted to gain the Phœnician part of their inheritance, and Asher's northern frontier was really the Phœnician border south of Tyre. His territory extended eastward about half-way across Palestine. Naphtali was given the country north of Zebulun to Mount Hermon and between the Jordan and the dominions of Asher.

The two tribes and a half belonging east of the Jordan were dismissed with their share of the spoils, and with blessings, and returned to their homes beyond the river.

Feeling that his end was close at hand, Joshua assembled representatives of the whole nation at Shechem, and after rehearsing the great goodness of God to them, urged them to remain faithful to the worship of Jehovah and the law of Moses, and to continue the war against the Canaanites until they had finally driven them from the entire land. The crimes of the Canaanitish race had caused the Almighty to devote it to extermination, and the Israelites were specially charged with this mission. Joshua reminded them of this, and predicted great

misfortunes for his people if they abandoned their faith, or neglected to execute God's purposes with respect to the Canaanites, or mixed with them. The people solemnly promised to obey him, and renewed their covenant with God. Joshua then set up in the place of the assembly a monumental stone as a witness of this vow of the nation.

Soon after this, Joshua died at the age of one hundred and twenty-seven years. He had been the ruler of Israel for twenty-five years, and was greatly mourned by the nation.

Unfortunately for his people, Joshua failed to name a successor, and the nation was left without a head. As long as the elders who had been his contemporaries lived, the people retained their reverence for the law and were faithful to the worship of Jehovah. When these died, divisions and dissensions began to creep in among the tribes, alienating them from each other. No determined effort was made to conquer the cities which remained in the hands of the Canaanites. The northern tribes began to manifest an indifference to the national ties, and made the best terms they could with the Canaanites in their midst. The efforts of the Israelites to conquer the country of the Philistines were repulsed, and as a rule the coast cities remained in the possession of that warlike people. The intercourse which sprang up between the Israelites and the Canaanites was quick to produce evil consequences. The great religious centre of the nation was Shiloh, where the Tabernacle and the Ark of the Covenant had been set up. Now the Altar of God began to be more and more neglected, and the idolatrous worship of the Canaanites was introduced among the people. Quarrels broke out among the tribes, in one of which the tribe of Benjamin was nearly exterminated by the other tribes. The state of affairs is strikingly described in the following words from the Book of Judges (xxi. 25): "There was no king in Israel; every man did that which was right in his own eyes." There was no central political authority, and although God was, by the very fundamental principle of the Hebrew system, the King of his people, yet the spread of idolatry now became so great that the moral restraints which had bound the Hebrews to their sovereign were almost unheeded. The consequence was division and weakness. The Canaanites and Philistines were quick to perceive this, and en-

deavored to avenge their past grievances by bringing the Israelites under their yoke. God delivered the Israelites into the power of their enemies, who oppressed them cruelly, and so unconsciously executed the Divine justice upon the sinful nation. When the sufferings of the Israelites became intolerable, they awoke to a sense of their crimes, and in penitential sorrow cried to God for aid, and he heard them, and raised up deliverers for them in the persons of heroes who defeated their oppressors and re-established their independence. As soon as the danger was over, however, the Israelites sank back into idolatry, and were roused from it only by fresh subjugation.

The deliverers thus raised up by God were called Judges. Having rescued the people from their enemies, they became their governors or rulers, discharging their functions in accordance with the expression of the Divine will, which was ascertained in a prescribed manner. They led the armies in battle, and directed the public affairs in peace. The judge neither held the position nor exercised the power of a king; his office was but a little elevated above the mass of the people. The position was not hereditary, the judge being supernaturally designated by revelation to himself or to others. The exercise of his powers depended upon the consent of the people; and his authority did not always extend over the whole nation. Once appointed, he retained his office for life; but his successor was not always chosen immediately upon his death. Intervals, sometimes very long, occurred between the judges, in which the nation was either without a ruler, or subject to some foreign conqueror. There were fifteen judges in all, whose names are given in the Bible. The period of the judges extended through several centuries and its chronology is uncertain. The dates commonly assigned for the events of this period cannot be trusted.

During the lifetime of the generation which followed the conquest, a king of Western Mesopotamia, called in the Bible Chushan-rishathaim, pushed his dominions from the Euphrates to the borders of Canaan, reduced the Israelites to a state of dependence, and made them tributary to him for eight years, during which time he grievously oppressed them. At length God raised up Othniel, the nephew of Caleb, the contemporary of Moses and Joshua; he defeated the invaders and restored the in-

dependence of his countrymen, who remained unmolested for forty years.

At the end of this time Eglon, King of Moab, who had made an alliance with the Ammonites and the Amalekites, crossed the Jordan, defeated the Israelites, and established himself near the site of Jericho. He kept the Israelites in bondage for eighteen years. At the end of this time, Ehud, a Benjamite, succeeded in assassinating Eglon as he was presenting to the king the tribute required of his tribe. He made his escape, rallied the Israelites, and drove the Moabites beyond the Jordan, inflicting upon them a loss of 10,000 men. This success won for parts of Palestine a rest of twenty-four years; but this repose did not extend to the whole country.

Shamgar is mentioned in the Bible as the third of the judges. At the head of a body of laborers armed only with agricultural implements, he defeated a force of Philistines, himself slaying 600 of them with an ox-goad.

After the death of Ehud, the Israelites fell into sin again, and God delivered them into the power of the Canaanite Jabin, King of Hazor, a descendant of the monarch whom Joshua had defeated, and like him the head of a great confederacy in Northern Palestine. He had 900 chariots of iron in his army, which was commanded by a great soldier named Sisera. He overran Northern Palestine and reduced it to slavery. This bondage continued for twenty years.

Deborah, a prophetess, at this time administered justice to the Israelites under a palm grove between Ramah and Bethel, in Mount Ephraim. Smarting under the wrongs of her people, she summoned Barak, the son of Abinoam, of Kedesh, in Naphtali, to head an effort for the freedom of the nation, promising him that God would give him the victory. Barak responded promptly, stipulating that Deborah should accompany him. She consented, but warned him that he would reap no honor from the battle, as God would sell Sisera into the hands of a woman. Barak collected the forces of Naphtali, Zebulun, and Issachar, with a few men from Ephraim, Manasseh, and Benjamin, in all about 10,000 men, and took position on Mount Tabor. Sisera at once marched to meet him with the army of Jabin. Barak attacked him on the banks of the Kishon, and, aided by a fierce storm which overflowed the stream and

destroyed a part of the Canaanitish army, routed him with terrible loss. Sisera fled away on foot, and took shelter in the tent of Heber the Kenite, in Northern Palestine. Jael, the wife of Heber, killed him in his sleep, and so fulfilled Deborah's prophecy. Barak took the city of Harosheth, the home of Sisera, and afterwards Hazor, the capital of Jabin, and killed the king. Receiving aid from the other tribes he continued the war until he had freed the whole country. These triumphs won a period of forty years of peace for the tribes that had taken part in the war.

The next punishment which the Israelites experienced was of a more severe nature. Their idolatry became so great that God delivered them into the power of the Midi-



JAEI KILLING SISERA.

anites, who, with the Amalekites and the Bedawin tribes of the East, made repeated forays into Palestine, and ravaged the country as far as Gaza, carrying off everything they could transport, and destroying what they could not take with them. The Israelites were obliged to hide with their cattle and crops in caves in the earth, and to dwell in fortified cities. This state of affairs continued for seven years, and at length the people, humble and repentant, cried to God for deliverance. He heard them, and summoned Gideon, the son of Joash, of the tribe of Manasseh, to lead the movement, and encouraged him with a promise of success. Gideon overthrew the

altar of Baal and assembled a force of 32,000 Israelites. The Midianites and their allies, under their most famous chieftains, at once took the field to crush the insurrection. Gideon took position on the heights of Mount Gilboa, while the Arab tribes held the valley of Jezreel below. Confident of success, Gideon gave leave to all his men who wished to depart to do so, and 22,000 at once slunk away, leaving only 10,000 to meet the enemy. It was not God's purpose to employ even this force, however, for he wished to show the Israelites that their salvation was from him. He ordered Gideon to select 300 warriors by a given test, and to hold the rest of his force as a reserve. The 300 chosen men were divided by Gideon into three bands, and with these he surprised the Midianite camp by night. His men were armed with trumpets and with torches enclosed in pitchers of earthenware. At a given signal each man blew his trumpet, broke his pitcher, and disclosed his torch, and shouted, "The Sword of the Lord and of Gideon!" The enemy aroused from sleep, were seized with a panic, turned their swords upon each other, and abandoning their camp fled towards the Jordan. They were pursued by the remainder of Gideon's army, and were exterminated. Scarcely a man escaped over the Jordan. This great victory completely broke the Midianite power, and freed Israel. The grateful Israelites offered to make Gideon their king, but he refused to accept the crown, and ruled them many years as a judge. His rule was not altogether beneficial to the Israelites, as idolatry was almost openly encouraged by him. After his death one of his sons, named Abimelech, made himself King of Shechem and the neighboring country. His reign lasted but three years, and he was killed by a woman while besieging a town that had refused to recognize his authority.

The next judge was Tola, who ruled for twenty-three years. He was succeeded by Jair, the Gileadite, whose rule extended over twenty-two years. Their administrations were uneventful. We know, however, that idolatry became so prevalent in Israel during this period that God again gave the people into the hands of their enemies. The Ammonites subdued the tribes east of the Jordan, and held them in subjection for eighteen years. During this period they frequently crossed the Jordan and ravaged the land of Judah, Benjamin

and Ephraim. The people east of the Jordan chose as their leader a man named Jephthah, the chief of an outlaw band occupying Mount Gilead. He defeated the Ammonites in a great battle, and freed the country. He made a vow at the outset of his campaign that, if God would give him the victory, he would sacrifice to Jehovah the first living being which he should meet at the door of his house on his return home. Returning home the first one that met him was his daughter. Jephthah felt himself bound by his vow, and his daughter offered no resistance. She asked only for a respite of two months, which was granted to her, and at the end of this time Jephthah fulfilled his vow and sacrificed his child. This sacrifice was directly opposed to the law of Moses, and shows how far the Israelites east of the Jordan had fallen away from the precepts of that law. Jephthah judged Israel for six years after his victory, and was buried in Mount Gilead.

Ibzan, a Zebulunite, was the next judge. He encouraged a greater degree of intercourse with the surrounding nations by marrying his children to foreign husbands and wives. He judged Israel seven years. He was succeeded by Elon, another Zebulunite, whose term lasted ten years, and was uneventful. The next judge was Abdon, the son of Hillel, the Pirathonite. He filled an uneventful term of eight years. He is believed by some writers to be identical with Bedan, who is enumerated by Samuel among the judges.

The successes of the judges seem to have broken the power of the Canaanites, for we do not hear of them any more. The sins of the Israelites were still great, however, and God brought upon them a new and more formidable enemy in the fierce and warlike nation of the Philistines, the inhabitants of the sea-coast of Southern Palestine. They extended their power over all the south of Palestine, reducing the territories of Simeon, Judah, Benjamin, and Dan to subjection. This bondage was of a very severe nature, and lasted forty years.

At this time the judge of Israel was Eli, of the house of Ithamar, Aaron's youngest son. We do not know when the high-priesthood was transferred from the house of Eleazar to that of Ithamar, or the reason for the change, but it appears to have had the divine sanction, and was only reversed as a punishment for the sins of the house of Eli. Eli himself was a man of sincere

and exemplary piety. He resided at Shiloh, with the tabernacle, and his authority was generally acknowledged by the Israelites. His sons were vicious and profligate men, whose crimes disgraced the priesthood; but Eli weakly and sinfully passed them over, and allowed his sons to retain their sacred offices. A prophet was sent to warn him that he would be punished for his weakness, that his sons would be killed, and that his family would lose the august office they had not known how

be put upon his head. This child, when he grew to manhood, was to accomplish great things for his people against the Philistines. Samson came to man's estate just as the oppression of the Philistines had reached its severest stage. There was constant war between the Israelites and their oppressors, and the sturdy warriors of the tribe of Dan lived in a fortified camp near Kirjath-jearim. Here the "spirit of Jehovah began to move Samson at times." He was possessed of more than mortal strength,



SAMSON'S RIDDLE.

to fill. Eli did no more than remonstrate with his sons, and permitted them to continue in their wicked ways.

During the judgeship of Eli God raised up two champions for Israel, in the persons of Samson and Samuel. Samson was a member of that part of the tribe of Dan which dwelt to the westward of Judah. His birth had been foretold by the angel of God to his parents, and they had been commanded to raise the child as a Nazarite, to keep him from all unclean food and strong drink, and not to permit a razor to

and was fearless and incapable of fatigue. Conscious of his powers he determined to provoke a quarrel with the Philistines; and with this view asked the hand of a woman of Timnath. On his way to visit her he slew a lion by seizing it by the mouth and tearing its jaws apart. He left the carcass by the wayside, and told no one of the exploit. Returning that way soon after he saw that a swarm of bees had taken up their abode in the carcass. He ate of the honey he found there, but told no one. At his marriage feast he made use of this cir-

cumstance to propound a riddle to the thirty young men assigned him as grooms-men, the riddle to be solved within the week of the marriage feast, for a stake of thirty tunics and thirty changes of raiment. The young men, by threatening to burn Samson's wife and her family, if she refused, induced her to ask her husband the answer. Samson, who was always fatally subject to the wiles of woman, weakly told her, and she revealed the answer to her kinsmen, who, on the appointed day, gave the proper solution. Samson at once saw through the trick, and, flinging the treachery of the Philistines in their teeth, left the city, went down to Askelon, slew thirty men of that city, sent their clothing to their fellow-countrymen who had guessed his riddle, and went back to his own country. His wife was given to one of his groomsmen, and he was forbidden to see her. In revenge for this wrong, he burned the standing harvests of the Philistines. They retaliated by burning his wife and her father; and he took vengeance upon them by attacking them and slaying a great number of them. He then took refuge in the territory of Judah. From this time there was constant war between the Philistines and Samson, in which the latter repeatedly displayed the most extraordinary strength. On one occasion he slew a thousand of their men with no other weapon than the jaw-bone of an ass. As long as he remained faithful to his Nazarite's vow he escaped every snare set for him, but at length he yielded to the temptations to which his strong animal nature exposed him, and was ruined. He formed a fatal connection with a woman named Delilah, who lived in the valley of Sorek. The Philistines bribed her to betray her lover, who, yielding at last to her entreaties, told her the secret of his strength. As he lay asleep in her arms his enemies stole upon him, cut off his hair in which lay his strength, and made him a prisoner. They put out his eyes, bound him in fetters, and led him down to Gaza, where they forced him to perform the menial office of grinding the prison mill. God had punished him sorely, but had not deserted him, and as his hair grew his strength returned. Shortly after this the lords and chief people of the Philistines held a great feast in the temple of Dagon, at Gaza, and brought Samson out and compelled him to amuse them with his feats of strength. They then allowed

him to rest between the two pillars which supported the roof of the court, which, as well as the court itself, was crowded with people to the number of 3,000. With a wild prayer to God for strength to avenge himself upon his enemies, the blind champion grasped the two pillars in his arms and bore upon them with all his might. They yielded and the house fell, killing Samson and all the assembly. "So the dead which he slew at his death were more than they which he slew in his life." His kinsmen took up his body, and buried it with his fathers. Samson is usually reckoned as the thirteenth of the judges, but his authority does not appear to have extended beyond his own tribe.

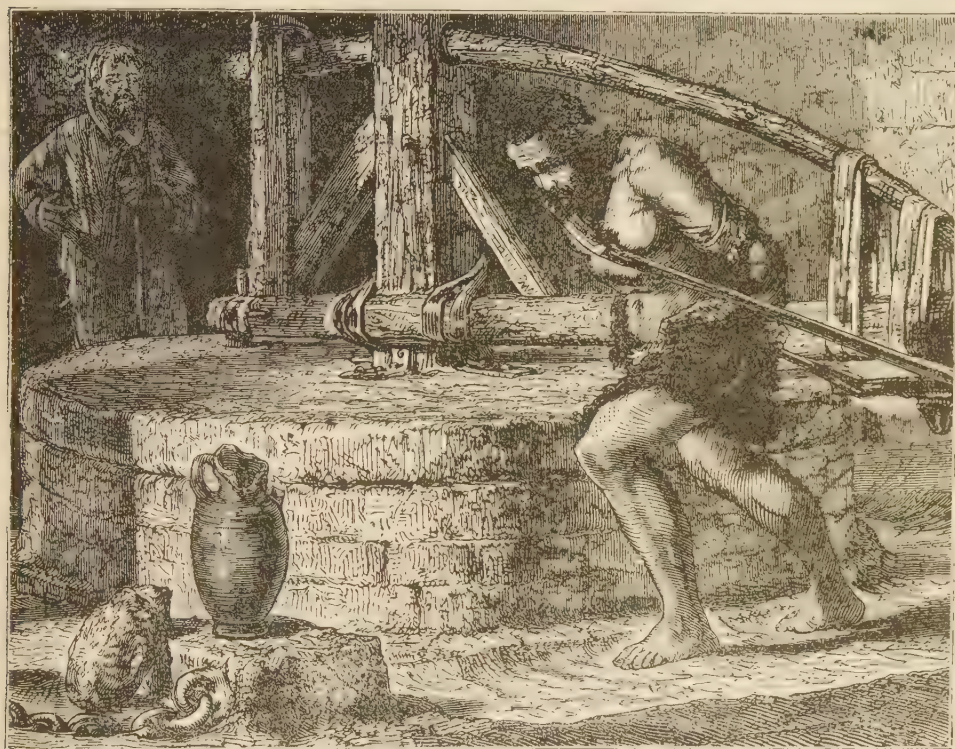
Samuel, the fifteenth and last of the judges, was, like Samson, a child of promise. His father, Elkanah, was a descendant of Korah, and a member of the tribe of Levi. He was settled at Ramathaim-zophim. He had two wives, a rare thing in a private person of that day. One of these, Peninnah, was the mother of several children; but the other, Hannah, the favorite wife, was barren. The family went up regularly to Shiloh to observe the festivals of their religion. As they feasted upon the free-will offering Elkanah bestowed upon Hannah a mark of his affection which aroused the jealousy of Peninnah, who reproached the barren woman with her condition in such bitter terms that Hannah left the feast in tears. In her bitterness of heart she went and stood in the door of the tabernacle, and prayed silently for a son, whom she vowed to devote to Jehovah as a Nazarite. Eli, the high priest, saw her lips moving, and, supposing she had gotten drunk at the feast, reproved her severely. She assured him that she was a woman of sorrowful heart, who was pouring out her griefs before the Lord. Eli spoke more gently to her then, gave her his blessing, and besought God to grant her prayer. She returned home in a happier frame of mind, and in due time Samuel was born. His mother kept him till he was old enough to be separated from her, and then took him to Shiloh, solemnly dedicated him to the service of God, and left him with the high priest. After this she bore her husband three sons and two daughters. Samuel grew up in the service of the tabernacle, winning favor of God and man. A signal proof of God's favor was vouchsafed him, when quite a youth.

God spoke to him in the night and told him of his purpose to destroy the house of Eli, and take the priesthood from it as a punishment for the sins of his sons and his failure to exercise his authority over them. From that day Samuel was a prophet of God. None of his predictions failed, and his fame and his influence over the people increased with his growth.

The favor shown to Samuel by God appears to have encouraged the Israelites to believe that Jehovah would help them to

of the disaster was brought to Eli as he sat at the gates of the tabernacle. When he heard of the loss of the Ark he fell backward from his seat, broke his neck and expired.

The Philistines carried the Ark in triumph into their own country, but God inflicted such a severe plague upon them that they sent it away to Bethshemesh. The curiosity of the men of Bethshemesh induced them to open the Ark and look into it. God punished this sacrilege by visit-



SAMSON GRINDING THE PRISON MILL AT GAZA.

throw off the Philistine yoke. They therefore took up arms, but were defeated in the highlands of Benjamin, not far north of Jerusalem. Hophni and Phinehas, the sons of Eli, brought the Ark of the Covenant from Shiloh to the Israelitish camp, believing that this sacrilegious use of the Ark would win them the victory. God punished the sacrilege by allowing the Philistines to defeat the Israelites, inflicting upon them a loss of 30,000 men. Hophni and Phinehas were slain, and the Ark of God was captured by the Philistines. The news

ing 50,070 of them with death. Appalled at this judgment, the survivors sent for the men of Kirjath-jearim to take away the Ark. These took it to their own city, and it remained in the house of Aminidab, a Levite, until David carried it up to Jerusalem.

Samuel succeeded Eli in his office of judge, and his authority was generally acknowledged. For twenty years after the loss of the Ark, the Israelites were held down with a heavy hand by the Philistines. At the end of this time Samuel summoned

the nation to make a final effort for freedom, and to prepare them for it called a solemn assembly at Mizpeh, where, with fasting and repentance, the people renewed their broken covenant with God. Hearing of this assembly, the Philistines sent a strong army to break it up. Samuel encouraged the people to attack this force, and the efforts of the Israelites were assisted by a violent storm from heaven, which destroyed a large part of the hostile army.

government had been the source of their past calamities, and feared that it would expose them to similar evils in the future, forgetting that the true cause of their sufferings had been their infidelity to the worship and rule of Jehovah. They longed for a king, believing that with such a leader they could defeat their foes and secure peace and prosperity at home. In vain Samuel remonstrated with them, reminding them that God was their king, and



DEDICATION OF SAMUEL.

The Philistines fled, and were pursued with great slaughter.

This victory broke the Philistine power in Israel, and firmly established the authority of Samuel. He made circuits of the country, administering justice among the people, and appointed his sons, Joel and Abiah, his assistants. Under the rule of Samuel the Israelites enjoyed the most peaceful period they had ever known. They were not satisfied, however. They believed that their lack of a strong central

that in choosing an earthly sovereign they would be guilty of the sin of rejecting Jehovah. They were deaf to all his arguments and entreaties, meeting all with the declaration, "We will have a king over us." God pitied the weakness of his people, and punished them by granting their demand. Samuel was commanded to comply with the request of the people, and in accordance with the divine instructions anointed Saul, the son of Kish, a Benjamite, to be king over Israel, B. C. 1095.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SINGLE MONARCHY.

Character of Saul—Discontent of the Tribes—Rescue of Gilead—Saul Acknowledged by the Nation—Saul Usurps the Sacerdotal Power—His Quarrel with Samuel—Wars with the Philistines and other Nations—Extermination of the Amalekites—Samuel slays Agag—Curses Saul—Saul's Madness—David Anointed to be King—Saul's Fondness for David—Death of Goliath—Saul Seeks to Kill David—Flight of David—His Adventures—Saul Massacres the Priests—Battle of Mount Gilboa—Death of Saul and Jonathan—David Becomes King of Judah—Civil War—David King of all Israel—Capture of Jerusalem—David's Conquests—Extent of his Empire—His Civil Administration—His Sins—Rebellions of his Sons—Death of David—Accession of Solomon—Splendor of his Court—Commerce of the Hebrews—Personal Qualities of the King—His Oppressive System—The Temple—Decline of Solomon's Power—His Sins—His Death—Is Succeeded by Rehoboam—Revolt of the Northern Tribes.

SAUL, the new king, appears to have been about forty years old at the time of his elevation to the throne.

He is described in the Bible as a man of noble and commanding appearance, "taller than any of the people," and so truly regal in bearing that when Samuel presented him to the people, he was hailed with a rapturous shout of "God save the king." He possessed all the hardihood of his race and tribe, all their courage and energy; but was impulsive and unstable in character, and was possessed of an ungovernable temper, which changed to madness in the face of opposition.

The choice of a sovereign from the smallest of the tribes gave great offence to a large part of the nation, and it was considered prudent by Samuel to delay the solemn public installation of Saul until this opposition could be overcome. At this time Gilead, or the coun-

try east of the Jordan, was invaded by Nahash, King of the Ammonites. Saul promptly gathered the forces of Israel, crossed the Jordan, annihilated the Ammonites, and rescued Gilead. The skill and bravery which he exhibited in this campaign completely silenced the opposition to him, and his authority was enthusiastically acknowledged by the entire nation.

Samuel continued to exercise a great influence over the affairs of the nation. He regarded the king as merely a military chieftain, without power to interfere with the ancient constitution and laws, and very different from the sovereigns of the surrounding nations. For a while Saul accepted this view, and remained submissive to the prophet's influence; but his fierce spirit could not long brook this control. He began to resent the restraint put upon



THE ARK OF THE COVENANT.

him by Samuel, and longed to be a king in fact as well as in name.

After his solemn installation at Gilgal, which took place on his return from the campaign against the Ammonites, he dismissed the Israelites to their homes, and kept a force of only 3,000 men in the field. He retained 2,000 of these under his own command, and placed the remaining 1,000 under his son Jonathan, a young man of noble character. Jonathan surprised and captured the Philistine stronghold of

summate his long contemplated intention of throwing off the control of Samuel and usurping the sacerdotal power. He offered the sacrifice himself, thus claiming for himself priestly as well as kingly power. Samuel arrived soon after, and at once comprehended the significance of Saul's action, which he saw aimed at placing the Hebrew monarchy on the same basis as those of the nations around him, and giving the king supreme power over the spiritual as well as the civil system of the nation. He re-



SAMUEL ANOINTING DAVID.

Gibeah, in the land of Benjamin, and relieved that tribe from a constant annoyance. The Philistines at once put a powerful army in the field, and Saul summoned the forces of Israel to assemble at Gilgal, at which place Samuel was to join him and offer a solemn sacrifice to the Lord as the opening act of the campaign. The people assembled at the appointed time, but Samuel did not make his appearance. Saul waited seven days for him, and then, noticing the impatience of the people, resolved to take advantage of the occasion to con-

proved Saul severely for his sacrilegious act, and, speaking in the name of God, told him that the divine favor would be from this time withdrawn from him, and that at his death the royal dignity should pass to another family.

The Philistine bondage had weighed heavily upon the southern tribes, and they had forbidden the smiths to carry on their trade. The consequence was that weapons were so scarce that Saul could find only 600 armed men in the whole assembly of the people. Nevertheless he marched

northward to Michmash to meet the enemy. While there, Jonathan, accompanied only by his armor-bearer, surprised the camp of the Philistines, who were seized with a panic and turned their arms against each other, and fled. Saul at once pursued, and was joined by every Israelite who could find arms. He was soon at the head of 10,000 men, and pursued the enemy to Beth-aven, inflicting fearful losses upon them.

The Philistines withdrew to their own

though small, was composed of veterans and kept in a high state of efficiency. The command of this force he intrusted to his cousin Abner, son of Ner.

Samuel was now very old, and was near his end. He came to Saul one day, and commanded him to undertake a war of extermination against the Amalekites, the earliest and most inveterate enemies of Israel. Saul at once marched against them, and defeated them. He had been commanded by the prophet to destroy every-



DAVID PLAYING BEFORE SAUL.

country, and for some years made no further effort against Israel. During this time Saul repulsed the attacks of the Ammonites, Moabites, Idumeans, and the Syrians of Zobah, who attempted successively to invade his dominions. About the same time the tribes east of the Jordan conquered the nomadic Arab tribe of the Hagareens and extended their territory towards Damascus. Saul, knowing that the safety of his kingdom would depend upon its ability to resist invasion, exerted himself to form a standing army, which,

thing he captured; but in spite of this brought off an immense spoil, and spared Agag, the Amalekite king, in the hope of obtaining a ransom from him.

Samuel met Saul at Gilgal, on his return from the war, and sternly denounced his disobedience to the divine command. In the name of God, he pronounced a curse upon him, and told him that God had rejected him from that day. At the same time the prophet slew Agag, with his own hand.

Samuel now departed from Saul, and the

breach between them was complete. The divine protection was withdrawn from Saul, and Samuel was commanded to go to Bethlehem, and anoint the future King of Israel.

He obeyed, and proceeding to the house of Jesse, the chief man of the town, solemnly anointed, with the sacred oil, David, the youngest and most gifted son. The newly chosen king was descended from Nahshon, who had been the chief, or prince of the tribe of Judah, in the wilderness, and

secret influence, could draw him. Saul conceived a warm affection for David, loaded him with honors, and made him his armor-bearer.

In the meantime the war with the Philistines had been resumed, and the armies of Israel and Philistia confronted each other in the south of Palestine. The Philistines brought forward as their champion a man of gigantic stature, named Goliath, an inhabitant of Gath. No Israelite dared to meet him, until David, who had just re-



DAVID SPARES THE LIFE OF SAUL.

among his ancestresses counted Rahab and the beautiful Ruth. He had already reached man's estate, and had shown his valor by his repeated and successful defences of his father's flocks against the robbers and wild beasts of the region.

After the breach with Samuel, Saul became the victim of a deep melancholy which amounted at times to madness, and from which nothing but the music of the harp of David, who seems to have been introduced into the palace through Samuel's

joined the army, offered to fight him. Saul endeavored to dissuade David from this attempt, but finding him resolute and reliant upon God for his success, consented to the meeting.

David, armed only with his shepherd's sling, in the use of which he was an expert, killed the giant, and then cut off his victim's head with his own sword. Terrified at the death of their champion, the Philistine army fled, and was pursued by Saul's forces with great slaughter to the gates of Gath and Ekron.

Saul was delighted with the prowess of David, and gave him his daughter Michal in marriage. Jonathan conceived a deep and lasting affection for the young hero. Saul, soon after this, with characteristic instability, became suddenly jealous of his son-in-law upon hearing the praises which his triumph over Goliath won for him from the nation, and from that day sought to destroy him.

David was at length obliged to fly from the court of Saul, and took refuge with the king of Gath, where he feigned madness, in order to escape the vengeance of the Philistines. He soon after became the leader of a band of outlaws, lived for a while in Moab, and then established himself in the almost inaccessible

but generously spared his life. He was obliged at last to take refuge with Achish, King of Gath, who gave him the city of Ziklag. There he dwelt for some years, undertaking frequent expeditions against the Amalekites, the common enemies of Israel and Philistia.

At length the war between the Philistines and Israelites broke out again, and David was ordered by Achish to join the Philistine army, and march against Saul. He was compelled to obey, but, fortunately for him, the Philistine leaders, who were suspicious of him, induced their king to order him to return to Ziklag. The armies of the Israelites and Philistines encountered each other at Mount Gilboa. The Israelites were routed, and Jonathan was slain. Saul,



HEBRON.

region of the wilderness of Judæa, in the territory of Judah. About the same time Samuel died at Ramah, at an advanced age, and was deeply mourned by all Israel.

After the death of Samuel, Saul gave free rein to his furious passions. He persecuted all the supporters of the law of Moses, and massacred the high priest Abimelech, eighty-five priests, and the entire population of the city of Nob, where the high priest dwelt. One of the sons of Abimelech, Abiathar, the heir to the high priesthood, escaped the destruction of his race, and fled to David for safety.

Saul now turned his arms against David, and hunted him through Southern Palestine. David twice had the king within his power,

being severely wounded and closely pursued, slew himself to avoid capture by his enemies, B. C. 1055. His reign had lasted forty years.

As soon as David was informed of the death of Saul and Jonathan, he returned to his own country, and established himself at Hebron. He was acknowledged as king by his own tribe of Judah; but the other tribes gave their adhesion to Ishbosheth, a younger son of Saul, whom Abner had caused to be crowned at Mahanaim. A bloody civil war followed, and lasted seven years. It resulted in the defection of Abner to the cause of David, and the assassination of Ishbosheth by two traitors in his own service. The entire nation then acknowledged David as its sovereign, and

he was solemnly anointed at Hebron, B. C. 1048.

David was nearly thirty-eight years old when he began to reign over the whole kingdom of Israel. His first exploit was the capture of Jerusalem from the Jebusites.

He made that city the capital of his kingdom, and also the religious centre of the nation by bringing up to, and lodging in it, the Ark of the Covenant. He established a standing army, set up a splendid court at his new capital, provided himself with a

Hebrew nation. His wars were numerous and successful. The Philistines were punished and rendered powerless by the conquest of their country as far south as Gaza. Moab was subdued, and only one-third of its inhabitants left alive. These were compelled to pay tribute. The Ammonites and the various Syrian states between the Jordan and Euphrates were conquered, and the latter river formed the eastern boundary of David's dominions. Edom was also subdued, and the Hebrew territory was extended to the Red Sea and the Egyptian frontier. David

formed an alliance with the Phœnician King Hiram, of Tyre, which was very beneficial to his own kingdom. Hiram furnished the cedar and the necessary workmen and artificers for the construction of the magnificent palace which David built at Jerusalem.

At home David proved a wise and beneficent ruler. The Israelitish army was thoroughly organized. The civil administration was conducted under the personal supervision of the king, and an admirable internal service was inaugurated



DAVID'S TOWER AT JERUSALEM.

harem, and introduced a royal splendor until then unknown in Israel. He proved himself a faithful servant of Jehovah, and his greatest delight was to honor the God of Israel.

The prophets Gad and Nathan were his intimate associates. "These two men, inspired by God, were distinguished by their noble character, and by the frankness with which they reproached the king on every occasion with the faults of his private or public life, and the king always heard them with deference."

David was the greatest and most powerful sovereign that ever reigned over the

for the despatch of the public business. The religious institutions were revised and settled upon the basis upon which they were afterwards conducted. David's rare genius as a musician and poet enabled him to prescribe a gorgeous ritual for the Hebrew worship, and to furnish the noblest of the psalms used therein. It was his design to erect a magnificent temple to Jehovah at Jerusalem, but he was forbidden by God to do so, as his hands were stained with blood.

His design was commended, and he was told that his son and successor, who should be a man of peace, should build the temple.

He therefore confined his efforts to the purchase of a site and the collection of materials for the sacred edifice.

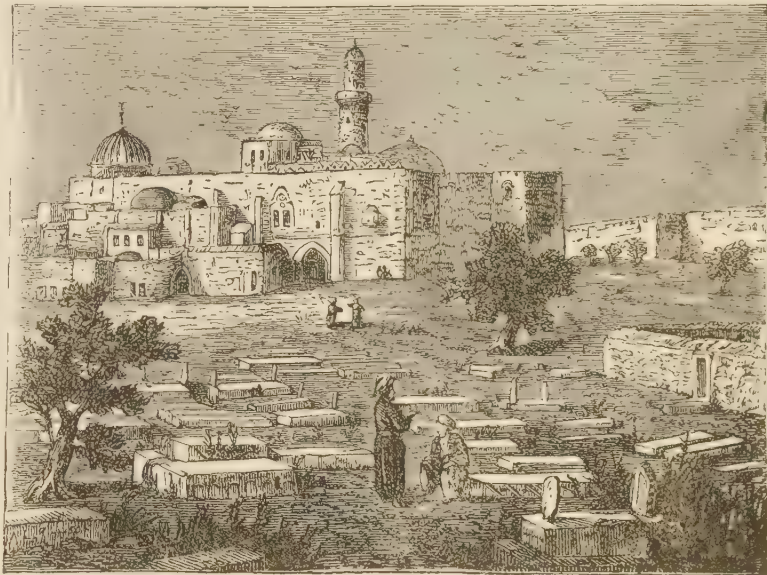
Though so eminently a servant of God, David could not always resist the temptations to which his nature exposed him. Becoming enamored of the beautiful wife of Uriah the Hittite, one of his captains, he determined to possess her. He therefore caused Uriah to be given the command of a dangerous expedition, in which he was treacherously slain. The king, who had seduced Uriah's wife, Bathsheba, now took her openly to his harem. She bore a child, which died, in accordance with the prediction of Nathan the prophet, who sternly reproved David for his crime. Another child was born to her, and he became the successor of David on the throne.

The glories of David's reign were tarnished by two rebellions, each directly due to the evil of polygamy, which David had introduced into the kingdom. His sons by his different wives tormented his closing years by their jealousies and crimes, and two—Absalom and

Adonijah—took up arms in open revolt against their father. Absalom's rebellion forced the king to fly from Jerusalem and take refuge in the country east of the Jordan. It was ended only by the defeat and death of Absalom, who had assumed the royal dignity, by his cousin Joab, the commander of David's army. Adonijah also atoned for his crime with his life. His rebellion induced David to secure the succession of Solomon by associating that prince with him upon the throne in the last year of his life. After a reign of forty years, thirty-three of which were spent in Jerusalem, David died—B. C. 1015—at the age of seventy-eight years, leaving to his

people the proudest name in their history.

Solomon began his reign under the most favorable auspices. Peace reigned throughout the whole of his extensive dominions; his authority was everywhere submitted to. An alliance was contracted with Egypt by the marriage of the young king with the daughter of one of the priestly Pharaohs of the Twenty-first (Tanite) Dynasty. A most advantageous commercial alliance was formed with Hiram, King of Tyre, who had been the friend of David. By this treaty Solomon was admitted to a share of the profits of the Phœnician traffic, and the wealth of the king was enormously in-



TOMB OF DAVID, ON MOUNT ZION.

creased by the vast influx of the precious metals and articles of luxury into Palestine. A navy, manned by Tyrian sailors, was established in the Red Sea, and the Israelites engaged in a lucrative trade with the countries along its shores. Solomon, thus enabled to gratify his natural tastes, increased the splendor and display of his court. He built him a larger and more magnificent palace than had contented David, and increased his seraglio to an extent which has no parallel in the history of Eastern monarchs. Seated on a gorgeous throne, he dispensed justice to his people, and received their homage and the embassies and presents of the neighboring powers.



SOLOMON RECEIVING THE ENVOYS OF THE TRIBUTARY NATIONS.

His personal qualities were in keeping with this splendor. Of noble and commanding presence, and rare majesty of demeanor, he was possessed of all the learning of his time, and of a wisdom divinely given to judge his people, and to "discern between good and bad." He was the profoundest student of human nature the world has ever known, and his writings have commanded the admiration of the greatest minds of succeeding generations.

The most notable act of his reign was the construction of a Temple to Jehovah upon Mount Moriah, at Jerusalem. His alliance with Hiram afforded him the means of executing this work. Phœnician sailors brought cedars from Lebanon to Joppa, whence they were hauled to Jerusalem for the woodwork of the Temple, and Phœnician architects and masons planned and built the massive platform upon which the sacred edifice stood, and the Temple itself. The Temple was the most superb edifice of its day, and upon it all the artistic and mechanical resources of the period were lavished. It was begun in the fourth year of Solomon's reign, B. C. 1012, and its construction occupied seven and a half years. It was completed in the eighth month of the cleventh year of Solomon's reign, B. C. 1005. The Ark of the Covenant was placed in it, and the holy house was dedicated to Jehovah and his service with the most solemn and imposing ceremonies. God himself accepted the offering in the presence of the assembled nation by causing the sacrifices to be consumed by fire from heaven, and by filling the house with a glorious light, so bright that the priests and people hid their faces from it. Solomon also enlarged and improved Jerusalem, strengthened its fortifications, and constructed noble and useful public works in various parts of his kingdom. In the midst of the great Syrian desert, half way between Damascus and the Euphrates, he built the splendid city of Tadmor, which afterwards became famous under the name of Palmyra.

The kingdom of Israel was now at the height of its splendor and prosperity; but under all this greatness the causes were growing which were to result in the disruption of the Hebrew state. The trade of Solomon was a monopoly of the government, and while it enriched the king was of no benefit to the people. The taxes which he levied for the support of his costly court were so enormous that the nation was im-

poverished, and a general discontent was aroused. He compelled large bodies of the people to engage in the great works which he carried on, thus interfering with the proper course of the industry of the country, and increasing the general dissatisfaction. The great favor shown to the tribe of Judah was resented by the rest of the nation, especially by the powerful house of Joseph, which had always regarded itself as entitled to the crown. The luxury introduced and fostered by the king exercised an enervating influence upon the people, who were also corrupted and led away from their ancient faith by the encouragement given by the king to the false religions which he maintained in the state, and which were celebrated with cruel and licentious rites. During the king's lifetime the kingdom was weakened by the successful revolt of Rezon, King of Damascus. Hadad attempted to re-establish the independence of Edom, but was defeated and obliged to fly to Egypt. The tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh came near breaking out into open rebellion. The attempt was discovered, and Jeroboam, the leader of the conspiracy, was obliged to take refuge in Egypt. When Solomon died the kingdom was in a feverish and unsettled state, and it was evident that its destruction was close at hand.

In his old age, Solomon, led away by his love of women, forsook the worship of God, opened his harem to a crowd of women of the most degraded of the neighboring nations, and gave himself up to sensuality, and at last to idolatry, thus tarnishing the earlier glories of his reign. He died, after a reign of forty years, B. C. 975.

Solomon was succeeded by his only son, Rehoboam, who was forty years old at the time of his accession to the throne. At the outset of his reign the northern tribes, which were rife for a revolt, demanded of the new king certain modifications of the oppressive system of his father. Rehoboam haughtily refused the demand, and threatened to increase the burdens of the people. The northern tribes thereupon threw off their allegiance to the house of David, took up arms, established a new kingdom, with its capital at Shechem, and made Jeroboam their leader. King Rehoboam undertook to suppress this revolt by force, and a civil war was prevented only by the express command of God, who forbade either army to attack the other. Thus was accomplished the punishment with which God had

threatened Solomon for his sins. The separation was complete, and thenceforth, in the place of the powerful empire of David and Solomon, there were two weak kingdoms in Palestine, neither of which ever attained the position of a state of the first rank. The northern kingdom took the name of Israel; the southern that of Judah.

As the northern kingdom was of shorter duration than Judah, it will be best to relate its history before proceeding to that of Judah.

CHAPTER V.

THE NORTHERN KINGDOM.

Character of the Kingdom of Israel—Reign of Jeroboam—The Separation Complete—Reign of Baasha—War with Damascus—Omri King—He Builds the City of Samaria—Ahab and Jezebel—Reigns of Ahaziah and Jehoram—Death of Jezebel—Jehu King—Israel Subject to Syria—Jeroboam II.—The Greatest King of Israel—Shallum King—Invades Assyria—Is Conquered and Made Tributary to Assyria—Conquest of the Trans-Jordanic Country by Assyria—Shalmanezar IV. Invades Israel—Captures Samaria—Transports the Israelites to Assyria—End of the Kingdom of Israel—Settlement of the Country by the Assyrian King.

THE kingdom of Israel, set up by the northern tribes under Jeroboam, reached from the northern boundary of Benjamin to the borders of Damascus, and embraced all the trans-Jordanic country, including Moab. It was not only larger, but more populous and more fertile than Judah. These advantages were outweighed, however, by the inferiority of every Israelite capital to Jerusalem, and the deliberate adoption by the monarch and nation of an idolatrous religion. A succession of prophets, some of them among the greatest in Hebrew history, vainly endeavored to eradicate this taint and restore the Israelites to their allegiance to Jehovah. Idolatry was so deeply seated as to be a part of the national existence, and could not be rooted out. The evil grew worse with the progress of time, and its effects upon the political prosperity of the kingdom was so pernicious that it fell an easy prey to the Assyrian conquerors two centuries later.

Jeroboam, the first king of Israel, was divinely appointed to his office. Under him the rebellion was consummated and the monarchy established. He endeavored to make the separation between the two kingdoms final. As a help to this he es-

tablished two national sanctuaries, one at Dan and the other at Bethel, with idolatrous emblems, and created a new priesthood in opposition to that of the Levites. This offended the Levites and their adherents in the various portions of the northern kingdom, and they passed into Judah. Jeroboam's reign lasted twenty-two years, and was passed in almost constant war with Judah. He died B. C. 954, and was succeeded by his son, Nadab, with whom his dynasty ended. Nadab reigned two years, and was murdered by Baasha, the commander of his army, who also put all the house of Jeroboam to death, and made himself King of Israel, B. C. 953. Baasha removed the capital to Tirzah. He was grossly addicted to idolatry. The remnant of the worshippers of Jehovah left in Israel went over to Judah about the thirteenth year of his reign, attracted by the piety of King Asa. Baasha, in the hope of checking this defection, made war upon Judah and attempted to blockade his southern frontier. He was recalled to the north by the invasion of his kingdom by the Syrians under Benhadad, King of Damascus, whose alliance had been purchased by Asa. He was succeeded by his son, Elah, B. C. 930, who was murdered, while drunk, by Zimri, B. C. 929. Zimri made himself king, but was not acknowledged by the army, which set up Omri, its commander. A civil war of seven days followed, and Zimri, being defeated, shut himself up in his palace and burnt it over his head, perishing in the flames. Omri's reign began B. C. 929. He had at first a rival named Tibni, whose claim was supported by half the people, but he overcame him, and reigned until B. C. 918. He built the strong city of Samaria, which he made his capital; and waged war with Damascus, but was obliged to conclude a disgraceful peace. He was succeeded by his son Ahab, who strengthened himself by marrying Jezebel, the daughter of Ethbaal, King of Tyre and high priest of Astarte. This alliance led to the introduction of the Phœnician idolatry into Israel. Towards the close of the century the prophet Elijah was sent to Israel to denounce upon the king and people the divine punishment for their crimes. A famine of three years' duration was sent upon the kingdom. Its close was marked by the memorable vindication of Jehovah's power in the sacrifice offered by Elijah on Mount Carmel, and

the slaughter of the priests of Baal. A successful war was waged with Damascus during the latter part of the reign of Ahab, and resulted in the re-establishment of the independence of Israel. It was followed by a peace of three years. About B. C. 897 Ahab renewed the war with Syria by attempting, in conjunction with Jehoshaphat, King of Judah, to seize the strong frontier fortress of Ramoth-Gilead. In the battle which ensued Ahab was killed and the allied army was routed.

Ahab was succeeded by his son, Ahaziah, during whose brief reign of a little more than a year, Moab revolted. Ahaziah was succeeded by his brother, Jehoram, who continued the alliance with Judah. He was somewhat better than Ahab or Ahaziah, for he abolished the worship of Baal, though he clung to the idolatry of Jeroboam. He made war upon Moab, which had revolted against his brother, and was joined in the expedition by Jehoshaphat, and the King of Edom, the vassal of the King of Judah. The army was miraculously supplied with water, and the Moabites were decisively defeated by the same power. Jehoram followed up this victory by ravaging the "land of Moab" with fire and sword, and stained his triumph with such cruelties that the King of Judah indignantly abandoned him and returned to his own country. It seems that the last years of his reign witnessed the restoration of the worship of Baal. He renewed the war with Syria by seizing Ramoth-Gilead. He was wounded in a battle with the Syrians, and went to Jezreel to be healed. There Ahaziah, King of Judah, his ally, visited him. During their absence from the army Jehu was proclaimed king by the troops. Proceeding to Jezreel, Jehu slew Jehoram and Ahaziah, and caused Jezebel, the wicked widow of Ahab, to be thrown from the walls of the city. Thus he destroyed all of Ahab's house.

Jehu began to reign B. C. 884. His first act was to put down with a firm hand the

worship of Baal; but he maintained the idolatry of Jeroboam. Hazael of Damascus stripped him of his trans-Jordanic provinces, and upon one occasion at least he paid tribute to Assyria, which now began to loom up on the eastern horizon as the great power of Asia. He was succeeded by his son, Jehoahaz, B. C. 856. Under this king the power of the monarchy was still further reduced by the conquests of the Syrians. The Syrian king even compelled Jehoahaz to fix a limit to the strength of his standing army. His son, Jehoash, a vigorous and warlike monarch, succeeded him, B. C. 839. He inflicted three successive defeats upon Benhadad, King of Damascus (the son of



THE GOLDEN LAMP-BEARER.

Hazael), and won back a portion of the territory lost by Israel. He also defeated Amaziah, King of Judah, and entered Jerusalem as a conqueror. His son, Jeroboam II., succeeded him, B. C. 825. Under him the Israelitish monarchy reached its highest pitch of power. He not only regained all the territory lost by Israel east of the Jordan by his conquests of Moab and Ammon, but attacked Damascus itself, now weakened by the preponderance of Assyria, and added a large part of the Syrian territory to the Israelitish monarchy.

Jeroboam II. was succeeded, either immediately or after an interregnum, by his

son Zechariah about B. C. 772. Zechariah was assassinated six months later by Shallum, and with him ended the line of Jehu.

Shallum reigned a little more than a month, and was, in his turn, slain and succeeded by his murderer, Menahem. Menahem undertook the invasion of the Assyrian territory east of the Euphrates, and cap-

soon renounced his allegiance and endeavored to re-establish the independence of his country. For this purpose he formed an alliance with Egypt. Shalmanezzer IV. invaded Israel, overran the country, and laid



HALF-SHEKEL.

tured Thapsacus. This drew upon him the vengeance of the Assyrian monarch, who defeated him and made his kingdom tributary to Assyria. In B. C. 762 Menahem was succeeded by his son, Pekahiah, who was murdered by Pekah, one of his generals. Pekah mounted the throne of his victim B. C. 760. His reign of thirty years was full of disaster. He made an alliance with Rezin, King of Damascus, in the hope of protecting his kingdom against Assyria, and for the purpose of conquering Judah. The allied forces invaded Judah and reduced that power to great distress. Tiglath-Pileser II., of Assyria, marched to the aid of Judah and compelled Pekah to make



DEMI-SHEKEL. COPPER.

peace. In a second invasion of Israel by the Assyrians, the trans-Jordanic territory was ravaged and its inhabitants carried away captive into Assyria. This was the beginning of the end of the kingdom of Israel. Pekah was slain by Hoshea, who succeeded him, either immediately, or after an interregnum, B. C. 730. Hoshea was the last monarch of the Israelitish kingdom, which was now rapidly nearing its end. He was the best of the kings of Israel and seems to have wished to raise both himself and his kingdom out of the corruption of idolatry; but it was too late. He began his reign as the tributary of Assyria, but



JEZEBEL THROWN FROM THE CITY WALLS

siege to Samaria, which city resisted for two years. It was taken in the first year of Sargon, and with its fall the kingdom of Israel came to an end, after a duration of 255 years. In accordance with the custom

of the age, the conquered territory was depopulated, and its inhabitants removed to distant parts of the Assyrian empire.

The Israelitish territory remained comparatively deserted until the reign of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria, in the seventh century B. C. That monarch, appreciating the advantages of this fertile region, colonized it with families drawn from Babylon, Orchoë, Susa, Elymais, Persia, and other neighboring nations. "The new inhabitants imported their idolatrous worship; and God showed his jealousy for his own land, by plaguing them with lions, which had doubtless multiplied during nearly half a century of desolation. They ascribed the infliction to their ignorance of 'the manner of the God of the land,' and the King of Assyria sent back one of the captive priests, who established himself at Bethel, and 'taught them how to fear Jehovah.' His teaching was probably mixed with no little error, but it seems to have been free from the old idolatry of Jeroboam." The new inhabitants regarded themselves as at liberty to serve their old gods, and their worship was a strange compromise between the true and the false, which is thus described in the Bible, "They feared Jehovah and served their own gods." The descendants of these colonists were known in later Jewish history as Samaritans, and became the bitterest enemies of the Hebrew race.

CHAPTER VI.

THE KINGDOM OF JUDAH.

Advantages of the Southern Kingdom over its Northern Rival—Reigns of Rehoboam and Abijah—Asa's Good Reign—Defeats the Egyptians—The Levites Join Judah—Alliance with Damascus—Wars with Israel—Reign of Jehoshaphat—Alliance with Israel—Athaliah—Joash Proclaimed King—His Reign—Amaziah King—Conquest of Edom—Uzziah's Sin—Reign of Ahaz—Judah becomes Tributary to Assyria—Hezekiah King—Destruction of Sennacherib's Army—Manasseh's Wicked Reign—His Captivity and Repentance—Reign of Ammon—Judah Tributary to Babylon—Reign of Josiah—His Death—Judah Subject to Egypt—Passes under the Sway of Babylon—Revolts—Nebuchadnezzar Captures Jerusalem—The Babylonish Captivity.

THE Kingdom of Judah was confined to the southern and least fertile portion of the Holy Land. The tribe of Benjamin, though at first attached to the northern kingdom, soon cast its lot with Judah, and its northern line became the boundary of

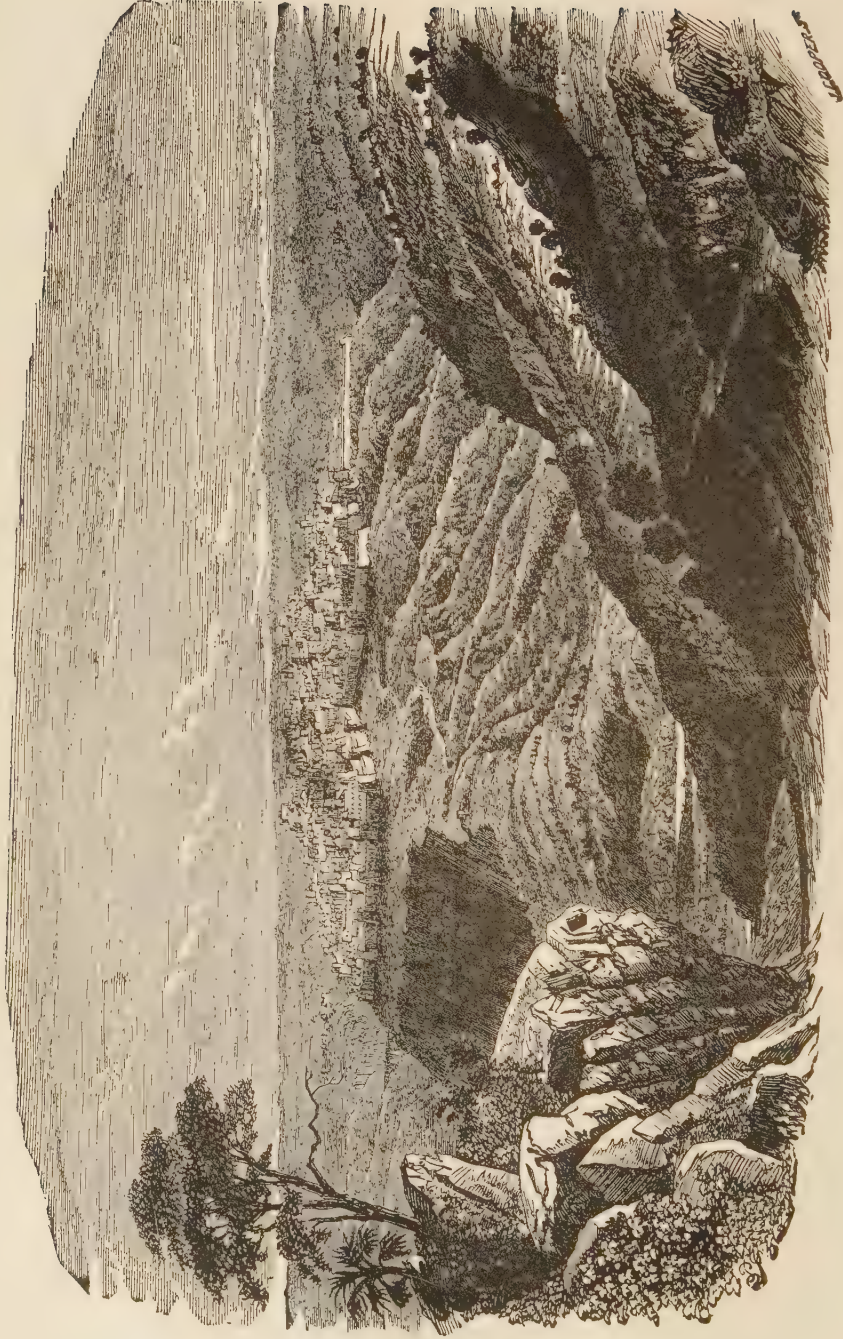
the kingdom. Though territorially smaller and numerically weaker, it was really the stronger and more important kingdom of the two. Its position was admirable and was easily defended. It lay out of the route pursued by the contending powers of Asia and Egypt, who followed the level country along the sea, and avoided the difficult mountain region in which Judah sat enthroned. Its inhabitants were filled with an indomitable spirit, due to their conviction that they were the true people of God and the rightful heirs of the promises, they exhibited at all times a remarkable valor, and an extraordinary elasticity in recovering from defeat. Above all the kingdom enjoyed the protection and favor of God, an advantage which the crimes of the northern kingdom forfeited, and it preserved the hereditary succession of its kings unbroken. Its indomitable spirit enabled it to defy successively the power of Assyria and of Egypt, and required the exertion of the full force of the Babylonian empire to crush it. It lasted a century later than Israel.



QUARTER-SHEKEL. SILVER.

Rehoboam reigned eighteen years. His reign was one of misfortune. In B. C. 970, Sheshonk I., King of Egypt (called Shishak in the Bible), invaded Judah, and took its fortified cities. He occupied Jerusalem, and plundered the temple and the royal palace, and then withdrew, having reduced Judah to the position of a tributary to his crown. During this reign a large part of the people lapsed into idolatry. A constant but desultory warfare was maintained with the northern kingdom. Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, succeeded his father, B. C. 958. He prosecuted the war with Israel more vigorously, and defeated Jeroboam at Zemaraim in Mount Ephraim. As a result of this victory, Bethel, Jeshanah, and Ephraim fell into the hands of Abijah, and as Jeroboam did not venture to resume the war, a ten years' peace followed.

Asa succeeded his father Abijah, B. C. 955. Unlike his father, he was a devout follower of Jehovah. He put down idolatry with a stern hand, and replaced the treasures of the temple which had been



JERUSALEM IN THE TIME OF DAVID, AS SEEN FROM THE SOUTH.

carried away by Shishak, by rich offerings of silver and gold. Taking advantage of the peace with Israel, he strengthened the fortifications of his cities, and increased the force of the army. About B. c. 941, Judah was invaded by a strong army led by "Terah the Ethiopian," believed to be Osorhon II., of Egypt. Asa routed him at Mareshah, pursued him to Gerar, and returned to Jerusalem laden with the spoil of his foes, and of the cities around Gerar. Urged by the prophet Azariah, Asa summoned a convocation at Jerusalem in the fifteenth year of his reign, B. c. 940, and the nation solemnly covenanted to be true to the worship of Jehovah. Many devout persons from the northern kingdom attended this assembly, and this defection of the worshippers of God in Israel to Judah, so alarmed Baasha, King of Israel, that he fortified Ramah, on the highway between Judah and Israel, to check this emigration, and made war upon Asa. Asa, alarmed by the danger, committed the one error of his life. He purchased the alliance of Benhadad I., King of Damascus, using the treasures of the temple for this purpose. The Syrian king at once invaded Israel, and drew the northern army from the borders of Judah to meet this danger. The rest of the reign of Asa was passed in constant war. He died B. c. 916. He was succeeded by his son Jehoshaphat. A large part of his reign was passed by Asa in crushing out idolatry, and in fortifying the cities of his kingdom, as well as those which his father had captured in Mount Ephraim.

Jehoshaphat reigned in Judah twenty-five years. He reduced the Moabites and Philistines to the position of tributaries. He contracted an alliance with Ahab, King of Israel, by marrying his eldest son Jehoram to Athalia, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel, a union which was full of trouble for Judah. He assisted Ahab in his wars against the Syrians, and was present with him at Ramoth-gilead, where Ahab met his death. This disastrous battle encouraged the old enemies of Judah—the Moabites, the Edomites, and Ammonites—to invade the kingdom in great force. They were miraculously defeated by God, in answer to the prayer of Jehoshaphat. This deliverance struck terror to all the surrounding nations, and secured peace for Judah during the rest of Jehoshaphat's reign. He attempted, in alliance with Ahaziah, the son of Ahab, to renew the maritime enterprises of Solo-

mon by way of the Red Sea, but his fleet was wrecked at Ezion-geber in punishment for the alliance with Ahaziah, and the king abandoned the attempt. He died B. c. 889, and was succeeded by his son Jehoram, who had been associated with him in the government for three years. Jehoram's reign was short and full of disaster. His marriage with Athaliah, daughter of Ahab, thoroughly corrupted him, and he set up the worship of Ashtoreth, with all its infamous rites, in Judah. He murdered all his brothers to avoid a disputed succession. God punished his wickedness by sending severe calamities upon his kingdom. Edom revolted, defeated the king's efforts to subdue it, and became an independent state under its own kings, and though it was afterwards worsted in battle by Judah, it was never again tributary to it. The Philistines and Arabians, who had been tributary to Jehoshaphat, invaded the kingdom and captured and plundered Jerusalem, and carried off all the king's wives except Athaliah, and all his children, save Ahaziah, his youngest son.

Ahaziah came to the throne in B. c. 885. He formed an alliance with his uncle Jehoram, King of Israel, the brother of his mother Athaliah. He was present with him in the battle near Ramoth-gilead, in which Jehoram was wounded, and was slain soon after by Jehu in the revolt which gave that warrior the Israelitish crown, B. c. 884. He was succeeded by his mother Athaliah, who slew all the royal family of Judah, except Joash, a new-born infant, the youngest son of Ahaziah, and made herself queen. Joash was concealed in the temple by his aunt, who was the wife of the high priest Jehoiada. Athaliah reigned six years, during which time Joash remained hidden in the temple.

In the seventh year Jehoiada headed a rebellion, which was supported by the army and people. Joash was proclaimed king and Athaliah was put to death, B. c. 878. Jehoiada was made regent. For the first twenty-three years of his reign, during which time Jehoiada lived and was his chief counsellor, Joash governed well, and the kingdom prospered. Idolatry was uprooted and severely punished. He repaired the temple, and put an end to the peculations of the Levites by which the sacred funds had been scattered. After the death of Jehoiada, Joash plunged into idolatry. Hazael, King of Damascus, attacked his kingdom and forced him to purchase peace by the sur-



JOASH PROCLAIMED KING OF JUDAH.

render of all the treasures of the royal palace and the temple (including the sacred vessels). He was killed by two of his servants, B. C. 839, and was succeeded by his son Amaziah, who began his reign with the execution of the murderers of his father. He endeavored to regain Edom, which had revolted from Jehoram. He defeated the Edomite army, and took Petra, where he massacred 10,000 men, but his success was only temporary. Elated with his victory he made war upon Jehoash, King of Israel, but was defeated and made prisoner at Beth-shemesh. The Israelitish monarch led his captive in triumph to Jerusalem, where he plundered the temple and royal palace, and broke down the north wall of the city. Then, taking hostages for the future peaceable behavior of Judah, he returned to Samaria. The last years of Amaziah were so oppressive and corrupt that his people hated him. The result was his murder at Lachish.

Amaziah was succeeded by his son Uzziah (or Azariah), B. C. 809, a great and warlike sovereign. He began his reign by recovering and rebuilding the ancient port of Elath, at the head of the eastern arm of the Red Sea. Uzziah's reign lasted sixty-two years, and was a period of great prosperity. He conquered the most of Philistia, and received tribute from Ammon. Elated by his success, he arrogantly attempted to assume the priest's office, and was seized with leprosy in the very act of offering incense in the Holy Place. This compelled his seclusion, and for the remaining six or seven years of his reign the government of the kingdom was committed to his son Jotham, by whom he was succeeded.

Jotham began his sole reign at his father's death, B. C. 757. He was one of the most pious and prosperous of the kings, but his reign was marked by the growing corruption of the people of Judah. He fortified Jerusalem, and forced the Ammonites to pay tribute. During the latter years of his reign, Pekah, King of Israel, and Rezin, King of Damascus, began the war which proved so disastrous in the next reign. Ahaz succeeded Jotham, his father, B. C. 742. He re-established the worship of Baal, and greatly corrupted the people. The war, begun in the reign of his father, by Israel and Syria, was prosecuted vigorously, and Ahaz was so hard pressed that he begged aid of the great Assyrian monarch, Tiglath-Pileser II., purchasing his

assistance by becoming tributary to him. The Assyrians invaded Syria, captured Damascus, and put an end to the Syrian kingdom. Israel was severely punished and obliged to make peace.

Ahaz was succeeded by his son Hezekiah, B. C. 726. Hezekiah began his reign by re-establishing the pure worship of God, and destroying all the idols. He was a wise and virtuous prince, and "did that which was right in the sight of Jehovah." He defeated the Philistines, and even ventured to throw off the Assyrian yoke. Sennacherib, the Assyrian monarch, thereupon attacked him and compelled him to resume his position as a tributary. Not long afterwards he rebelled again, and made an alliance with Egypt.

In B. C. 699 Sennacherib once more entered Judah, intending to crush the little kingdom before proceeding to the invasion of Egypt, which he meant to punish severely for aiding his rebellious vassal. His march was along the coast to the southern extremity of the plain of Philistia. The cities of the low country fell before him, and at last, having taken Lachish, he formed the siege of Libnah. Either while thus engaged, or after the close of the siege, he sent a message to Hezekiah demanding his complete submission, blasphemously declaring that God was powerless to save him from the vengeance of Assyria. Hezekiah turned to God in prayer, and the Almighty answered him, and punished the insolent blasphemy of Sennacherib by the mysterious death of 185,000 men of his army in a single night. Terrified and fatally weakened by this disaster, Sennacherib hastily retreated to his own country.

Hezekiah was succeeded by his son Manasseh, B. C. 697. He reigned fifty-five years, and was one of the most wicked monarchs that ever sat on the throne of Judah. He restored every form of idolatry that had ever been practised in Judah or Israel, and so firmly did these abominable rites become established that the Temple was closed, and the law of Moses was almost forgotten by the people. Not only was this the case, but the worshippers of God were even persecuted in Jerusalem itself. The prophets denounced the apostasy in unmeasured terms, and were cruelly maltreated by the king. Isaiah is believed to have been one of the first of the victims slain by Manasseh.

About B. C. 677, the Assyrian monarch,

suspecting Manasseh of a design to rebel against him, dethroned him and carried him a prisoner to Babylon. The severity of his captivity brought Manasseh to repentance, and it pleased God to hear his prayers. The Assyrians restored him to his throne, and he reigned long and prosperously, exerting himself to uproot idolatry and re-establish the religion of his fathers. He also put Jerusalem in a state of defence.

About this time occurred the colonization of the territory of the kingdom of Israel by order of the Assyrian king.

Manasseh was succeeded on the throne of Judah by his son Amon, B. C. 642. He endeavored to restore the worship of idols, but before he could carry out his plans, was

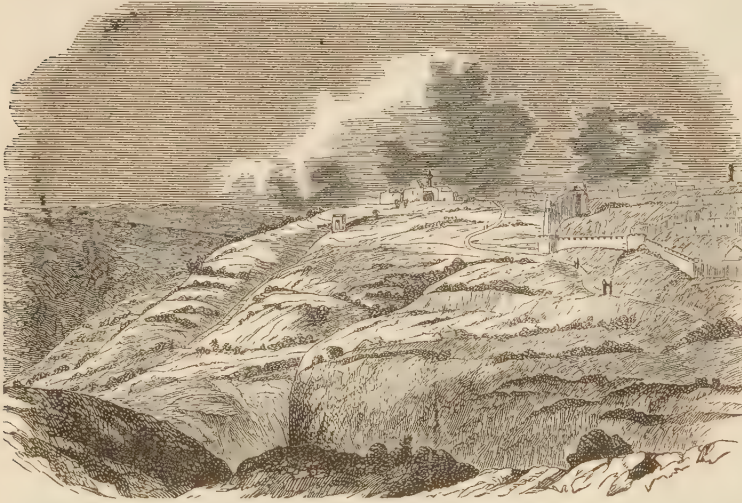
intended him no harm, his expedition being directed against Babylon; but the Jewish monarch persisted, and was slain in the battle of Megiddo, which ensued, almost on the very spot that had witnessed the great victory of Deborah and Barak. He was succeeded by Jehoahaz, his second son, who was made king by the people. Jehoahaz reigned three months, when he was deposed by Nechoh, who gave the crown to Jehoiaakim, the eldest son of Josiah, B. C. 609. Jehoiaakim reigned for four years as the tributary of Egypt, when—Nechoh having been decisively defeated by Nebuchadnezzar, the prince of Babylon, at Carchemish, and the Babylonian dominions being extended to the borders of Egypt—Judah was compelled to submit, and Jehoiaakim transferred

his allegiance to Babylon, B. C. 605-4. A number of noble Hebrew youths, among whom was the future prophet Daniel, were carried to Babylon by the conqueror and trained in the learning of the Chaldeans. In the year 602 B. C. Jehoiaakim threw off his allegiance to Babylon and raised the standard of rebellion.

The prophet Jeremiah began to utter his predic-

tions in the reign of Josiah, about B. C. 629, and prophesied during the reigns of his sons.

The rebellion of Jehoiaakim seemed to be undertaken at a favorable time. He was promised assistance by Egypt, and Phœnicia was also in revolt against Babylon, under the leadership of Tyre. In B. C. 598, in the seventh year of his reign, Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, set out to reduce his rebellious provinces to submission. Entering Phœnicia, he laid siege to Tyre, but finding the city too strong to be reduced quickly, he left a portion of his army to continue the investment, and with the remainder moved at once upon Jerusalem, which submitted upon his approach. Jehoiaakim was put to death, and, contrary to the usual Oriental



MOUNT ZION.

murdered, B. C. 640, and was succeeded by his son Josiah, a boy of eight years. The first acts of the reign of the young king were the destruction of idolatry and the restoration of the Temple worship. He reigned thirty-one years, and was one of the best of Jewish kings. In his reign the Assyrian empire was overthrown. In B. C. 608, Nechoh, King of Egypt, having declared war against Babylon, invaded Palestine, conquered the Philistine cities, and marched along the sea-coast to Carmel, whence he struck across the great plain of Esdraelon, his march being directed towards the Euphrates. Josiah assembled his forces, and, in fulfilment of his duty as a tributary of Babylon, hastened to attack him. Nechoh warned him to desist, as he

custom, his body was treated with indignity, thus fulfilling the prophecy of Jeremiah concerning the king.

Jehoiachin, the son of Jehoiakim, a mere youth, was made king by Nebuchadnezzar, who suffered him to remain on the throne for only three months, and then, suspecting his fidelity, removed him and sent him a prisoner to Babylon, replacing him with his uncle Zedekiah, the brother of Jehoiakim and son of Josiah. Zedekiah remained faithful to his allegiance to Babylon for eight years, and then forming an alliance with Uaphris, the Apries of Herodotus, King of Egypt, who agreed to support him with a strong army, threw off his allegiance and raised the standard of revolt, B. C. 589.

The siege of Tyre was still in progress, and Nebuchadnezzar marched against Jeru-

salem, to devote themselves to the peaceful cultivation of the land. He was murdered soon after, and the conspirators fled to Egypt, carrying with them the prophet Jeremiah,



SILVER SHEKEL.

who had endeavored to dissuade them from their suicidal course. Later on they became involved in the fate of Egypt. The remnant remaining in Judæa were removed into captivity in Babylon about the same time, thereby almost completing the depopulation of the country.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY TO THE PRESENT TIME.

The Jews in Babylon—Fall of the Babylonian Empire—Cyrus—His Interest in the Jews—Grants them leave to Return to Palestine—The Return—The Temple Rebuilt—Darius I. grants the Jews permission to Rebuild Jerusalem—Ezra—Conquests of Alexander the Great—Judæa becomes an Egyptian Province—The Septuagint—Judæa Transfers its Allegiance to Syria—Revolt of the Maccabees—Exploits of Judas Maccabæus—The War with Syria—The Asmonæan Kingdom—The Romans in the East—They Intervene in the Affairs of Judæa—Crassus Plunders the Temple—End of the Asmonæan Monarchy—Herod the Great—Birth of the Lord Jesus Christ—Judæa a Roman Province—The War for Independence—Capture of Jerusalem by Titus—The Saracens Conquer Palestine—The Crusades—Subsequent History of Palestine.



WALLS OF JERUSALEM.

salem in person with a large army. He defeated the Egyptian king, who sought to relieve his ally, and took Jerusalem by assault. Zedekiah and the remnant of his army fled, but were overtaken in the plain of Jericho. The troops were cut to pieces, but the king was made a prisoner. Nebuchadnezzar caused his eyes to be put out, and sent him a captive to Babylon. The city of Jerusalem and the Temple were then pillaged and given to the flames, and the people, except a mere handful, were removed to Chaldea. Thus began the great Babylonian Captivity—the national punishment for the sins of the people—B. C. 586. Judæa was not left to anarchy, however. A Babylonian governor was settled at Mizpeh, and he endeavored to induce the Jews

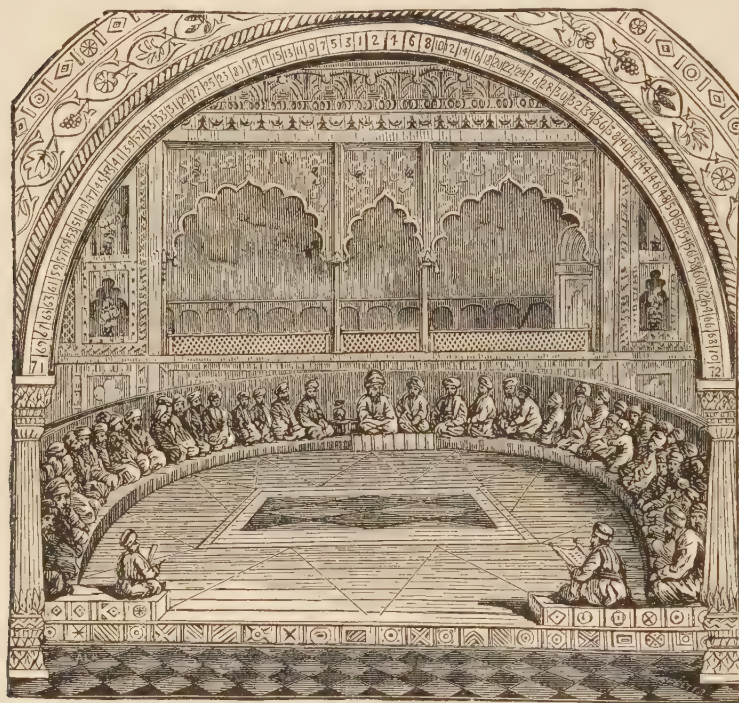
NEBUCHADNEZZAR caused the Jews whom he removed from their own country to be settled in Chaldea. There they were consoled in their captivity by the promises made by God, through the prophets, that he did not mean to destroy his people as a nation, but would restore them to their own land after they had undergone the punishment he was inflicting upon them.

During the Jewish captivity the Babylonian monarchy was overthrown by the conquests of Cyrus, and its dominions were incorporated in the great Medo-Persian empire. Cyrus was made by the Almighty the means of restoring the Jews to their

own country. He captured Babylon in B. C. 538, and there found the Jews, "an oppressed race, in whose religion he found a considerable resemblance to his own." He took a warm interest in their fortunes, and learning that many of them entertained a strong desire to return to their own land, gave them permission to do so. In consequence of this permission, a colony of 42,360 persons, besides their servants, returned from Babylonia to Jerusalem in B. C. 535. They went direct to Jerusalem, under the leadership of Zerubbabel, a descendant of the old line of kings, and the majority set-

upon the arrival of the Jews, proposed to join them in rebuilding the Temple, which they wished to make a sanctuary common to both races. They claimed to be the descendants of the ancient tribes of Israel; but the Jews repudiated the Samaritan claim to Israelitish descent, and refused to allow them any share in their work. The Samaritans consequently became the bitter enemies of the Jews, and sought by every means to defeat the rebuilding of the Temple and city. They succeeded in delaying the work for a while, in B. C. 522, but it was resumed by order of Darius Hystaspis, King of Persia, in B. C. 519, and in B. C. 515 the Temple was completed and dedicated.

The favor with which Darius I. of Persia regarded the Jews enabled them to establish themselves firmly in their old homes in spite of the jealousy and hostility of the neighboring nations. His successor, Xerxes, though favorably inclined to the Jews, came near causing their extermination by weakly consenting to a plot for that purpose formed by his prime minister Haman.



THE SANHEDRIM IN SESSION.

tled at first on the site of the Holy City and in its immediate vicinity. The larger part of the Jewish nation remained in Chaldea.

The first effort of the restored Jews under Zerubbabel was to rebuild the Temple and restore the old Temple service. They began the work in the year of their return, but were interrupted by the Samaritans, who were, as we have seen, a mixed race inhabiting the ancient territory of Ephraim and Manasseh, and descended from the colonists settled in that country by Esarhaddon, King of Assyria. These people,

The plot was detected by Mordecai, a Jew and the uncle of Esther, the favorite wife of Xerxes. Through the exertions of these two, the king was induced to put the Jews on their guard and allow them to defend themselves against their enemies. The result of the plot, therefore, was the death of Haman and the successful defence of the Jews in all parts of the empire. They took advantage of the king's permission to destroy their most conspicuous antagonists. This event occurred about B. C. 473, and is still commemorated in the Feast of Purim.

In B. C. 458 a second colony of Jews was

led from Babylon to Jerusalem by a priest named Ezra, who enjoyed the royal favor. He arrived in time to put a stop to the practice of intermarriage between his people and the surrounding nations, which had become so common as to threaten the extinction of the pure Jewish race. Other necessary reforms were made in church and state by Ezra, and under him the books of the Old Testament were definitely and authoritatively arranged. In B. C. 445, Nehemiah, a Jewish favorite of Artaxerxes I., who had been the king's cup-bearer,

long as the tribute was paid regularly, the Persian sovereigns left the Jews free to manage their internal affairs in their own way.

The captivity had the effect of thoroughly curing the Jewish nation of its fondness for idolatry. In all its subsequent history we shall see that among its numerous faults a desertion of the worship of Jehovah finds no place. The attempts of the Syrian kings, in the second century before Christ, to force idolatry upon the Jews were met with a fierce resistance which forms one of the



THE REBUILDING OF JERUSALEM.

arrived at Jerusalem, with permission to restore the fortifications of the city. In spite of the king's command, the neighboring nations endeavored to stop the work, but were prevented by the vigilance of Nehemiah, who caused his countrymen to prosecute their labors under arms, ready to repel an attack at any moment. The fortifications being restored, the people were divided between the Holy City and the rural districts. From this time Judæa was usually governed by the High Priest. As

most striking periods of Jewish history, and is significant of the great spiritual advance made in their faith.

From the time of the return from the captivity, the ancient territory of Judah was called Judæa, and its inhabitants Jews. The Jews in Babylonia gradually drifted back to Palestine, but a large number remained in that country, and between these and their brethren in Judæa a constant and intimate intercourse was maintained down to the latest period.

Judæa continued under Persian rule until the fall of the Persian empire before the arms of Alexander the Great. According to Josephus, Alexander, while engaged in the siege of Tyre, sent to demand the surrender of Jerusalem, which was refused by the High Priest Jaddua, who answered that the Jews were the faithful subjects of Darius. After the fall of Gaza, which succeeded the capture of Tyre, Alexander advanced to Jerusalem to take vengeance upon the city. By the command of God, received in a vision, Jaddua hung the city

and that he recognized in him a figure which had appeared to him in Macedonia and encouraged him to undertake the conquest of Persia. The story of Josephus is doubted by historians, but it is certain that Alexander not only spared Jerusalem, but bestowed important privileges upon the Jews, and induced many of them to settle in his new city of Alexandria in Egypt, where they formed an important part of the population.

After Alexander's death Palestine was alternately the prize of Egypt and of Syria. The final division of Alexander's empire, which followed the battle of Ipsus, confirmed Palestine, together with Phœnicia and Cœle Syria, to Egypt, B. C. 301. Under the rule of the first three Ptolemies Judæa was allowed to manage its affairs very much in its own way, and so long as the tribute was regularly paid, the kings of Egypt rarely attempted to interfere with the Jews in their religious or civil matters. The high priest was the head of the nation and the chief of the national religion. Altogether the reigns of the first three Ptolemies constituted a period of peace and prosperity for Judæa.

Ptolemy IV. (Philopator), a weak and dissolute prince, gave mortal offence to the Jews by attempting to violate the sanctity of the Holy of Holies in the Temple at Jerusalem by entering it, B. C. 217. His attempt was frustrated, and he avenged himself by outrages upon the Alexandrian Jews, who had done him no harm at all. Disgusted and alarmed by the conduct of this prince, Judæa solicited the protection of Antiochus the Great of Syria, and voluntarily transferred its allegiance to that prince.

During the reign of Ptolemy II. (Phila-delphus) occurred an event of the greatest moment in the history of the Jews and of the world. This was the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into the Greek language, which version is called *The Septuagint*, or the LXX., from its seventy or seventy-two translators. The tradition ascribes the translation to the desire of the king to read the Scriptures in his own language; but be this as it may, the appearance of the Sacred Books in a language which made them accessible to the whole civilized world, was an event which could not fail to exercise an immense influence upon the times, and especially upon the Jews themselves. It made the Hebrew Scriptures known to the



THE BREASTPLATE OF THE HIGH PRIEST.

with garlands, and, arraying himself in his gorgeous vestments, went forth to meet the conqueror at the head of a solemn procession of the priests and people. He met Alexander, who had ridden in advance of his army with his generals, on an eminence in full sight of the city. Upon seeing the high priest, Alexander, to the astonishment of his friends, prostrated himself to the earth. In reply to the remonstrances of Parmenio, he told him that he worshipped not the high priest, but the Name engraved on the breastplate which he wore,

ancient world, and so prepared the way for the spread of Christianity.

The battle of Paneas in B. C. 198 established the power of Syria over Judæa, but the Jews soon had reason to regret their change of masters. Antiochus at first continued the Egyptian policy of non-interference, but, towards the close of his reign, being in need of money, he attempted to plunder the Temple of its treasures, but was prevented either by a miracle or by the adroitness of the high priest. Antiochus IV., Epiphanes, was a cruel persecutor of

These cruelties raised up a national deliverer in the person of Mattathias, a priest, and the founder of the Asmonæan family. He raised the standard of revolt, but being too old for such an enterprise, the direction of the rebellion passed to his heroic son Judas, surnamed Maccabæus, under whom the movement prospered steadily. Judas defeated numerous detachments of the Syrian army, and having regained Jerusalem, with the exception of the citadel on Mount Zion, which was held by a Syrian force, he cleansed the Temple, and restored



FEAST OF THE NEW MOON.

the Jews. He sold the high priesthood to the highest bidder, and affecting to regard the quarrel between the claimants as a rebellion against himself, he marched into Judæa, captured Jerusalem by assault, gave it up to pillage and massacre, polluted the Temple in the most shameful manner, and stripped it of its treasures to the amount of 1,800 talents. He endeavored by all the means in his power to compel the Hellenization of the Jews, and in his effort to force the Greek religion upon them began one of the cruellest persecutions known to history.

the services. He defeated five Syrian armies of from six to ten times his own strength, and in these victories erected a splendid and enduring monument to his own greatness and the courage of his race. In B. C. 164 he was besieged in Jerusalem by Antiochus V. with a force of over 120,000 men. Being deceived into a peace with Syria, he admitted Antiochus to Jerusalem. The king at once broke the terms of the treaty and destroyed the fortifications of the city, after which he returned to Syria, where his presence was needed. In B. C. 162, Judas

once more raised the standard of revolt, and defeated the Syrians at Capharsalama. The next year he won his greatest victory, that of Adasa, near Bethhoron, over a vastly superior Syrian force. He now sent an embassy to Rome to seek an alliance with the republic. The mission was successful, but before the return of the envoys, Judas had closed his glorious career by a soldier's death at Eleasa, where with only 800 men he met a Syrian force of 22,000 infantry and cavalry. With the bulk of his little band he defeated the Syrian right wing and drove it from the field, but the Syrian left closed in upon him at the moment of his success, slew him, and dispersed his followers, B. C. 160. Jerusalem was lost to the patriots, and the followers of Judas fled with Jonathan, his brother, to the fortress of Tekoah, in the "Wilderness of Judæa," from which they carried on a partisan warfare for fourteen years.

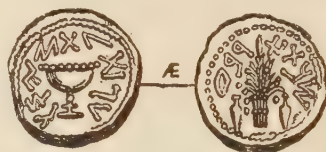
The civil war which broke out in Syria between Alexander Balas and Demetrius made the alliance of the Jews a matter of

dued Samaria, destroyed the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim, and conquered Idumæa. Hyrcanus was succeeded by his eldest son Aristobulus I., B. C. 106. Aristobulus assumed the title of King of Judæa, and founded the Asmonæan kingdom, which lasted just seventy years. He died after a reign of a year, and was succeeded, B. C. 105, by his brother, Alexander Jannæus.

Alexander Jannæus reigned until B. C. 78. He was a Sadducee, and his reign was marked by a rebellion of the nation under the opposite sect of the Pharisees. Though defeated at first he crushed the rebellion, and avenged himself terribly upon his enemies. Dying in B. C. 78, he advised his wife Alexandra to end the troubles by allying herself with the Pharisees. She acted upon this advice and reigned in peace for eight years. At her death, in B. C. 69, a civil war broke out between her sons Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. It continued seven years and was ended by the intervention of the Romans, under Pompey the Great, who



QUARTER COPPER SHEKEL OF SIMON MACCABÆUS.



SIXTH-PART COPPER SHEKEL OF SIMON MACCABÆUS.

importance to the contending parties. The result was that Jonathan Maccabæus was recognized as prince of Judæa and high priest, and was restored to Jerusalem, B. C. 153. He was murdered by Tryphon, in B. C. 143, and was succeeded by his brother Simon, under whose rule Judæa recovered in some measure from the suffering the war had inflicted upon her, and the independence of the country was effected. He was murdered in B. C. 135, by his son-in-law Ptolemy, who also put to death two sons of Jonathan. The other son, John Hyrcanus, escaped, and succeeded his father. He was attacked by Antiochus Sidetes, and Jerusalem was besieged for two years. Hyrcanus was forced to acknowledge the authority of the Syrian king, the fortifications of Jerusalem were dismantled, and an annual tribute exacted. On the death of Antiochus Sidetes in the Parthian war, this tribute ceased. Syria had been reduced by the Parthian conquests to a petty kingdom, and Hyrcanus seized the opportunity to make Judæa her equal in power. He sub-

took Jerusalem, seated Hyrcanus on the throne and carried Aristobulus a prisoner to Rome, B. C. 63. At the end of six years, Aristobulus escaped from Rome and resumed the war. He was defeated and made prisoner by the Romans, who then confined Hyrcanus to his priestly office, and placed Judæa under the rule of councils called Sanhedrims.

Pompey had spared the treasures of the Temple, and had protected the edifice upon his capture of the holy city, but had mortally affronted the Jews by entering and profaning with his presence the Holy of Holies, and they favored the party of Cæsar in the great struggle between the rivals. In B. C. 54, Crassus, who had received Syria as his share in the partition of the Roman dominions by the first triumvir, reached Jerusalem, and stripped the Temple of its treasures to the amount of 10,000 talents, or \$12,000,000, to provide for the expenses of his Parthian expedition. The Jews regarded the fate of Pompey and

Crassus as divinely sent punishments for their sacrilege. Aristobulus was freed by Cæsar at the outbreak of the civil war, but on his return to Judæa was murdered by partisans of Pompey. The troubled state in which the kingdom was placed was ended in B. C. 48 by the appointment of Hyrcanus to the nominal sovereignty with the title of Ethnarch. The real ruler was Antipater, an Idumæan noble, who had in the past twenty years played a prominent part in Jewish affairs. Cæsar, in return for his assistance in the Egyptian campaign, made him a Roman citizen, and the procurator or civil governor of all Judæa.

In B. C. 40, Antipater's powerful patron, Julius Cæsar, being dead, Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, seized the throne, captured Jerusalem with the assistance of a Parthian army, and reigned as king for three years. In the meantime, however, Herod, the Governor of Galilee, the son of Antipater, aided by his friend and patron, Mark Antony, obtained a decree of the Roman Senate, appointing him King of Judæa. He hastened back to Palestine, and with the help of the Romans subdued the open country and the garrisoned cities. Jerusalem was taken by storm after a siege of six months. So severe was the punishment inflicted by the Romans upon the Jews at the capture of the city that Herod was obliged to implore the Roman commander not to leave him monarch of a depopulated capital. Antigonus was made prisoner and was sent to Rome, where he was put to death at Herod's instigation. With him ended the Asmonæan monarchy.

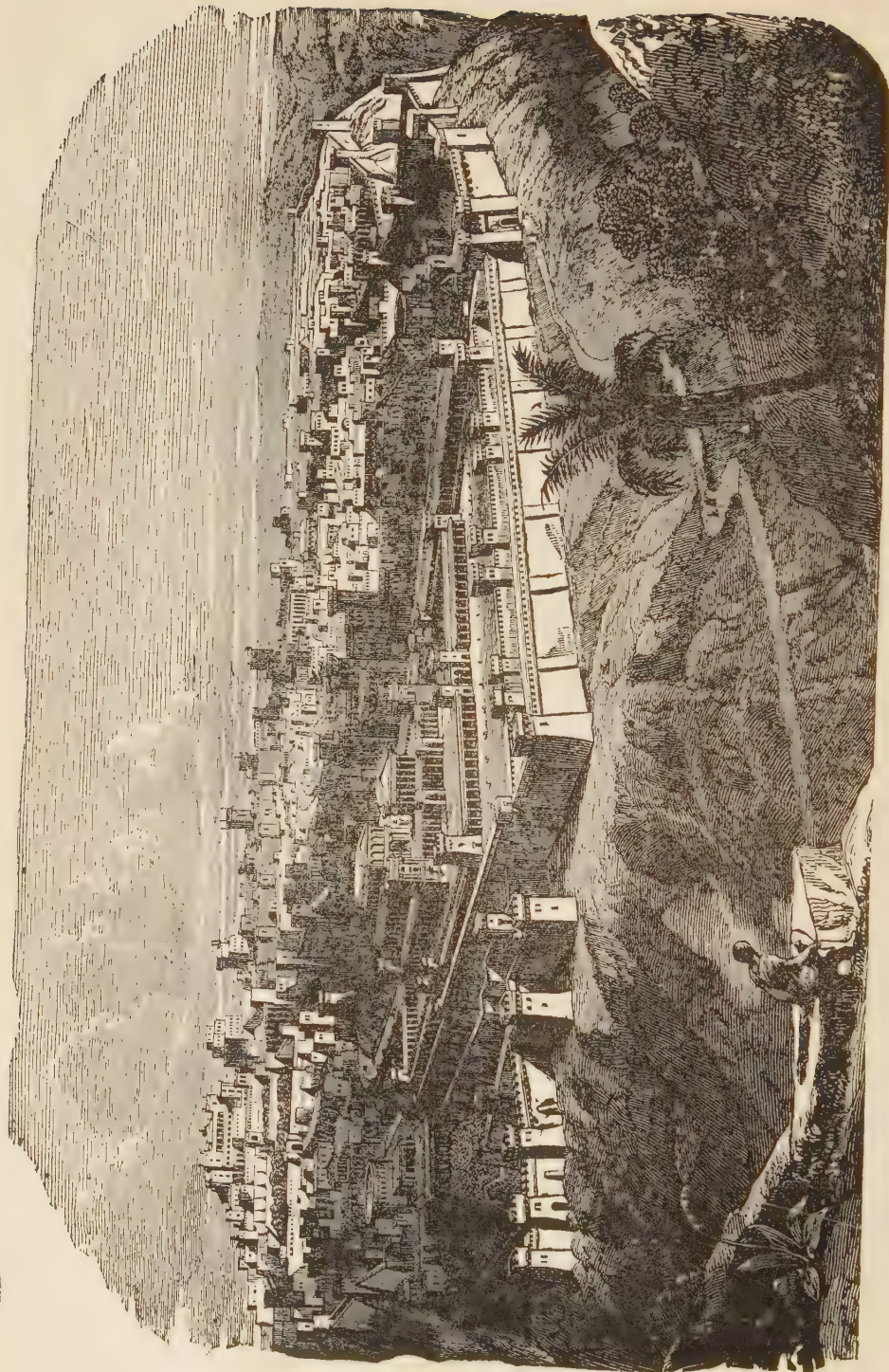
Herod became master of Judæa in B. C. 37, holding his crown as a tributary of Rome. He possessed great talents as a ruler and a soldier, but was a monster of cruelty. He began his reign by massacring the principal Jews who had opposed him. Two members of the Asmonæan family were living at the time of his accession—Aristobulus and Mariamne, the grandchildren of Hyrcanus II. To conciliate the Jews, Herod married the beautiful princess Mariamne, and made her brother high priest, although the latter was only sixteen years old. The Jews were passionately attached to the young prince, as the last of his race. A short time afterward, Aristobulus was put to death by Herod's orders, and in such a manner as to give the act the appearance of an accident. Becoming jealous of his beautiful wife, Herod caused her to be

murdered, and somewhat later inflicted the same fate upon her mother, Alexandra, thus entirely extinguishing the Asmonæan line. Later on he caused three of his sons to be executed, upon the suspicion that they were plotting his overthrow, and the last years of his reign were literally drenched with blood.

He signalized his reign by rebuilding the Jewish Temple upon a scale of unprecedented magnificence. It was not completed until long after his death. He adorned Jerusalem with palaces and splendid works, greatly added to the extent and strength of its fortifications, and would have rendered it impregnable had he not feared to offend his Roman masters by so doing. He also built the splendid city of Cæsarea, on the Mediterranean, and erected many noble public works in various parts of his kingdom. He was in no sense a Jew, though he claimed to be one in his religious belief. He affected Roman manners, and tolerated all religious beliefs in his dominions. He died from a loathsome disease amid the rejoicings of his sorely tried people, B. C. 4. His dominions were divided among his three sons. Archelaus received Judæa and Samaria, Antipas, Galilee, and Philip the region east of the Jordan, called Trachonitis.

In the last year of Herod's reign our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was born at Bethlehem, a town of Judæa, the birth-place also of David. By an error the received chronology places this momentous event in the year 4 B. C.

The Jews were never entirely satisfied with the rule of the Herods. Except by a small faction these princes were hated with an intense bitterness because of their Idumæan descent, and as the tools of the foreign masters of the country. They were a standing reproach to the nation, a constant reminder of its weakness and degradation. These feelings were intensified by the anxiety with which the Jews were at this time looking for the coming of the Messiah, who, they imagined, would be a temporal sovereign divinely sent for their deliverance, and under whose guidance the ancient power and glory of Israel would be restored. When Herod was informed of the birth of Jesus at Bethlehem, he caused all the children of that place of two years and under to be put to the sword, thus seeking to rid himself of one whom he regarded as a formidable rival to his house. Thoroughly hated by the people, the Herodian family



JERUSALEM IN THE TIME OF HEROD THE GREAT.

had no safety but in the protection of their Roman masters, and they sacrificed every Jewish interest to their favor.

These sacrifices availed nothing, however. The Herodian kingdom steadily lost power, and the encroachments of the Romans became greater every year. Archelaus ruled his dominions so oppressively that the Romans deposed him in A. D. 8. Judæa and Samaria were incorporated with the Roman province of Syria, but were still allowed a separate administration under Roman procurators or governors.

It was during this period that the Lord Jesus Christ grew up to manhood and

years ruled over the entire kingdom of his grandfather. The action of Caligula was but a temporary interruption of the Roman system, which aimed at the entire absorption of the Jewish state in the empire. In A. D. 44 Agrippa began a cruel persecution of the Christians, and this gave the Romans the occasion they wanted. Judæa was taken from him, and was again placed under the government of procurators.

The Roman governors were cruel and rapacious, and carried their oppressions so far that the Jews could not endure them. Gessius Florus, the sixth of the new line, plundered his province without mercy. He



ANCIENT HARBOR OF CÆSAREA.

executed the great mission for which he came upon the earth. His crucifixion, resurrection and ascension took place during the administration of Pontius Pilate, the fifth of the Roman procurators of Judæa.

Judæa continued to be so governed until A. D. 36. Herod Antipas reigned, in the meantime, as king in Galilee; and Philip ruled his domain of Trachonitis. When these provinces became vacant by the death of their rulers, the Emperor Caligula bestowed them upon his favorite, Herod Agrippa I., the grandson of Herod and Mariamne. In A. D. 41 Agrippa was given Judæa, and Samaria also, and for three

years ruled over the entire kingdom of his grandfather. The action of Caligula was but a temporary interruption of the Roman system, which aimed at the entire absorption of the Jewish state in the empire. In A. D. 44 Agrippa began a cruel persecution of the Christians, and this gave the Romans the occasion they wanted. Judæa was taken from him, and was again placed under the government of procurators. The Roman governors were cruel and rapacious, and carried their oppressions so far that the Jews could not endure them. Gessius Florus, the sixth of the new line, plundered his province without mercy. He drove the Jews to despair, and in A. D. 60 the entire nation took up arms to drive out the Romans and regain their independence. Florus is commonly held responsible for the outbreak, but it was the Roman system rather than the tyranny of any particular governor that lay at the bottom of the trouble. Sooner or later it must have driven the Jews into rebellion. Gessius Florus did no more than hasten the struggle, and perhaps give to it a fiercer character than it would otherwise have assumed. Judæa had submitted to foreign masters before the Romans came, but the policy of these powers was unlike that of Rome, which tolerated

no differences and sought not only to absorb but to assimilate nations. Under no circumstances would the Jews have allowed their national existence to be destroyed without a struggle.

The war for independence, or the Revolt, as it is more popularly termed, began in the year 66. It was conducted with vigor by the Romans, who subdued all of Galilee and Samaria, and scourged those regions with fire and sword. Judæa was overrun, and the war was practically brought to an end by the capture and destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, in A. D. 70. The Romans had by

numbers were transported as colonies to the interior of Germany and to Italy.

After the close of the war, Judæa was attached to the province of Syria, and later on, both Syria and Palestine were governed by a Roman Prefect stationed at Antioch. This general state of affairs continued during the existence of the Roman Empire. Christianity made rapid progress in Syria and Palestine, and secured a firm footing in those countries long before its establishment throughout the empire by Constantine.

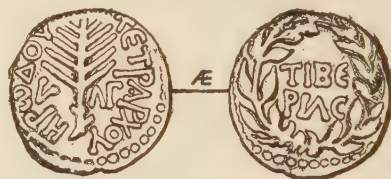
The Jews never recovered from the blow struck them in the destruction of Jerusalem. The political existence of the Jewish nation was annihilated by it. It was never again recognized as one of the states or nations of the world. Scattered over the face of the earth, strangers and sojourners in all lands, the children of Abraham are expiating the sins of their fathers in rejecting the Messiah and his kingdom.

The ruins of Jerusalem were held by a Roman garrison during the reigns of Vespasian and his immediate successors. The



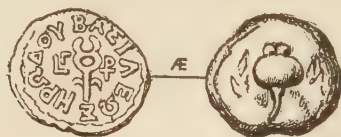
COIN OF HEROD THE GREAT.

this time formed a true conception of the formidable character of the Jewish nation, and the destruction of the holy city was designed as much to deprive them of their strongest rallying point in future revolts, as in punishment for their resistance to the empire. Titus found Jerusalem a city of palaces, and left it a heap of blackened ruins. The splendid Temple was burned, and every edifice but a few fortified towers, which were left as quarters for a Roman garrison and as monuments of Roman valor, were levelled with the ground. Not even Nebuchadnezzar did his work of destruction



COPPER COIN OF HEROD ANTIPAS.

Emperor Hadrian, in order to prevent Jerusalem from being made a rallying point for the disaffected race of Israel, determined to restore the city, and occupy it with a strong garrison. This measure brought on a formidable insurrection of the Jews in Palestine, led by Bar Cocheba, or Cochbar, who claimed to be the Messiah. The war raged with great fury for three years, but at length resulted in favor of the Romans. Bar Cocheba was slain, and over half a million of Jews fell during the struggle. Hadrian caused the ruins of Jerusalem to be utterly destroyed, and on the site of the old capital built a new city, which he named *Ælia Capitolina*, A. D. 136. Christians and Pagans alone were allowed to reside in it; the Jews were rigidly excluded from it. In the fourth century they were permitted to enter the city once a year, and weep over it on the anniversary of its capture. Though treated with great severity, the Jews were permitted to dwell in other parts of Palestine. Their chief was known as the Patriarch of Tiberias, from the place of his residence. To him



COPPER COIN OF HEROD THE GREAT.

more thoroughly. The siege of Jerusalem lasted five months, and will always remain one of the horrors of history. It was not so much the desperate bravery of the combatants or the destruction of the city, as the appalling loss of life and the fearful sufferings of the besieged, that make it one of the saddest chapters in the annals of war. Josephus states that 1,100,000 persons perished during the siege, and, though his numbers may be somewhat exaggerated, they cannot be far wrong. The people who survived the siege were made slaves, and were divided among the conquerors. Large

was due the allegiance of all the Jews throughout the Roman dominions.

When Julian became emperor, paganism was restored as the religion of the empire. In the attempt to falsify the prophecies of the Saviour, he called upon the Jews to rebuild their Temple at Jerusalem. They flocked to the holy city from all quarters of the empire, and men, women and children engaged in the work of clearing away the ruins. Their task was suddenly interrupted by a fire which burst out from the Temple foundations in an unaccountable manner, and raged a whole day, driving away the workers, and consuming their tools. They were obliged to abandon the attempt, and the death of Julian, which occurred soon after, put a stop to the sacrilegious attempt.

When the Persians began to threaten the eastern possessions of the Roman Empire, the Jews of Palestine secretly encouraged them to invade that country. They eagerly welcomed the advance of the Persian monarch Chosroes II., who, in A. D. 610, invaded Palestine, rose unanimously, joined the Persians, and helped them to conquer Jerusalem, then a Christian city. Once in possession of the city, they massacred the Christian inhabitants, but were soon terribly punished by the victorious Emperor Heraclius, who not only drove the Persian monarch back to his own dominions, but recovered from

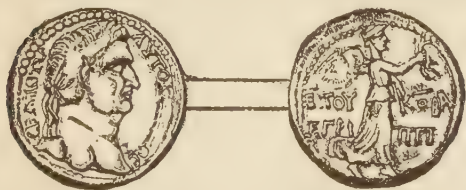
alternative of death to unbelievers. The Jews were amongst the first from whom he endeavored to make proselytes. Failing in his effort, he turned his arms against them, and conquered those cities of Arabia in which they were numerous and powerful. He intended to add Palestine to his conquests, but died before he could accomplish this task. Abubeker, his successor, began the invasion of Syria in A. D. 632. He overran the country east of the Jordan, and his generals defeated the Roman army sent to the assistance of Syria, and captured



COINS STRUCK BY THE EMPEROR VESPAIAN, COMMEMORATING THE CONQUEST OF JUDEA.

Damascus in A. D. 634. The whole of Syria now submitted to him. Palestine was next invaded, and the Roman army, assembled for its defence, was defeated at Yarmuk, in November, 636. Jerusalem was besieged, and surrendered to the Khâlif Omar, in A. D. 636. It was made the second holy city of the Mohammedans, and Omar built a superb mosque on the site of the Temple. All Palestine now passed under the Mohammedan sway.

The Mohammedan rule was fatal to Palestine. In A. D. 649 Damascus became the capital of the Mohammedan empire, and from that time Palestine, which, all through the Roman dominion and down to the period of the Moslem invasion, had been among the most prosperous and important of the Roman dependencies, began to decline. Islamism weighed the country down with the weight of a blighting curse, and each succeeding generation saw it sink lower and lower. Its cities fell into decay and ruins; its industry languished. Jerusalem is now an insignificant town; Cæsarea is but a heap of broken columns, over which the sand is drifting. The whole land bears terrible witness to the fatal results of Mohammedan rule. When the Moslem



COIN OF HEROD AGRIPIA II., WITH HEAD OF TITUS.

him the provinces of Egypt and Syria. The law of Hadrian was re-enacted, which prohibited the Jews from approaching within three miles of Jerusalem.

While this conflict was going on between the Roman and Persian sovereigns, a new and more terrible power was silently growing up in the desert. Mohammed had already proclaimed himself the Prophet of God, and announced his new faith with its

capital was transferred from Damascus to Bagdad, Palestine became an insignificant



SUBTERRANEAN FIRES DEFEAT JULIAN'S EFFORT
TO REBUILD THE TEMPLE.

part of the province of Syria, and fared even worse than before.

About the middle of the tenth century Palestine was seized by the Fatimite dy-

nasty, which had recently occupied the Egyptian throne, and remained subject to it until the latter part of the eleventh century, when it passed under the sway of the Turks, who had overrun Asia Minor and wrested Syria and Palestine from the Fatimite rulers of Egypt.

The Turks treated the Christian inhabitants of Palestine with such brutal severity that the powers of Western Europe took up arms in their defence. Palestine was invaded by the Europeans, and a series of wars ensued which are known as the Crusades, the history of which will be related in another part of this work. The result of the first crusade was the capture of Jerusalem and the establishment of a Latin kingdom in Palestine, A. D. 1099. Godfrey of Bouillon was crowned King of Jerusalem; his kingdom consisted of the holy city and Jaffa, "with about twenty villages and towns in the adjacent country."

The Latin kingdom did not last long. The victories of Saladin, in the twelfth



COIN OF HEROD AGRIPPA II., WITH HEAD OF NERO.

century, having made him master of Egypt, Syria and Arabia, he bent all his efforts to the task of driving the Christians out of Palestine. A pretext for invading the Holy Land was soon given him, and he entered Palestine at the head of an army of 80,000 veteran warriors, defeated Guy of Lusignan, King of Jerusalem, at Mount Hattin, July 3d, 1187, inflicted upon him a loss of 30,000 men, and took him prisoner. Three months later he captured Jerusalem, marking his victory by the kindness and forbearance with which he treated the Christian inhabitants. He followed up this success by driving the Latins out of every city in Palestine, with the exception of a few along the coast.

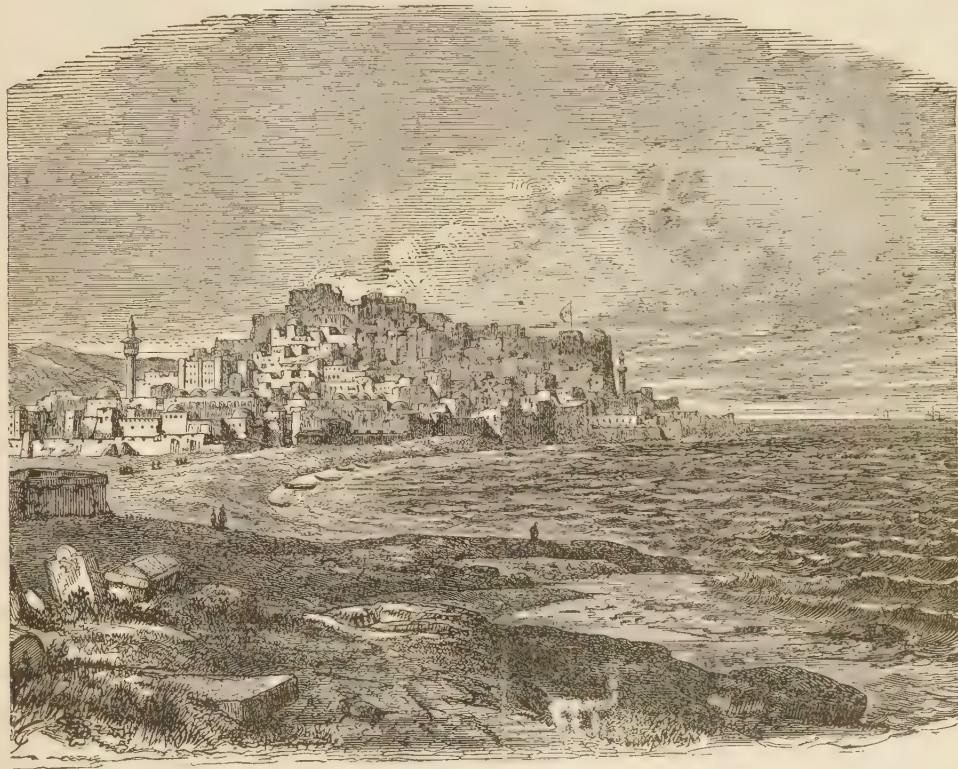
In 1228 the Emperor Frederic II. obtained the restitution of Jerusalem to the Christians by a treaty with the sultan. Bethlehem, Nazareth, Tyre and Sidon were also restored to them. In 1243 the Tartars, pressed back by the Moguls, overran Syria and Palestine, took Jerusalem by storm, massacred the entire Christian population, and profaned the Holy Sepulchre.

After the loss of Jerusalem, Acre, on the

Mediterranean, became the Christian capital of Palestine, and "was adorned with strong and stately buildings, with aqueducts, an artificial port, and a double wall." Its population was made up of representatives of every European nation. As Gibbon well says, "the city had many sovereigns and no government." A reign of corruption and anarchy ensued, almost without a parallel in history. The outrages of a portion of the inhabitants on the neighboring Mohammedan villages aroused the anger of Sultan Khalil, who marched

the Sultan Selim I., and since then has been a part of the Turkish Empire.

In 1831 Mohammed Ali, Pasha of Egypt, sent his son, Ibrahim Pasha, into Syria with an army of 38,000 men, under pretext of chastising the Pasha of Acre for an indignity offered him; but really for the purpose of conquering that country and bringing it under Egyptian rule. The conquest of Syria was rapidly effected, and Palestine shared its fate. The Egyptian ruler now resolved to extend his triumphs to the whole of the Turkish dominions, but the



JAFFA, OR JOPPA.

against Acre with an army of 200,000 men, and carried it by assault on the 18th of May, 1291, after a desperate siege of thirty-three days. Thus the last Christian possession in Palestine passed into the hands of the Moslems.

In A. D. 1400 Syria was overrun by Timour the Tartar, or Tamerlane, who burned Damascus; but his passage through the country does not appear to have affected the condition of Jerusalem, which remained in the hands of its Mohammedan masters. In 1517 Palestine yielded to the arms of

European powers intervened in May, 1833, and compelled Mohammed Ali to accept a treaty which secured to him the whole of Syria, the district of Adana, in Asia Minor, and the island of Candia or Crete, in the Mediterranean. This settlement continued in force until 1839, when the sultan renewed the war by despatching his fleet to bombard Alexandria, and invading Syria with an army of 80,000 men. The Turkish army was decisively defeated by Ibrahim Pasha at Nisib, on the 24th of June, 1839, and the fleet was treacherously surrendered

to the Egyptians without a battle. Turkey was on the point of being overwhelmed by the Egyptian forces, when the European powers again intervened. They compelled Ali Pasha to accept a peace, by which he lost Syria and Palestine, and retained only Egypt. Since then Palestine has remained a part of the Turkish Empire.

BOOK II.

THE HISTORY OF EGYPT.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY.

Description of Egypt—The Valley of the Nile—The Delta—The Overflow—Population of Ancient Egypt—The Character of the Egyptians—Religion of the Egyptians—The Gods of Egypt—Belief in a Future State—Embalming the Dead—Classes of Egyptians—The King—The Priests—Mode of Writing—The Laws of the Egyptians—Establishment of the Kingdom by Menes—Contemporary Dynasties—The Fourth Dynasty—Evidences of its Greatness—The Pyramids—Advance of Civilization during this Dynasty—Conquests—Growth of the Supremacy of Thebes—The Invasion of the Hyksos—Lower and Middle Egypt Overrun—The Twelfth Dynasty of Thebes—Its Greatness—Upper Egypt Conquered by the Hyksos—Destruction of the Monuments—Expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt—The Eighteenth Dynasty—The Greatness of Egypt under the Nineteenth Dynasty—Rameses III.—Decay of the Monarchy—The Priest-Kings.

THE continent of Africa lies almost wholly within the tropics. It is the hottest and driest of the great divisions of the world. A large part of its surface being unfit for human habitation, it is unsuited to the growth or existence of great nations. Egypt and Carthage were the only African States which ever attained any importance in history. Both of these lay in the northern part of the continent, and within the limits of the northern temperate zone.

Egypt occupies the extreme eastern part of the African continent, from the Mediterranean on the north to latitude 24° on the south, and from the Red Sea on the east, to the Libyan, or Great Desert, on the west. The region known as Nubia lies south of Egypt. Through the centre of Egypt, from south to north, flows the Nile, its only river. The valley of the Nile constitutes the only fertile portion of the country, and is really Egypt, so that Herodotus was quite right when he said, "All Egypt

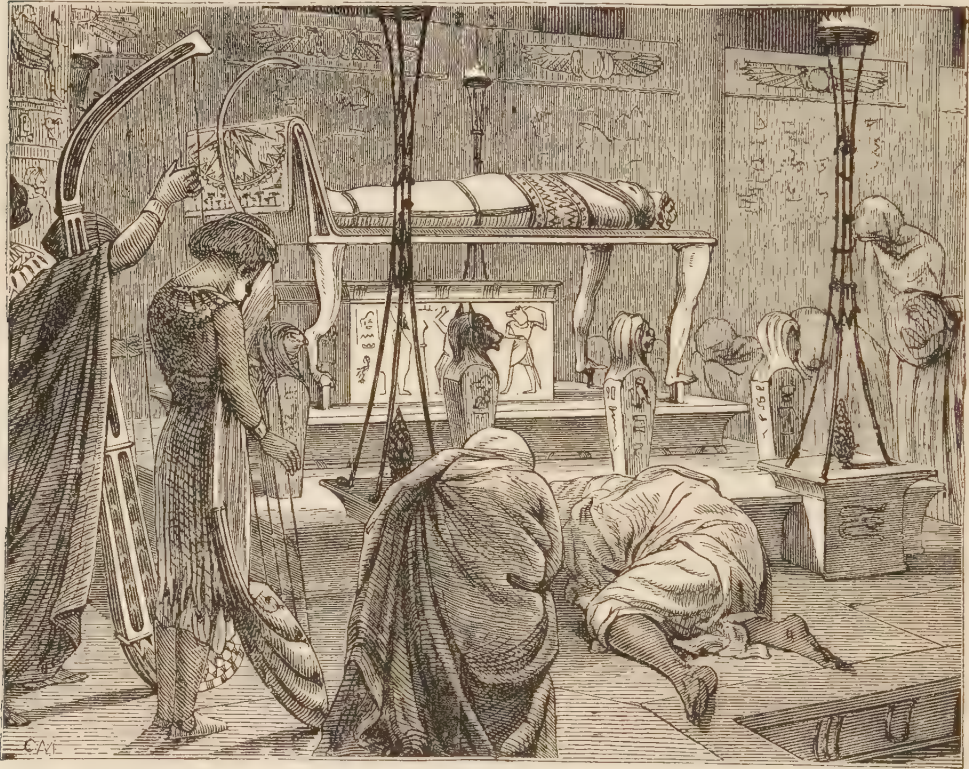
is the gift of the Nile." About ninety miles from the sea the river divides itself into three distinct channels, called the Canobic, the Sebennytic, and the Pelusaic branches, which enclose a fertile region known as the Delta, from its resemblance in shape to the fourth letter of the Greek alphabet. The average breadth of the Nile valley, from Cairo to the First Cataract, does not exceed fifteen miles. The land in this valley is of the best quality, and the Delta is one of the most fertile regions in the world. The richness of the soil is due to the annual overflow of the Nile, which begins in June and lasts until December. In ancient times the Delta was thickly studded with cities of note. The most important cities of the kingdom, however, lay within the narrow valley. These were, Memphis, just above the apex of the Delta, and Thebes, situated in about latitude 25° 31' N.

The population of ancient Egypt is known to have been at least five millions, and may have been greater. The country was originally peopled from Asia by a branch of the Hamitic race, the descendants of Mizraim. The general character of the Egyptians was mild; their manners were polished; and they were naturally obedient and religious. They were cleanly in their habits and food, and consequently healthy.

The religion of the ancient Egyptians was an exceedingly complicated, and in many respects a revolting system, at the base of which, however, they held to a grand faith. They regarded God as one, unrepresented, indivisible. This was the fundamental doctrine of their faith. They held that the deity manifested himself in different forms, each representing his attributes. For each and all of these attributes he possessed a name, which to the priests and the educated were but the



manifestations of one God. To the people they became so many separate divinities. The priests kept their religion concealed from the common people, whom they regarded as too ignorant to understand it, and suffered the growth of the polytheism which came in time to be regarded, especially by strangers, as the national religion. The people recognized eight gods of the first order; twelve of the second; and seven of the third. The sun and the moon were worshipped. Some portion of the divine life was supposed to reside in animals. was embalmed. It must not be supposed that every animal of each species was sacred. A few only were set apart, maintained at the expense of the state, and served by persons of the highest rank. The educated regarded these animals as only the representatives of their deities; to the common people they were real gods.¹ The same animals were not held sacred in all parts of the kingdom. The worship of the hippopotamus was confined to the Papremis nome. The inhabitants of Thebes worshipped the crocodile, but in the other



EMBALMING THE BODY OF AN EGYPTIAN KING.

Hence arose the system of animal worship which appeared so strange and ludicrous to the Greeks and Romans. "The god was represented under the figure of the animal, or more often by that strange conjunction, peculiar to Egypt, of the head of the animal with a human body." The bull, the cow, the ram, the cat, the ape, the crocodile, hippopotamus, hawk, ibis, scarabæus, were each worshipped. Each of the sacred animals was kept and carefully tended during its life in the temple of the god to whom it was sacred. Upon its death its body

provinces it was hunted as a dangerous animal.

The chief god of Egypt was Amen-Ra (Amen, the sun). With him were associated Maut, the divine mother; and Chons, the son of Amen. Amen was regarded as the father of all the gods. The ritual distinctly says, "Amen-Ra is the creator of his members; they become the other gods who are associated with him." "But of all the triads," says Lenormant, "the one most closely related to humanity in external form and worship, although the conception was

one of the most exalted, was that of Osiris, Isis, and Horus, who were objects of universal worship in all parts of Egypt. They were said to be the issue of the god Set, the personification of the earth, and of the goddess Nut, the vault of heaven. Osiris, said the tradition, had manifested himself to men, and had reigned in Egypt." Osiris was believed to have been slain in a contest with Set. He at length raised himself by his own power, and with the aid of his son, Horus, triumphed over Set. From that moment Osiris became the ruler of the future world, and the rewarder of good and punisher of evil.

The Egyptians believed in a future state, in which the rewards and punishments were the consequences of the acts of the individual in this life. The souls of the

to the solemn tribunal of the gods, on which were seated Osiris and forty-two other gods. The soul was placed in one of the scales of a balance, held by Horus and Anubis, and weighed against the image of justice. The result was recorded by the god Thoth, and settled irrevocably the fate of the soul. If found guilty of inexcusable faults, the soul was doomed to punishment and annihilation. If found perfect and just, it was required to pass through many trials to atone for the faults which were inseparable from its nature in life. In these trials it was sustained by the aid of Osiris, through whose power it was finally to be raised in the general resurrection.

The belief in a future state gave rise to the practice of embalming the dead. The



EGYPTIAN PRIESTS WEARING LINEN DRESSES AND LEOPARD SKINS.

wicked were condemned to return to earth, and after undergoing every form of torture, were obliged to inhabit the bodies of the lower animals for a certain period, when they were annihilated. Death put an end to all distinctions that had prevailed in life. The king and the slave were subject to the same rule. Before his body could be buried with his fathers, the record of his life had to be submitted to a tribunal of forty-two judges. If found worthy of burial, the body was carried across the sacred lake, of which each nome or province had one, and was buried. If unworthy of such honor, the body was returned to the friends of the deceased, and buried usually on the side of the lake opposite the resting place of the just. The body thus disposed of, the soul entered upon a long and trying journey, during which it was engaged in prayers and confessions. This journey led

mummy was carefully guarded from injury in order that the soul, upon its return to the body at the end of all things, might find its former habitation fit for its reception.

The Egyptians were divided into classes or ranks, distinguished by occupations. Modern writers generally reckon three classes, viz. : priests, soldiers, and husbandmen ; the last being subdivided into gardeners, boatmen, artisans of all kinds, and shepherds. The king was the head of both the religious and political systems. His title was Phrah (called Pharaoh in the Bible), signifying the sun. He was the representative of the deity, and his person was sacred. He presided over the sacrifice and poured out libations to the gods. He was governed in every act, almost in his thoughts, by the minute requirements of the sacred books, all of which were de-

signed to make him worthy of his high station. At his death his embalmed body was placed in view of the people, the meanest of whom was free to bring and sustain a charge of unworthiness against him. If the accusation was proved, the body of the king was excluded from burial with his ancestors.

The priestly class ranked next to the king. They were governed by severe rules, which bound them to temperance and cleanliness. They were the masters of all the learning of the Egyptians, and had charge of the secular education as well as the religious training of the sovereign. Their power over the people was absolute, and was heightened by their proficiency in the physical sciences, which enabled them to arouse the superstitious fears of the masses by their skilful optical delusions. They claimed authority to admit men to or exclude them from the unseen world. They were, from very ancient times, the physicians of the eastern world, the prac-

has said that "Egypt was the source of all good government." Perjury was regarded as the greatest of crimes—an offence against the gods and men—and was punished with death. To see a man struggling for his life with an assassin, and to fail to assist him, was also a capital crime. Should the witness be unable to render assistance, he was bound to denounce the assailant to the lawful authorities. A person bringing a false accusation against another was punished as a calumniator. Every Egyptian was bound to deposit with the authorities a written statement of his means of subsistence; he who made a false declaration, or pursued an illegal calling, was put to death. Wilful murder was punished by the death of the offender. A pregnant woman could not be executed until after the birth of her child. A judge who condemned an innocent person to death was guilty of murder, and was punished accordingly. The soldier who deserted his ranks, or disobeyed his orders, was punished with infamy, not with



ANCIENT EGYPTIAN FUNERAL PROCESSION.

tice of embalming the dead enabling them to study the effects of the various diseases upon the human system. Their knowledge was crude, but superior to that of other nations of the time. The Nile valley furnished them with an unlimited supply of medicines.

The military class ranked next to the priests and enjoyed many privileges, among which was exemption from taxation. When not on duty, the troops were allowed to remain on and cultivate their own lands.

The mode of writing practised by the Egyptians consisted of a series of ideographic signs and symbols, which the Greeks termed hieroglyphics, or "sacred sculpture." Neither the Greeks nor Romans ever learned to decipher these signs. Modern scholars have succeeded by their researches in finding the key to them, and they are now easily read.

The laws of Egypt were remarkable, and afford an indisputable evidence of the high civilization enjoyed by the people. Bossuet

death; but could by any subsequent gallant conduct regain his lost honor. Making counterfeit money, false weights, scales, or measures, falsifying public records, or forging documents were crimes punishable with the loss of both hands. A man found guilty of offering violence to a free woman was condemned to mutilation. Adultery was punished, in a man, by a thousand blows with a stick; in a woman, by the loss of her nose. The property of a man could be seized for debt, but not his person; and the debt was null if the debtor swore that he owed nothing to a creditor who was without a bond. The interest was never allowed to amount to more than the principal.

The known history of Egypt extends back to a very remote period. Modern writers differ as to the full measure of its antiquity. One school—the French—with M. Mariette at its head, fix the establishment of the monarchy at about 5000 B. c. Other writers, such as Bunsen, place this event about B. c. 3906. The English

Egyptologists regard B. C. 2700 as the period of the establishment of the monarchy. This last view is accepted here, and forms the basis of this narrative.

Egypt was originally divided into a number of nomes or petty states, independent of each other. The stronger gradually absorbed the weaker. This process of consolidation finally resulted in the establishment of the kingdom named in history. In B. C. 2700 Menes established the first kingdom at This, in upper Egypt, and founded the First Dynasty mentioned by Manetho. He conquered and improved lower Egypt, and built Memphis. There were six kings of this dynasty.

The Third Dynasty reigned at Memphis, and its nine kings were contemporary with those of the First, after Menes. The first of these kings, Necherophes, is said to have conquered Libya, and the last Sephuris is believed to have subdued the tribes of the Sinai Peninsula.

The Second, Fourth and Fifth Dynasties reigned simultaneously; the Second at This, in middle Egypt; the Fourth at Memphis, in lower Egypt; and the Fifth at Elephantine, in upper Egypt. Of these the Memphite Dynasty was the most powerful. It is possible that the kings of the Second and Fifth Dynasties were connected with those of the Fourth by blood, and held their respective crowns by permission of the Memphite sovereigns.

The Fourth Dynasty was established at Memphis about B. C. 2440. It consisted of eight kings, and has left proof of its greatness in the immense structures of stone with which it covered middle Egypt, between the Libyan Mountains and the Nile, the chief

of which were the Pyramids. The founder of the dynasty was Soris (Shuré), who built the northern Pyramid of Abousir, on the blocks of which his name has been found. The second king was Suphis I. (Shufu), the Cheops of Herodotus. He built the "Great Pyramid." He was assisted in this work by Suphis II. (Non-Shufu), who reigned conjointly with him, and survived him three years. These two kings oppressed the people very greatly and despised the gods. They compelled the people to undergo the severest labors in



SCENE ON THE NILE.

their public works, closed the temples, and put a stop to the worship of the gods. Herodotus says that the construction of the "Great Pyramid" consumed thirty years, and required the labor of 100,000 men, who were relieved every three months. The king intended it for his tomb. The great Sphinx, at Gizeh, is also attributed by some writers to this reign. Mencheres, the fourth king, was perhaps the son of Suphis I. He built the "Third Pyramid," which contained his sarcophagus. The fifth king was Ratoises; the sixth Bicheris; the seventh Sebercheres; and the eighth was

Thamphthis. The dynasty extended through a period of 221 years.

During the existence of the Fourth Dynasty, Egypt exhibited a civilization of a very advanced character. The quarrying, transportation, raising, and putting in place the huge blocks of stone of which the pyramids are constructed show a high degree of mechanical science. Each pyramid is located so as to face exactly the cardinal points of the compass, to accomplish which required considerable mathematical knowledge. The monuments show that writing had acquired a degree of perfection which indicates long use. "The reed pen and the inkstand are among the hieroglyphics employed, and the scribe appears pen in hand in the paintings on the tombs, making notes

Maghârah and Sarabit el Khadim, Professor Palmer, of the British Sinai Survey (A. D. 1868-69), found inscriptions extending from the Third to the Eighteenth and Twentieth dynasties, showing that for long ages these mines were a constant source of revenue to Egypt.

The Fourth Dynasty was succeeded at Memphis by the Sixth Dynasty about B. C. 2220. The Second Dynasty continued to reign at This or Abydos, and the Fifth at Elephantine. Two new dynasties—the Ninth and Eleventh—arose at Heracleopolis and Thebes, and Egypt was divided into five kingdoms. Memphis lost its pre-eminence, and Thebes slowly became the most powerful. Thus weakened and divided, the country became the prey of the nomad



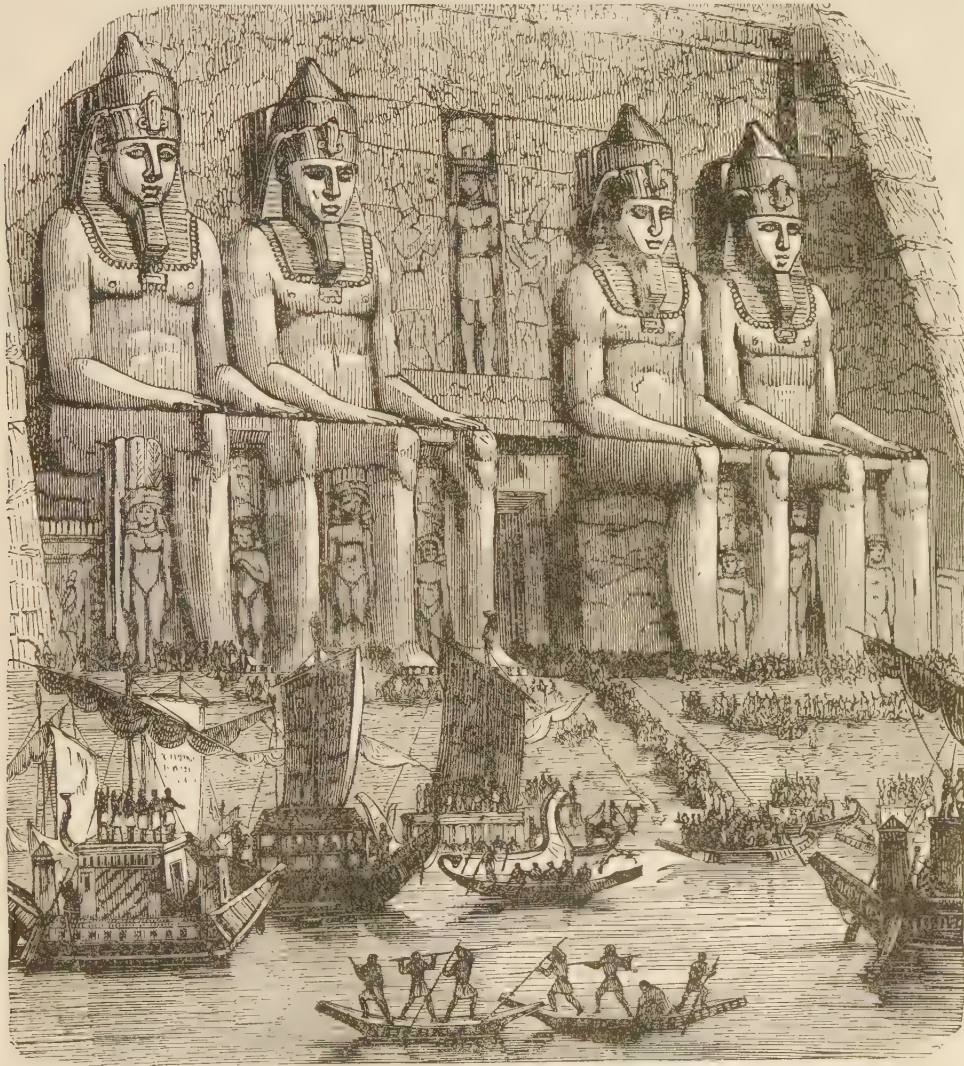
THE PYRAMIDS OF EGYPT.

on linen or papyrus. The drawing of human and animal figures is fully equal, if not superior, to that of later times, and the trades represented are nearly the same as are found under the Rammesside kings. Altogether it is apparent that the Egyptians of the Pyramid period were not just emerging out of barbarism, but were a people who had made very considerable progress in the arts of life." The country was divided into nomes or provinces, each of which had its governor. The priestly and military classes were distinct, and were charged with about the same duties as in later times. Soris, the first king of the dynasty, took possession of the Peninsula of Sinai, and established there colonies of Egyptians for the purpose of working the copper and turquoise mines of that region. In Wady

tribes of Syria and Arabia, which invaded Egypt by the Isthmus of Suez about B. C. 2080, or perhaps a little later. These were the Hyksos or Shepherd kings. They succeeded in conquering Egypt from the sea to latitude 29° 30' N. They carried on their conquest in the cruellest manner; they burned the cities, razed the temples to the ground, slew the male inhabitants, and made slaves of the women and children. Their power was thus established over lower and a part of middle Egypt. They founded two dynasties, which there is reason to believe were contemporary. One of these—the Fifteenth—reigned at Memphis; the other—the Sixteenth—either in the Delta or at Avaris. The remainder of Egypt continued in the hands of native dynasties. The Ninth, reigning at Heracleopolis, held

the Faïoom and the Nile valley as far to the south as Hermopolis; the Fifth continued to hold upper Egypt, reigning at Elephantine. A new kingdom sprang up at Xoïs, in the Delta, in the very heart of the conquests of the Hyksos, under the Fourteenth Dynasty, and maintained its inde-

pendence during the whole period of the Shepherds' ascendancy. During their rule the dynasties of Heracleopolis and Elephantine, though continuing to govern, became dependent upon Thebes. Their power also extended over Heliopolis, below Memphis; and they held the Peninsula of Sinai, and made war against the Arabians and Ethio-



FRONT OF THE ROCK TEMPLE OF IBSAMBUL, EGYPT.

pendence during the whole period of the Shepherds' ascendancy.

Under the vigorous rule of the Twelfth Dynasty Thebes increased rapidly in power and prosperity. This dynasty included six kings and one queen, who was the last of her line. Their combined reigns covered a

period of 160 years. During their rule the dynasties of Heracleopolis and Elephantine, though continuing to govern, became dependent upon Thebes. Their power also extended over Heliopolis, below Memphis; and they held the Peninsula of Sinai, and made war against the Arabians and Ethio-

files. Herodotus says: "The roof was throughout of stone like the walls, and the walls were carved all over with figures. Every court was surrounded with a colonnade, which was built of white stones exquisitely fitted together." The same king constructed Lake Moëris, also in the Faïoom. Sesortasen I. erected numerous temples and an obelisk. Architecture and the arts flourished; canals were constructed for the purposes of irrigation, and upper Egypt seemed to increase in power and prosperity in proportion to the oppression and degradation of the lower country under the rude Hyksos.

The Thirteenth (Theban) Dynasty lost all that the Twelfth had won. They were attacked by the Shepherd kings, driven from their kingdoms and forced to take

It is believed that Joseph and the family of Jacob came into Egypt during the reign of one of the kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty.

The Eighteenth Dynasty began to reign at Thebes about B. C. 1525. Its founder was Amosis, or Ames or Aahmes. Thebes had now regained her power, and under Amosis the Shepherd kings were driven out of Egypt, across the isthmus into Asia. The country, thus released from its foreign oppressors, became a single centralized monarchy, with Thebes as its capital. Egypt now entered on the most flourishing period of its history, which continued through the reigns of this and the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. During this period Egyptian art attained its highest perfection. Thebes reached the height

of its splendor. Its great temple-palaces and obelisks belong to this period. Aggressive wars marked these reigns, and the conquering arms of Egypt were carried into Ethiopia, Arabia, Syria, and even beyond the Euphrates.

The first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty was Amosis. He reigned twenty-six years. His successor was Amunoph I., who married the widow of Amosis, and reigned twenty-one years. She was a Theban princess of Ethiopian blood, and is called "the good, glorious woman."

Thothmes I. was the third king. He won great victories over the Ethiopians, and reduced the Canaanites of Palestine—most likely the Philistine inhabitants of the great maritime plain—to submission. He even carried his conquests across the Euphrates into Mesopotamia. He reigned twenty-one years, and after his death his daughter Amen-set (Amensis) became regent for his infant sons. She reigned seventeen years. To her reign belong the two gigantic obelisks, one of which still stands among the ruins of Karnak. Her reign was brilliant and successful, and terminated with her life. She was succeeded by her brother, Thothmes III., who had been of age for some years, Thothmes II. having died during his infancy. He reigned for upwards of forty



RUINS OF THEBES—UPPER EGYPT.

refuge in Ethiopia. The Hyksos then occupied upper Egypt, and destroyed the monuments of the Twelfth Dynasty. Thus their authority was supreme over all Egypt about B. C. 1900. It lasted until about B. C. 1525. The Theban monarchs most likely returned to their own country, and regained their crowns as the tributaries of the Hyksos. The other native kingdoms appear to have existed on the same conditions. The Seventh and Eighth Dynasties of Memphis, the Tenth of Heracleopolis, and the Seventeenth Shepherd Dynasty belong to this period, which is the darkest part of Egyptian history. The Hyksos destroyed the monuments of their predecessors and left none of their own, so that we have no record of their history. For nearly 300 years the names of their kings are unknown to us.

years, and carried on wars in Ethiopia, Arabia, Syria, and western Mesopotamia. He built magnificent palaces and temples at Thebes, Karnak, Memphis, Heliopolis, Coptos, and other places. Amunoph II.,



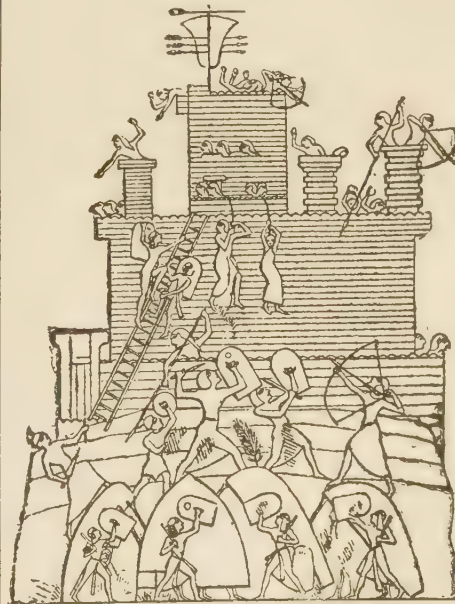
CHARIOT-HORSE OF RAMESSES III.

his son, the sixth king, was associated with him shortly before his death, and succeeded him. Amunoph's reign was short and uneventful. He was succeeded by his son Thothmes IV., who is believed by some writers to have caused the construction of the great Sphinx near the Pyramids. Amunoph III., his son and successor, came to the throne about B. C. 1400. He was one of the greatest monarchs of the dynasty. He conducted successful wars against the Libyans and Ethiopians. He was also a great builder. The two great Colossi, one of which is known as "the Vocal Memnon," belong to his reign. He also caused the construction of tanks or reservoirs throughout the kingdom for the retention of water for irrigation. His reign lasted for about thirty-six years, and was marked by great internal troubles caused by his unsuccessful efforts to change the religion of the nation. His son Horus, his lawful heir, succeeded him, but his claims were disputed by pretenders who are thought to have been his brothers and sisters, and for thirty years the country was in an unsettled and disturbed state. Horus ultimately triumphed, and reigned seven years longer, when he died. He was succeeded by Resitot (Rathotis), whose relationship to him is uncertain, and with whom the dynasty ended in B. C. 1324.

In the same year the Nineteenth Dynasty was founded by Rameses I., who was de-

scended from the first two kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty, but not through any of the later kings. He reigned less than two years, and was succeeded by his son Seti (the Sesostris of the Greeks), a great and warlike monarch, who conquered Syria, which had revolted after the death of Amunoph III., and carried his victorious arms to the borders of Cilicia and the Euphrates. He built the great hall of Karnak, and constructed for himself the most beautiful of the royal tombs. For a number of years his son, Rameses II., called the Great, was associated with him in the government, and after the death of Seti he became sole king (about B. C. 1311).

Rameses reigned sixty-six years, and the events of his life are so mixed up with fable that it is hard to separate fact from legend. He conquered Libya and Arabia during his father's lifetime, and upon becoming sole king subdued Ethiopia. He built a canal from the Nile above Bubastis to the Red Sea, and maintained a fleet which some writers estimate at 400 vessels in that sea. The legend attributes to him the invasion of Asia at the head of a vast army, and the conquest of that continent as far as the



EGYPTIANS ATTACKING A FORT ON A ROCK.

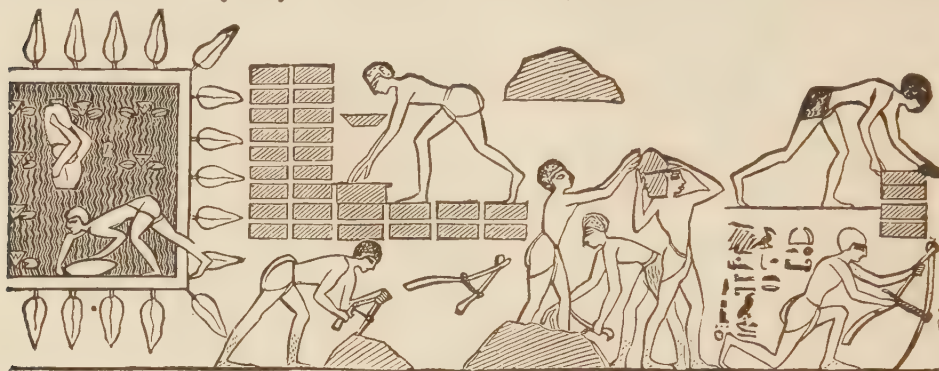
Ganges, but it would seem that his Asiatic wars were confined to quelling the revolts in the provinces already held by Egypt, and he added no new territory to the kingdom. His steles are still to be seen on the

rocks at Adlân near Tyre, and at Nahr el Kelb (Dog River), near Beyrout in Syria. He built the Ramesseum (Memnonium) at Thebes; and in his reign Egyptian art reached its highest point. He was succeeded by his son Amenephthes (Menephthah, or Merenphthah) who, according to some systems of chronology, was the Pharaoh of the Exodus. The length of his reign is uncertain. His successor was his son Sethos II. (Seti), with whom the dynasty terminated about B. C. 1219.

The Twentieth Dynasty was established

VIII. followed them, breaking the general monotony of the Egyptian history of this period by some successful wars. Six or seven other kings followed him, all bearing the same name, and nearly all had short and uneventful reigns. The dynasty appears to have ended about B. C. 1085.

The highest pitch of Egyptian greatness was reached under the Nineteenth Dynasty. Under the Twentieth the military power and the internal strength and prosperity of the empire declined rapidly. One by one its conquests were torn from it in Asia and



FOREIGN CAPTIVES EMPLOYED IN MAKING BRICKS AT THEBES.

by Rameses III. He was a great builder and a great conqueror. He erected the palace at Medinet Abu at Thebes, every pylon, every gate, every chamber of which gives us an account of his exploits. He defeated an invasion of the Libyans aided by the Tokari, the people from the islands or northern shores of the Mediterranean, and appears to have fought a naval battle with the fleet of the latter. He also conducted a successful campaign in Asia, advancing as far as Western Mesopotamia. He had four sons, all named Rameses, who came to the throne successively. Rameses

in the country to the south of its natural limits. "From its prolonged contact with Asiatics, Egypt had lost that unity essential to its power. Semitic words had been admitted to the language; foreign gods had invaded the sanctuaries previously inaccessible." During this period of general decline, another cause of weakness appeared. "The high priests of Amen, at Thebes, with whom that dignity was hereditary, attempted to play the part taken in later times by the mayors of the palace under the Merovingian Kings of France; they possessed themselves successively of all the supreme

functions, civil and military, gradually undermined the royal authority, and aspired to dethrone the legitimate king. Egypt thus paid the penalty of the ambition of the conquerors of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. The process of internal decay was rapidly sapping the prosperity of the nation during the existence of the Twentieth Dynasty. The overwhelming predominance acquired by the priestly class, whose influence pervaded all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, was fatal to thought and progress of all kinds.



EGYPTIAN MUMMIES.

The people were held sternly to the old forms of religion, architecture languished, no new buildings were erected, art neglected the study of nature, and confined itself to the slavish imitation of old models. The object of the priestly party was to maintain all things at a certain set level, fixed and immutable. Hence, when the limit of progress had thus been fixed, decay set in. The later monarchs of the Twentieth Dynasty were little more than puppets in the hands of the priests.

About B. c. 1085, at the close of that

dynasty, the Twenty-first began its reign at Tanis (Zoan) in the Delta. They styled themselves "High Priests of Amen," and wore the priestly dress. Their rule was acknowledged in upper as well as in middle and lower Egypt, but their power was not established without a struggle.

The reign of the Twenty-first Dynasty extended through seven kings. This period was one of mental and political insignificance. Ethiopia revolted and became independent of Egypt; and all the Asiatic conquests were lost. The strong kingdom of Israel was formed by David out of territory which had once been subject to Egypt. One of the Tanite kings, probably Amenephtes, or Osochor, gave his daughter in marriage to Solomon—an evidence that the dynasty had abandoned all hope of reasserting its ancient power in Asia. At the same time Assyria, the great rival of Egypt, was rapidly growing into a powerful empire beyond the Euphrates.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY TO THE END OF THE PERSIAN DOMINION.

The Twenty-second Dynasty—Revival of the Monarchy—Bubastis the Capital—The Twenty-third Dynasty Remove the Capital to Sais—Egypt and Assyria at War—Battle of Raphia—Sargon Subdues the Delta—Egypt Throws Off the Assyrian Supremacy, but is Again Subdued—Decline of the National Spirit—Psammetichus I. Re-establishes the Independence of Egypt—Defection of the Military Class—Nechoh Makes War Upon Babylon, but is Defeated by Nebuchadnezzar—Growth of Egyptian Commerce—Egypt Conquered by Babylon—Amasis Re-establishes the Independence of his Kingdom—His Conquests—Egypt Conquered by Cambysses—His Cruelties—Egypt a Persian Province—Rebels Against Persia—Ochus Punishes the Rebels.

THE Twenty-first Dynasty ended with Psusennes II. (Pisham II.), B. c. 993. It was succeeded by the Twenty-second Dynasty, founded by Sheshonk I., the son-in-law of Pisham II. By some writers this king is regarded as the grandson of Pisham II., adopted by him as his heir. Though he styled himself High Priest of Amen, he was in no sense an ecclesiastic. He established his capital at Bubastis, in the Delta. Here he gave asylum to Jeroboam, who had fled from Solomon, King of Israel, upon the discovery of his plot to divide the Hebrew monarchy. Under Sheshonk the Egyptian monarchy experi-

enced a temporary revival. He restored to it its military character, and made Egypt once more a formidable state. When Jero-boam established the new kingdom of Israel, Sheshonk, in alliance with him, invaded Judah, captured its cities, plundered the temple at Jerusalem, and made Judah tributary to him. He died in B. C. 972, and was succeeded by his son Osorkon I., whose uneventful reign covered a period of fifteen years. His successor was his son Pehor, B. C. 957. The remaining kings of this dynasty were insignificant personages. The Twenty-second Dynasty came to an end in B. C. 847. It was succeeded by the Twenty-third Dynasty, which consisted of four kings, none of whom were persons of note.

The period of the Twenty-third Dynasty was passed by Egypt in contentions and

established over the Delta, and the Ethiopians were confined to the limits of upper Egypt. Sabaco II. came to the throne about B. C. 704. It would seem that the Assyrians placed the Delta under the rule of petty kings, tributary to them. Their policy was always to weaken Egypt by dividing it as much as possible.

Sabaco II. continued on the throne until B. C. 690, when he was succeeded by the greatest of the Ethiopian monarchs of Egypt. This was Tehrak, called Tirkakah in the Bible, and Tarchus, Tarachus, or Tearchon, by the Greeks. About B. C. 669 Esarhaddon, King of Assyria, invaded Egypt, and conquered the country as far as the First Cataract. He divided Egypt into twenty small kingdoms tributary to Assyria. The next year, profiting by the fatal illness of Esarhaddon, Tirkakah re-



VARIOUS FORMS OF EGYPTIAN HARPS.

revolutions. The country was divided between various families, and was full of civil discords. Nor did this state of affairs cease when the Twenty-fourth Dynasty came to the throne, B. C. 758. This dynasty consisted of a single monarch, called by Manetho and Diodorus, Bocchoris. He removed the capital to Sais, another city of the Delta. In B. C. 730 his reign and life were cut short by Sabaco, an Ethiopian, who conquered Egypt at the head of a powerful army of his countrymen, and established the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. Sabaco I. is known in the Scriptures as So, or Seveh. He made an alliance with Hoshea, King of Israel, who had revolted from Assyria, and this drew upon him the enmity of the masters of Asia. He was defeated by Sargon in the battle of Raphia, B. C. 718. The Assyrian supremacy was

conquered the whole valley of the Nile, being everywhere assisted by the priests of the god Amen as the restorer of the national religion. He drove the kings of the Delta out of their cities, and re-established his authority over that district. In the meantime Asshur-bani-pal, who had succeeded his father as King of Assyria, entered Egypt with a strong army to restore his authority. For two years Tirkakah made a vigorous resistance, but was at length decisively defeated and obliged to retreat beyond the Cataracts, leaving all Egypt once more in possession of the Assyrians. The country was again divided into petty kingdoms, tributary to Assyria, and remained so for many years. A disastrous practice had been maintained since the time of the Twenty-second Dynasty of employing foreign mercenaries in the Egyptian army. These

troops cared little under what master they served, and the army was thus deprived of the stimulus of patriotism, and was rendered unfit to resist the Assyrians. In addition to this, the national spirit had declined so greatly that the foreign yoke was less bitter than it would have been a century or two earlier. These causes rendered it easy for the Assyrians to maintain their supremacy in Egypt.

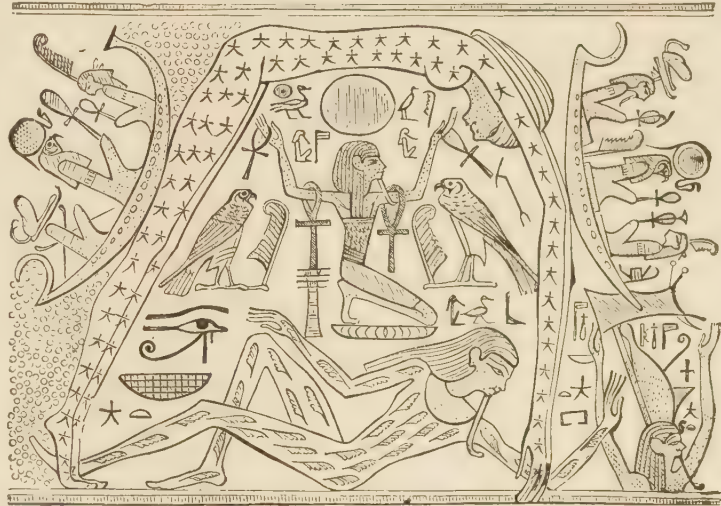
Among the viceroys established by the Assyrians over the petty kingdoms was one named Nechoh. He was either succeeded by his son, or he associated that son with him almost immediately after his appointment by Asshur-bani-pal. This son was Psammetichus I. For several years he was

but was arrested at the outset by the Philistine city of Ashdod, which resisted him, and endured a siege of twenty-nine years before it succumbed. Psammetichus was also a patron of commerce, and did much to encourage friendly intercourse between Egypt and foreign nations. He was succeeded by his son Nechoh, about B. C. 610.

By this time the Assyrian monarchy had fallen, and the powerful empire of Babylon had arisen, under Nebuchadnezzar I. A contest between this monarchy and Egypt for the control of the world was inevitable. It soon came. Nechoh continuing the war begun by his father, overran Philistia, defeated Josiah, King of Judah, at Megiddo, and made himself master of Syria as far as

one of the petty rulers of Egypt, but, at length, taking advantage of the growing weakness of the Assyrian empire, he threw off his allegiance to that power, about B. C. 632, and after putting down the opposition of the other viceroys, made himself master of all Egypt, and ascended the throne as the first king of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Thus Egypt passed once more under the sway of its native kings after nearly a century of

foreign domination. In order to conciliate the Ethiopian party Psammetichus married the daughter and heiress of the King of Thebes, whom he had dethroned, and so secured the undivided adhesion of upper Egypt, where the Ethiopians were still popular. He was a wise and liberal ruler, and under him the arts and sciences received new life. He constructed many great works in the kingdom. He continued the practice of using foreign troops, and by his employment of Greek mercenaries so offended the warrior class of Egypt that large numbers of them deserted to Ethiopia. The number of warriors concerned in this defection is placed at 200,000. Psammetichus entreated them to return, but they preferred to remain in Ethiopia. He undertook the conquest of Palestine and Syria,



EGYPTIAN SYMBOLS OF THE HEAVENS AND THE EARTH.

the Euphrates, reducing the kingdom of Judah to the position of a tributary. Advancing to Carchemish, or Circesium, on the banks of the Euphrates, he encountered the Babylonian army under Nebuchadnezzar, and was utterly routed, and obliged to retire to Egypt, B. C. 604. He lost all his Asian conquests, and was compelled to confine himself to his own kingdom. During his reign Egyptian commerce was largely augmented. So greatly had the number of foreigners increased in Egypt that a new class of interpreters sprang up. Through the medium of these, intercourse with foreign nations was greatly facilitated. The king undertook to reopen the ancient canal from the Nile to the Red Sea, which had been constructed, as we have seen, by Rameses II., but abandoned the attempt on

account of the oracle which warned him that he was working for the barbarian. He caused a vessel, manned by Phœnician sailors, to make the circuit of the African continent by sea. They started from the head of the Red Sea, and returned by the Pillars of Hercules (Straits of Gibraltar) and the Mediterranean. The voyage extended over three years, but was barren of commercial results, and was soon forgotten.

Nechoh was succeeded on the Egyptian throne by his son Psammis, or Psamatik II., B. C. 594, whose unimportant reign of six years witnessed an expedition to Ethiopia. He was succeeded, B. C. 588, by his son Uaphris, the Apries of Herodotus and the Pharaoh Hophra of the Bible,



EGYPTIAN STANDARDS.

whose reign covered a period of nineteen years. He resumed the aggressive policy of his grandfather, besieged Sidon and fought a naval battle with Tyre, but did not succeed in becoming master of Phœnicia. He endeavored to assist Zedekiah in the revolt against Babylon, but was driven back into his own country by Nebuchadnezzar. He also undertook an unsuccessful expedition against Cyrêné. Nebuchadnezzar, about B. C. 581, invaded Egypt and won some trifling successes. He again invaded the kingdom in B. C. 570, compelled its submission, and placed on the throne a new king named Amasis, as a tributary to Babylon, B. C. 569. Amasis reigned forty-four years, holding his crown at first as a dependent of Babylon. He

added to his influence in the kingdom by marrying a daughter of Nitocris, the sister of his predecessor. Under the weaker successes of Nebuchadnezzar, he threw off his allegiance to Babylon, and made himself independent. He adorned Sais, his capital, with grand buildings, and the monuments of his reign are found in all parts of the country. He cultivated friendly relations with Cyrêné and the other Greek states, and encouraged Greek merchants to settle in Egypt. He conquered the island of Cyprus, and made it tributary to him. Alarmed by the growing power of the Persians, who had absorbed Media and Babylon, he made an alliance with Croesus, King of Lydia, and Polycrates of Samos, in the hope of resisting the advance of the conquering nation, but nothing came of this arrangement. He died B. C. 525, and was succeeded by his son Psammenitus, or Psammatic III., who made Memphis his capital. In the same year, the Persian King Cambysses, the son and successor of Cyrus, invaded Egypt at the head of a vast army drawn from all parts of his dominions. Psammenitus endeavored to drive him back in a pitched battle near Pelusium, but was defeated, and obliged to shut himself up in Memphis. That city was taken, and the Egyptian king became a captive after a reign of but six months. In the same year he was put to death by order of Cambysses, who suspected him of a design to regain his crown. With him perished the Egyptian monarchy after an existence of a thousand years as a single united kingdom.

Cambysses remained in Egypt less than three years, but so great was his cruelty, so vast the destruction he accomplished, that the memory of his invasion was never lost by the Egyptians, who from this time detested and constantly plotted against their Persian masters. Egypt was always the most disaffected of the Persian provinces, and her efforts to regain her independence were unceasing.

During nearly the whole of the fifth century B. C., Egypt remained a province of the Persian empire. For a brief period of five years, from B. C. 460 to B. C. 455, a degree of independence was enjoyed by the Twenty-eighth Dynasty, which consisted of one king only. The revolt was suppressed at length, and the Persian authority continued unbroken until B. C. 405, when the Twenty-ninth Dynasty threw off the foreign yoke, under the leadership of Neferites, or

Nefaorot, and established its capital at Mendes. This dynasty held the throne until B. C. 384.

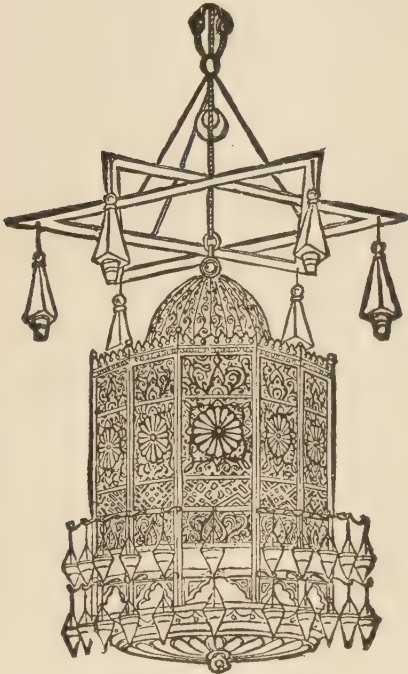
In the last-named year the Thirtieth Dynasty came into power under Nectanebo I., who reigned until B. C. 366. He was succeeded by Teos, or Tachos, who, in his brief reign of two years, contrived to stir up a general disaffection of all the western provinces of the Persian empire. These disorders were quieted by Artaxerxes, but the Egyptian monarch soon after attempted to conquer Syria. He was recalled to his own country by a revolt in which he lost his crown. The successful leader of the

Ochus, who demolished the walls of the cities, plundered the temples, bestowed large rewards upon the Greeks in his service, and returned to Persia, carrying with him an immense booty.

CHAPTER III.

THE GREEK KINGDOM.

Alexander the Great Conquers Egypt—Alexandria Founded and Made the Capital—Greek Civilization in Egypt—Death of Alexander—Ptolemy Lagi Takes Possession of Egypt—Reign of Ptolemy I.—Character of his Kingdom—Ptolemy Philadelphus—Intellectual Greatness of Egypt—The Libraries of Alexandria—The Septuagint—Events of this Reign—Commercial Prosperity of Egypt—Vices of the King—Ptolemy III.—His Conquests—His Relations with Rome—Cruelties of Ptolemy IV.—Decline of the Monarchy Under Ptolemy V.—The Romans in Egypt—The Monarchy Sinks Still Lower—The Romans the Real Arbiters of the Destiny of Egypt—Reigns of the Other Ptolemies—Rapid Decline of Egypt—Cleopatra Queen—Julius Cæsar in Egypt—Mark Antony—The Romans Conquer Egypt—It Becomes a Province of the Empire.



EGYPTIAN LANTERN.

revolt mounted the throne as Nectanebo II., B. C. 364. In B. C. 351, Ochus, King of Persia, made an unsuccessful attempt to conquer Egypt. In B. C. 346, Ochus renewed his attempt, and invaded Egypt with an army of 344,000 men, of which 14,000 were veteran Greek mercenaries, commanded by experienced generals. Nectanebo prepared to meet him with an army of 100,000 men, of whom 20,000 were Greek mercenaries. The Greek generals of Ochus outmanœuvred the Egyptian king, and defeated his army. Egypt was rapidly overrun, and Nectanebo in despair fled to Ethiopia. All Egypt now submitted to

EGYPT continued a province of the Persian empire until after the battle of Issus, when it was conquered by Alexander the Great, who annexed it to his empire, and conferred a lasting benefit upon it by the erection of the city of Alexandria. Alexander spent little time either in the conquest or reorganization of Egypt, but in this brief period he entirely changed the character of Egyptian history and of the Egyptians themselves, and laid the foundations of their future greatness and glory. He made Alexandria the capital of Egypt, and gave to it the advantages of Greek civilization which rapidly spread among the native population. By this change Egypt was brought into constant and familiar intercourse with the rest of the world, and commercial pursuits were adopted by the greater part of the nation. The Macedo-Greek element was to be found chiefly in and around Alexandria. In the interior the native population continued in language and religion the same people they had always been, except that they were powerfully affected in manners and thought, and brought more into sympathy with the western world, by their association with the Greeks. They became the willing subjects of Alexander and the Ptolemies, and under them engaged actively in commerce, and began the cultivation of a literature which

soon made Alexandria one of the most illustrious cities in the world.

Upon the death of Alexander, in B. C. 323, the African provinces were assigned to Ptolemy Lagi, in the division of the empire by the generals. Ptolemy at once took possession of his government, which he meant from the first to retain for his own benefit, and devoted himself to the task of rendering it unassailable. Relinquishing all great ambitious designs he confined himself to this policy, and limited his conquests to such regions as could be acquired without too much risk. His great effort was to make Egypt a strong naval power, and in this he ultimately succeeded beyond his expectations. To secure the success of this design

Macedonian and Greek officials. The standing army was also composed almost entirely of Macedonians and Greeks.

An author himself, Ptolemy was a munificent patron of learning. He founded the famous library of Alexandria, and induced the most eminent scholars of the world to take up their residence at his court. Under his wise guidance Alexandria became the brilliant rival of Athens in literature, the arts and sciences. He also adorned his capital with a number of splendid edifices, the most noted of which were the royal palace, the museum, the magnificent light-tower of white marble, called the Pharos, which marked the entrance to the harbor, the Soma, or tomb in which the body of

Alexander the Great was buried, the temple of Serapis, and the hippodrome. His reign extended into the third century before Christ, and he died in B. C. 283, at the age of eighty-four, after a reign of forty years.

Ptolemy II. (Philadelphus) became sole King of Egypt by the death of his father, B. C. 283. He was twenty-six years old, and had been carefully educated by the learned men whom his father had gathered at the Egyptian court. He was a liberal patron of science and literature, and in his reign Alexandria reached the height of her intellectual splen-



SPECIMEN OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ART.

it was necessary that he should be master of Palestine and Phœnicia, as he needed not only the timber but the hardy sailor population of those countries. After a period of alternate success and failure, the peace of B. C. 301, which followed the battle of Ipsus, confirmed him in these possessions. His efforts to obtain Cyprus were unceasing, and after a liberal expenditure of blood and treasure, he made that island a dependency of the Egyptian crown.

The kingdom founded by Ptolemy was an absolute monarchy, in which, while he made no important changes in the ancient laws or political system of the country, the power was lodged entirely in the hands of

dor. He made extensive additions to the Alexandrian library, and the minor library of the Serapeum was entirely collected by him. Learned men were invited to his court from all parts of the world, and literary works of the greatest value were undertaken at his desire or under his patronage. The most important of these was the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into the Greek language, by which they became the property of the world. This work was begun in his reign and was continued through those of several of his successors. This version is known as the Septuagint, either because it was the work of seventy translators, or because it was au-

thorized by the Sanhedrim of Alexandria, which consisted of seventy members. In this reign also, the Egyptian priest Manetho composed in Greek his famous "History of Egypt." Philadelphus was a munificent patron of painting and sculpture, and adorned Alexandria with noble buildings.

Ptolemy II. did not inherit his father's military genius, and his wars were consequently not as important as those of the preceding reign. The first of these was against Macedon for the protection of the Achæan league. He next made war upon his half-brother Magas, King of Cyréné, who threw off his dependence upon Egypt, and marched against that kingdom about B. C. 266. Magas then made an alliance with Antiochus of Syria, and invaded Egypt a second time in B. C. 264. The Egyptians prevented Antiochus from leaving his own kingdom by vigorous movements in that quarter, and checked the advance of Magas. In B. C. 259, Magas was recognized as independent monarch of the Cyrenaica, and

established between Egypt and Ethiopia, Arabia, and India, and for centuries it flowed chiefly along this route to Alexandria, which was the point of its distribution to the nations of Europe. The Ethiopian traffic was especially valuable. This flourishing state of trade naturally produced a full treasury. The revenues of the kingdom in this reign are said to have amounted to 14,800 talents, or about \$17,760,000 (without counting the tribute in grain), a sum equal to the revenue of the whole Persian empire under Darius I.

Philadelphus was not as worthy of admiration as his father. He began his reign by banishing Demetrius Phalereus, whose only offence was that he had advised Ptolemy I. against altering the succession. A little later he caused two of his brothers to be put to death. He was married to Arsinoë, the daughter of Lysimachus, King of Thrace, but becoming enamored of his sister, Arsinoë, who had already been married to his half-brother, Ptolemy Ceraunus,



COIN OF PTOLEMY I.



COIN OF PTOLEMY II.

his daughter Berenice was betrothed to the eldest son of Philadelphus. Ptolemy made himself master of a large part of the coast of Asia Minor and a number of the Cyclades during the war with Syria, which continued ten years longer. Peace was made in B. C. 249, and Ptolemy gave his daughter Berenice in marriage to Antiochus.

Under the second Ptolemy Egypt reached the culminating point of her commercial prosperity. He reopened the canal between the Nile and the Red Sea, which had been dug by Rameses the Great twelve hundred years previous to this reign, and built the port of Arsinoë at the head of the Red Sea, on the site of the present town of Suez. Owing to the dangers of the Red Sea navigation, one port was insufficient, and two more, each called Berenice, were constructed on the African coast, one nearly in latitude 24°, and the other about latitude 13°. A high road was constructed from the northern Berenice to Coptos on the Nile, near Thebes. An extensive commerce was es-

he divorced his first wife and banished her to Coptos in upper Egypt. He then married his sister, to whom he continued passionately attached, though she bore him no children. He did not long survive her, and died of disease in B. C. 247, after a reign of thirty-eight years, during thirty-six of which he was sole monarch.

Ptolemy III., called Eugertes, or the Benefactor, succeeded his father. He was the son of the first wife of Ptolemy II., and was the most enterprising prince of his race. He abandoned the defensive policy of his father and grandfather, and entered upon a series of conquests by which he revived the ancient glories of Egypt and added largely to his dominions. By his marriage with Berenice, the daughter and heiress of Magas, he became master of the Cyrenaica. In a year or two after his accession he made war against Syria, to avenge the wrongs of his sister, Berenice, who had been divorced by Antiochus, and then murdered by Laodicé. In B. C. 245 Eugertes marched

into Syria and captured Antioch, after which he crossed the Euphrates and reduced Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Susiana, Media and Persia, and received the submission of the eastern provinces to the borders of Bactria. While he was thus engaged, his fleet ravaged the coast of Asia Minor and Thrace. He was recalled to Egypt by impending troubles, and at once lost all his eastern conquests, which were recovered by the Syrian monarch. The maritime provinces, however, were retained, as Ptolemy's command of the sea enabled him to hold them. His empire now extended along the Mediterranean from Cyrené to the Hellespont, and included a



COIN OF PTOLEMY III.

portion of Thrace, and many islands of the Mediterranean. Towards the close of his reign he made himself master of a part of the western coast of Arabia, and of portions of Ethiopia. He took part in the struggles in Greece, supporting first the Achæan League until it came to terms with Antigonus, when he aided Cleomenes, of Sparta, against the confederates. During this war the Egyptian fleet defeated that of Antigonus, off Andros. Euergetes maintained friendly relations with Rome, but declined the assistance proffered him by the Republic against Syria. He appears to have been suspicious of the ambitious Romans. Euergetes was also a patron of learning and art. He died B. C. 222, after a prosperous reign of twenty-five years. He was the last of the great Macedonian kings of Egypt, and under him that country reached the summit of her later power and prosperity. His successors were weak and generally worthless.

Ptolemy IV. succeeded his father. As he was generally suspected of murdering Euergetes, he assumed the title of Philopater (lover of his father) to allay this suspicion. He began his reign, however, by murdering his mother, his brother, and his uncle, and marrying his sister, Arsinoë, whom he put to death a few years later, after she had borne him an heir to the throne. He was a weak and shamefully dissolute king, and the gov-

ernment of the kingdom was conducted by his minister, Sosibius, who was as wicked and unfit to rule as his master. This state of affairs encouraged Antiochus III., of Syria, to attempt to recover his dominions and to wrest Palestine and Phœnicia from Egypt. He was defeated by the Egyptians at Raphia, and succeeded in regaining only the port of Antioch, B. C. 217. This war had scarcely closed when a general revolt broke out among Philopater's Egyptian subjects. It lasted through a large part of this reign, and required a liberal expenditure of blood and treasure for its suppression. Notwithstanding his infamous character, Philopater was a liberal patron of learning and the arts, and dedicated a temple to Homer. He died at the age of forty, B. C. 205, a victim to his excesses.

Ptolemy V., who afterwards assumed the surname of Epiphanes, was the son of the murdered Arsinoë and Philopater, and was but five years old at the time of his father's death. He was readily acknowledged king, and Agathocles, an infamous and incompetent adventurer, a former favorite of Philopater, was made regent. He soon fell a victim to the rage of the people, together with all his relatives, and Tlepolemus, who was honest, if incompetent, succeeded to the regency. The alliance of Syria and Macedon against Egypt made it of the highest importance that the affairs of the kingdom should be administered by a firm and able hand. A combined attack of the allies stripped Egypt of all her



COIN OF PTOLEMY IV.

foreign possessions but Cyprus and the Cyrenaica. Tlepolemus, feeling his own incompetence, asked aid of the Romans, who, in B. C. 201, sent M. Lepidus to undertake the management of Egyptian affairs. Lepidus, by his exertions, preserved Egypt from conquest, but was either unwilling or unable to regain the foreign possessions of which she had been deprived.

Ptolemy V., protected from the efforts of Antiochus of Syria by his Roman patrons, was declared of age in B. C. 196, when only fourteen years old. He was a weak

and cruel prince, and began his reign by the murder of his honest guardian. He was himself assassinated in B. C. 181.

Ptolemy VI., seven years of age at the time, succeeded his father. For eight years the kingdom was well ruled by his mother, Cleopatra, the daughter of Antiochus the Great. At her death in B. C. 173, the power passed into the hands of two corrupt and incompetent ministers, who involved Egypt in a war with Antiochus Epiphanes of Syria, who invaded Egypt, defeated the royal army at Pelusium, and gained possession of Ptolemy VI., whom he used as a tool for effecting the reduction of the entire



COIN OF PTOLEMY V.

country. The people of Alexandria made the younger brother, Ptolemy Physcon, king, and the Romans, intervening, compelled Antiochus to surrender his conquests and withdraw. The brothers agreed to reign conjointly, and Ptolemy VI. married his only sister, Cleopatra. Then both renewed the war with Syria. Antiochus seized Cyprus, and advanced into Egypt, B. C. 168. He would have taken Alexandria had not the Romans again compelled him to retire. Four years later the brothers quarrelled, and Ptolemy VI. went to Rome, where the Senate sustained his cause. Physcon refusing to accept the adjustment of the Senate, a civil war ensued, which was finally closed by the capture of Physcon by Ptolemy VI., B. C. 155. Ptolemy spared his brother's life, and restored his dominions. Some years later Ptolemy encouraged the rebellion of Alexander Balas in Syria as a means of revenging himself upon that country, and aided him to gain the throne. Disgusted by the ingratitude of Alexander, he passed over to Demetrius, and assisted him to hurl his rival from power. He was killed by a fall from his horse in the last battle with Alexander, near Antioch, B. C. 146.

Ptolemy VII., Eupator, succeeded his father, but was murdered a few days later by his uncle Physcon, who, by the aid of the Romans, became King of Egypt and Cyr  ne as Ptolemy VIII. He married his sister,

the widow of Ptolemy VI., and began such a series of cruelties that his subjects fled in such numbers that Alexandria was half depopulated. He was so bloated and corpulent that he could scarcely walk. He repudiated his wife, Cleopatra, although she had borne him a son, and married her daughter, Cleopatra, the child of his brother. His cruelties at length drove the Alexandrians into rebellion. They made the elder Cleopatra queen, and Physcon fled to Cyprus, B. C. 130. A civil war of three years ensued. In B. C. 127 Cleopatra imprudently applied to the Syrian king, Demetrius II., for aid, and this act so alarmed the Alexandrians that they deposed her and recalled Physcon, who, profiting by the lessons of his exile, desisted from his cruelties. He devoted the latter part of his reign to literary pursuits, and obtained some reputation as an author. He did not desist from war, however, but, to avenge himself on Demetrius for the support he had given to Cleopatra, induced Alexander Zabinas, the son of Alexander Balas, to revive his father's claims to the Syrian crown. With the aid of Egypt Alexander became king, but, like his father, turned upon his patron, who thereupon hurled him from his throne and secured the elevation of Antiochus Grypus, to whom he gave his daughter, Tryph  na, in marriage.

Ptolemy IX., called Lathyrus, succeeded his father in B. C. 117. At his death Phys-



COIN OF PTOLEMY VI.

con bequeathed the kingdom of Cyr  ne to his natural son, Apion, who at his death left it to the Romans. It was thus lost to Egypt. Cyprus became almost a separate monarchy, being governed at first by Alexander, the brother of Ptolemy, as king. Ptolemy began his reign as King of Egypt, but the real power was held by the queen mother, Cleopatra, who obliged her son to divorce his sister, Cleopatra, and marry his other sister, Sel  n  , who was more easily managed by their mother. In B. C. 107 Ptolemy having commenced a policy in Syria adverse to her own, the queen mother

compelled him to retire to Cyprus, and placed Alexander on the Egyptian throne. Soon after this the queen mother endeavored to dispossess Ptolemy of Cyprus, but he succeeded in maintaining himself there as king.

About the year B. C. 89 Alexander I. murdered his mother, and proclaimed himself king as Ptolemy X. He was expelled from the capital by the Alexandrians, who summoned his brother Lathyrus from Cyprus to resume the sovereignty. Alexander subsequently attempted to regain Cyprus, but was defeated, and soon after died. A little later a revolt broke out in Thebes, in upper Egypt. The royal troops invested the city, captured it and destroyed it, B. C. 86. Lathyrus after this reigned peacefully until B. C. 81, when he died.

Berenice, the only legitimate child of Lathyrus and his daughter by Seléné, succeeded him upon the throne, and reigned for six months as sole monarch. She then married her cousin Ptolemy XI., also called Alexander II., the son of Alexander I. (or Ptolemy X.) He was a protégé of Sulla, and the marriage was consummated in order to prevent a civil war, with the agreement that the king and queen should reign conjointly, but within three weeks after the marriage the king murdered his wife. The Alexandrians, enraged at this, rose against him and killed him, B. C. 80. For fifteen years a period of confusion prevailed, the crown being claimed by a number of pretenders.

In B. C. 65, Ptolemy XII., called Auletes, or "the flute player," an illegitimate son of Lathyrus, secured the throne. He dated his reign from the death of his half-sister, Berenice, but he was not properly king of Egypt until B. C. 65. By this time Cyprus had become an independent kingdom. The first efforts of Auletes were directed to securing his recognition by, and the friendship of, the Romans. He was not able to accomplish this until B. C. 59, when Cæsar became Consul, when he succeeded by means of bribery. He had been obliged to spend so much money in effecting this that his treasury was now empty, and in order to refill it he resorted to increased taxation. His subjects, exasperated by his debaucheries and "fluting," rose against him, and after a brief struggle compelled him to fly to Rome. They then placed his two daughters, Tryphæna and Berenice, upon the throne. The former died a year later.

The latter continued to rule until B. C. 55, when her father returned under the protection of Pompey, who sent a strong Roman army, under Gabinius, to restore him. He was resisted by Berenice, who sought to retain the crown, but she was overcome and put to death. Auletes then reigned under the protection of his Roman masters until B. C. 51, when he died, leaving his country on the brink of the ruin and degradation to which he had led it.

Ptolemy XII. left his crown to his eldest daughter, Cleopatra, aged seventeen, and his eldest son, Ptolemy, aged thirteen. He ordered that the two should reign conjointly and be married when Ptolemy was of full age. He left also two other children, a son named Ptolemy, and a daughter named Arsinoë, who were mere children. His directions were approved by the Romans, but Cleopatra, unwilling to submit to any control, quarrelled with her youthful husband. War followed, and Cleopatra took refuge in Syria. Here she met Julius Cæsar and so fascinated him with her marvellous beauty that he became her protector. With his aid she conquered her husband, who was slain in the struggle, and was made sole queen of Egypt on condition of marrying her younger brother when he came of age, B. C. 47. In B. C. 44 she complied with her agreement in form, but freed herself by having her second husband poisoned soon after the marriage. The remainder of her reign was generally prosperous, for Cæsar remained faithful to her during his life. After his death she succeeded in winning Mark Antony to her side, B. C. 41, and made him her slave. For the sake of the guilty love he bore her, Antony sacrificed honor, ambition and power. He abandoned his wife, who was a woman worthy of all honor and had been conspicuously faithful to him, deserted his country, and basely left to its fate the army that had stood by him through good and evil report, to follow the Egyptian queen, who, when the moment of trial came, showed herself willing to sacrifice him to ensure her own safety and the retention of her kingdom. We shall refer to this period of Egyptian history in our account of Rome, and pass it by now. It only remains to say that, upon the capture of her capital by the Romans, in B. C. 30, Cleopatra committed suicide, and Egypt became a Roman province. Thus fell the kingdom of the Ptolemies, after an existence of 293 years.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE ROMAN CONQUEST TO THE PRESENT TIME.

Egypt as a Roman Province—Literary Splendor of Alexandria—Christianity in Egypt—Decline of Upper Egypt—Zenobia becomes Queen of Egypt—Is Conquered by the Romans—Rebellions of the Egyptians against Rome—They are Unsuccessful—Diocletian Takes Alexandria—Egypt a Ruined Country—The Greek Element Dies Out—Rise of the Copts—Persecutions of the Egyptian Christians—The Establishment of Christianity under Constantine—The Arian Controversy—The Council of Nicæa—The Arians Persecuted—The Pagan Temples Destroyed—Effects of Paganism upon Christianity—Cyril—Murder of Hypatia—Desolation of Upper Egypt—Conquest of Egypt by the Persians—Rise of the Coptic Church—Rise of the Mohammedans—Conquest of Egypt by Amru—Alexandria Taken—Egypt a Saracen Province—Spread of Islamism—Rise of the Fatimite Khalifs—They Conquer Egypt—Division in the Mohammedan Church—Al-Hakem—End of the Fatimite Line—Saladin—Saladin Conquers Palestine and Syria—The Mamelukes—They Seize the Egyptian Kingdom—Egypt Conquered by the Ottoman Turks—Becomes a Turkish Province—Is Conquered by Napoleon Bonaparte—Mehemet Ali—Massacre of the Mamelukes—His Efforts to Make Egypt Independent—The Greek Revolution—Egypt Rebels against Turkey—Ibrahim Pasha's Victories—Syria Conquered—Intervention of the European Powers—Egypt Reduced to its Proper Limits—Abbas Pasha—The First Railroad in Egypt—The Suez Canal Begun—Ismail Pasha—Rapid Advance of Egypt under its Present Ruler.

EGYPT remained a Roman province for more than three centuries. Under the earliest of the Roman emperors it was, on the whole, well treated, while governed with great rigor. It was regarded as one of the most valuable portions of the empire, and was the chief source from which the city of Rome drew its grain. It was governed by prefects, and was frequently visited by the emperors.

During this period Alexandria was considered the chief seat of the learning of the ancient world. Its libraries, museums and rare collections of art made it the most attractive place of residence and resort in existence to the learned and cultivated, who flocked to it in such throngs as to give character to its society.

Christianity spread rapidly, Alexandria being its chief centre, and the writings of the Christian authors began to command a respectful attention equal to that paid to the productions of the most learned pagan philosophers.

During this period the population of upper Egypt decreased steadily. By the reign of the Emperor Commodus (A. D. 181–194), "it had been drained of all its

hoarded wealth. Its carrying trade through Coptos to the Red Sea was much lessened. Any tribute that its temples received from the piety of the neighborhood was small. Nubia was a desert; and a few soldiers at Syene were enough to guard the poverty of the Thebaid from the inroads of the Blemmyes. It was no longer necessary to send criminals to the Oasis; it was enough to banish them to the neighborhood of Thebes." Lower Egypt suffered much from the uncertainty and want of order which followed the reign of Alexander Severus (A. D. 222–225), and which were due to the constant rebellions and persecutions, and the frequent changes in the imperial power. Famine, until then almost a stranger to Egypt, became a frequent visitor, and poverty increased in a marked degree among the people.

In the last year of the reign of Gallienus, Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, who had hitherto been the ally of Rome, threw off the friendship of the empire, routed the armies which Gallienus sent against her, and marched upon Egypt to add that country to her dominions, which already included Syria and Asia Minor. She claimed to be a descendant of Cleopatra, the last queen of Egypt, and was joined by a large Egyptian force. The attempt was unsuccessful, however. It was renewed upon the death of Claudius (A. D. 270), and this time with success. All Egypt acknowledged Zenobia as its queen, and the country became for the time a province of Syria. Aurelian at first recognized Zenobia as his colleague in the empire, and some of the Alexandrian coins of this period bear his head on one side and the head of the Palmyrene queen on the other. Soon afterwards Aurelian marched against her, defeated her, made her prisoner, and added her kingdom to the territory of the empire. Egypt thereupon became once more a Roman province.

The period of the Roman dominion was marked by numerous but fruitless rebellions. The most formidable of these lasted nine years, and was suppressed with difficulty and great severity by the Emperor Diocletian in person. Several cities were captured and destroyed, and Alexandria was taken by storm after a siege of eight months. A large part of the city was burned, and many of the inhabitants were put to the sword, A. D. 297. Egypt suffered terribly from these rebellions, and especially

from the last one. The traffic along the Nile was stopped, the canals for the irrigation of the country became choked up, the fields were badly cultivated, and trade and manufactures of all kinds were nearly ruined. Egypt, in short, emerged from the great rebellion a very different country from that which Augustus had made a part of his empire, and which his successors had regarded as one of the most valuable jewels of their crown. Another change had resulted from these internal troubles. "The frame-work of society had been shaken, the Greeks had lessened in numbers, and still more in weight. The fall of the Ptolemies and the conquest by Rome did not make so great a change. The bright days of Egypt

rapidly in Egypt. Since the reign of Gallienus the Christians had been allowed to build churches and hold public meetings, and a number of the brightest and purest names of this period were furnished by them. The Emperor Diocletian undertook in A. D. 304 to exterminate the Christian faith throughout the empire by a terrible persecution. This persecution was nowhere more severe than in Egypt, and large numbers of Christians perished in it. It did not check the growth of the new religion, however, but added thousands of converts to it. These cruelties came to an end in the reign of Constantine the Great, who made Christianity the religion of the empire. The Christians had been united



ANCIENT EGYPTIAN COSTUME.

as a Greek kingdom began with the building of Alexandria and ended with the rebellions against Gallienus, Aurelian and Diocletian. The native Egyptians, both Copts and Arabs, now rise into notice, but only because Greek civilization sinks around them. And soon the upper classes among the Copts, to avoid the duty of maintaining a family of children in such troubled times, rush by thousands into monasteries and convents, and further lessen the population by their religious vows of celibacy."*

Christianity, as we have said, spread

* *History of Egypt*, by Samuel Sharpe, vol. ii., p. 241.

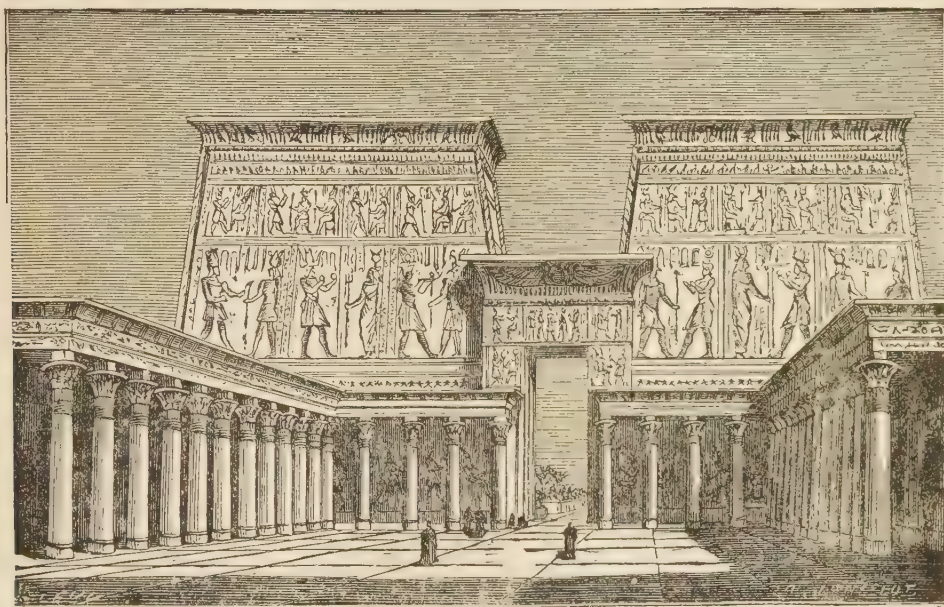
during their sufferings, but after the triumphant establishment of their faith, divisions appeared among them and led to a number of bitter and even sanguinary quarrels. After Constantinople became the capital of the empire in A. D. 330, the history of Egypt is, for a period of about three centuries, little more than a record of the disputes of its theologians. These disputes frequently led to riots and other outbreaks,

and the streets of Alexandria often flowed with the blood of Christians shed by Christian hands. "As soon as the quarrels with the pagans ceased," says Sharpe, "we find the Christians of Egypt and Alexandria divided into two parties, on the question whether the Son is of the *same substance*, or only a *similar substance*, with the Father."

The first of these disputes was the Arian controversy, which occurred before the building of Constantinople. Arius, a presbyter of the Alexandrian church, taught that the Father and the Son were not one, but that the Son was a separate being from, and inferior to, the Father, and that the Holy Spirit was created by the power of

the Son. Alexander, the Bishop of Alexandria, denounced this doctrine, and maintained the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. A quarrel ensued between the two, which became so bitter, and so generally divided the people of Alexandria that Constantine felt bound to notice it. He rebuked both parties for their violence, and to settle authoritatively the doctrines of the Christian faith, summoned a council of the bishops and fathers of the church. This council met at Nicæa, in Bithynia, in A. D. 325. It condemned the doctrines of Arius and put forth the Nicæan Creed as the expression of the faith of the church. Arius and his followers were excommunicated by the

Paganism received a decided encouragement in Egypt during the short reign of Julian the Apostate. In A. D. 379 the Emperor Theodosius I. made an earnest effort to root it out. He issued a decree that the whole body of his subjects should adopt the Christian faith as settled by the Nicæan Creed, and ordered that the pagan temples should be closed. Alexandria at this time contained a large pagan population, among which were most of the learned and cultivated classes, and the students in the schools of philosophy. These bitterly resented the emperor's order. Theodosius went further, and ordered the destruction of the idols contained in the pagan temples.



ANCIENT EGYPTIAN TEMPLE.

council and banished by the emperor. Constantine II. reversed the policy of his father. Athanasius, the orthodox Archbishop of Alexandria, was removed and an Arian appointed in his place. This was followed by a cruel persecution of the orthodox Christians. When Julian the Apostate became emperor, his effort to revive the old worship of Rome caused an outbreak on the part of the pagan mob of Alexandria. The Arian archbishop was murdered, and Athanasius again became bishop. He was banished by Julian. He returned, and was banished by the Emperor Valens, who appointed an Arian to his see. The persecutions of the orthodox were renewed.

The Christians, aided by the imperial troops, broke into the heathen sanctuaries, threw down the idols, and desecrated the buildings. The great and superb temple of Serapis, which had for ages been the most famous shrine of paganism, was desecrated and plundered, and its invaluable library, consisting of 700,000 volumes, was destroyed by the Christian mob. The pagans flew to arms in defence of their faith, and several bloody battles were fought in the streets of Alexandria. The imperial troops, under the command of the prefect, at length succeeded in putting down the resistance, and the pagans were driven from the city.

Christianity was now supreme in Egypt.

Theodosius was a Trinitarian, and at once reversed the policy of his predecessor, and displaced all the Arian clergy and appointed Trinitarians in their place. The Arians were severely persecuted. This was particularly acceptable to the Christians of Egypt, a large majority of whom were Trinitarians. They gave the emperor a loyal support, and during this reign Egypt was regarded as one of the safest and most devoted of his provinces.

It will be interesting here to notice how

a dead body, besides burial, was forbidden by the Bible as wicked. St. Augustine, on the other hand, well understanding that the immortality of the soul without the body was little likely to be understood or valued by the ignorant, praises the Egyptians for that very practice, and says that they were the only Christians who really believed in the resurrection from the dead. The figures of the Virgin Mary standing on the new moon as she ascends up to heaven, seem to be borrowed from the goddess Isis, who, in



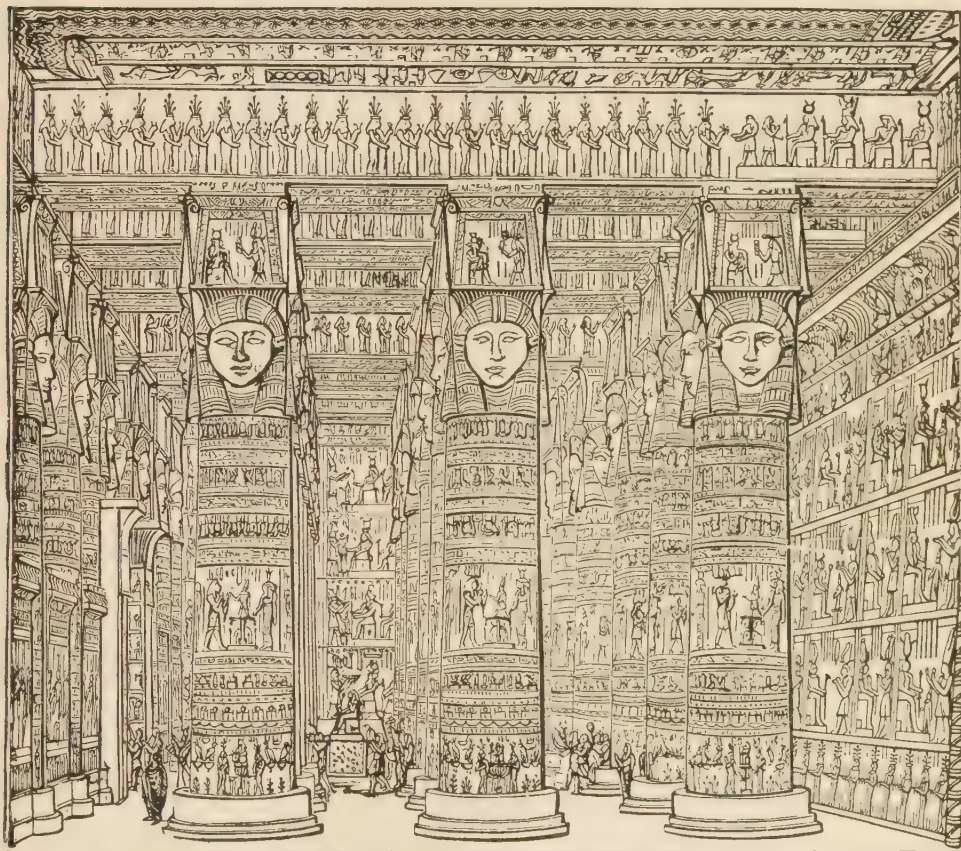
DESTRUCTION OF THE PAGAN TEMPLES AT ALEXANDRIA.

much Christianity, though triumphant over paganism, was affected by it, especially in Egypt. "It would be unreasonable," says Sharpe, "to suppose that the Egyptians, on embracing Christianity, at once threw off the whole of their pagan rites. Among other customs that they still clung to was that of making mummies of the bodies of the dead. St. Anthony had tried to dissuade the Christian converts from that practice; not because the mummy cases were covered with pagan inscriptions; but he boldly asserted, what a very little reading would have disproved, that every mode of treating

her character of the dog-star, rises heliacally in the same manner. The tapers even now burnt before the Roman Catholic altars had also from the earliest times been used to light up the splendors of the Egyptian altars, in the darkness of their temples, and had been burnt in still greater numbers in the yearly festival of the candles. The playful custom of giving away sugared cakes and sweetmeats on the 25th day of Tybi, our 20th of January, was then changed to be kept fourteen days earlier, and still marks with us the feast of Epiphany or Twelfth Night. The division of

the people into clergy and laity, which was unknown to Greeks and Romans, was introduced to Christianity in the fourth century by the Egyptians. While the rest of Christendom were clothed in woollen, linen, the common dress of the Egyptians, was universally adopted by the clergy, as more becoming to the purity of their manners; 'linen,' says the Book of Revelation, 'is what is appointed for the saints.*' At the same time the clergy copied the Egyptian

rather blots, upon Christianity, which seem to be of Egyptian growth; and the mud of the Nile, as Homer remarks, was as fruitful of poisons as it was of medicines. Thus was brought about what was called the spread of Christianity, but what was rather an union of the two religions, or a compromise between the two parties. Wise and good men have doubted whether it helped or hindered the cause of the religion taught and practised by Jesus.†



INTERIOR OF PORTICO OF THE TEMPLE AT DENDERAH, EGYPT.

priests in the custom of shaving the crown of the head bald. Two thousand years before the Bishop of Rome pretended to hold the keys of heaven and hell, there was an Egyptian priest with the high-sounding title of Appointed Keeper of the two doors of heaven in the city of Thebes. It would be easy to point out other improvements, or

* In the English Bible the expression is, "for the fine linen is the righteousness of the saints," Rev. xix. 8.

Under Theodosius II. Cyril was Archbishop of Alexandria. He was proud, haughty, bigoted and cruel. He had scarcely been installed when he headed a Christian mob and drove all the Jews from Alexandria, after a fierce struggle in the streets, and in spite of the efforts of the civil authorities to protect them, A. D. 414. The Christians next attacked the pagans.

† Sharpe's *History of Egypt*, vol. ii., pp. 299, 300.

One of the most popular and gifted of the pagan teachers was Hypatia, the beautiful and learned daughter of Theon, the mathematician. She taught philosophy publicly in the Platonic school which had been founded by Ammonius, and her modest and womanly behavior, as well as her great learning and rare eloquence, drew to her a large number of pupils. Being a pagan, she became particularly obnoxious to the ignorant followers of Cyril, who seized her one day in the street, dragged her from her chariot, hurried her off to the church called Cæsar's Temple, and there stripped and murdered her.



EGYPTIAN DANCING WOMEN.

The Christians, being supreme in Egypt, began to differ among themselves as to certain articles of faith. These controversies grew so bitter that at length a council was called at Chalcedon, in A. D. 451. This council denounced the doctrines held by the greater part of the Egyptian Christians as heretical. The decisions of the council, so far from settling the controversy, only embittered it, and the animosities to which it gave rise led to several conflicts between the Alexandrians and the imperial troops who were charged with the enforce-

ment of the decrees, and finally so alienated the Egyptians from Constantinople, that they came to regard the empire as only an oppressor.

During this time upper Egypt had been sinking into still greater decay. It was now largely overrun by the Nubians and the neighboring Arab tribes, and Christianity was almost driven from the Thebaid. Irrigation was neglected, the fields were half-tilled, the fertile strip along the Nile grew narrower year by year, the great buildings fell into decay, and the desert steadily encroached upon the valley of the Nile. The sand drifted in upon the temples, filling them up, burying the broken or overthrown statues, and blocking up the entrances to the tombs. Yet this desolation was not without its compensating benefits. The sand drifting over the ancient monuments of the country, preserved them from the future masters of that region, and saved them unharmed until the present age, when they are being gradually uncovered by learned explorers, and are yielding their authoritative testimony to the history of their land.

In the tenth year of the reign of the Emperor Anastasius, A. D. 501, the Persians, who had already made themselves masters of Syria, defeated the Roman armies, passed Pelusium, and, entering Egypt, laid waste the whole of the Delta to the gates of Alexandria. They were obliged to retire after a number of indecisive battles, but the destruction they wrought in the Delta caused great suffering to the Egyptians, and in Alexandria this distress produced formidable riots.

Under Justinian a change was made in the government of the country. He appointed an orthodox archbishop or patriarch of Alexandria, and made him also the prefect of Egypt—thus uniting the civil and ecclesiastical functions in one person. The Alexandrians stubbornly resisted this change, and attacked the patriarch in his church. He in his turn charged them with his soldiers, and inflicted such a severe loss upon them that they were compelled to submit.

In A. D. 616, in the reign of the Emperor Heraclius, the Persians, under their King Chosroes II., again entered Egypt, and this

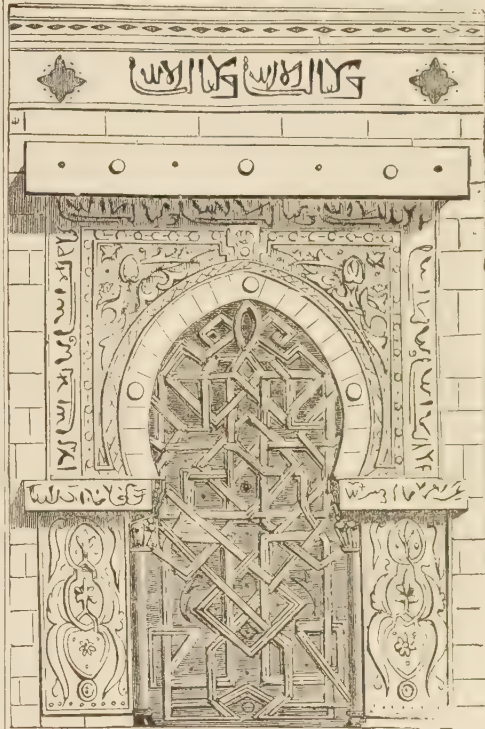
time conquered the country. The people of Egypt had been so thoroughly alienated from the Greek empire that they made no effort to resist the Persians, but readily submitted to their new masters.

The Persians did not interfere with the religious disputes of the Egyptians. Their conquest, however, destroyed the power of the orthodox or Greek church, and henceforth the Egyptian or Coptic church was supreme in the country. The separation was final. "The Christianity of the Egyptians was a superstition of the lowest and grossest kind; and as it spread over the land it embraced the whole nation within its pale, not so much by purifying the pagan opinions as by lowering itself to their level, and fitting itself to their corporeal notions of the Creator. This was not a little brought about by the custom of using the old temples for Christian churches; the form of worship was in part guided by the form of the building, and even the old traditions were engrafted on the new religion." Egypt was held by the Persians for ten years, and during this time the Egyptians were governed in civil affairs by a Persian governor, and in spiritual matters by a patriarch of the Coptic church, of their own choice. On the whole this was one of the quietest periods Egypt had known for centuries. Heraclius, however, at the end of this time drove the Persians out of Syria, invaded their own dominions, and recovered Egypt. The orthodox Greek church was restored to power, but the Coptic church remained unshaken and received the allegiance of the people.

A new power had now grown up in the desert. This was the Saracen or Mohammedan sect, which, commencing with the conquest of Arabia under its founder, was destined under the successors of Mohammed to extend its dominion and religion over the greater part of the eastern world. Having mastered Arabia, Syria was next attacked by the Arabs, or Saracens, the armies of Heraclius were defeated, and by A. D. 639 the whole of Syria was in the hands of the conquerors. Heraclius induced the khalif, as the successors of Mohammed were called, to refrain from the conquest of Egypt, by the annual payment of a large tribute. This was continued for eight years, but then the emperor found himself unable to make his payments. The tribute having ceased, the khalif considered himself freed from his engagements.

In A. D. 640 the Arab army under Amru, the general of the Khalif Omar, entered Egypt from Palestine. Pelusium was taken after a siege of thirty days, and Memphis fell after a siege of eight months, during which it was almost entirely destroyed. Struck with the advantages of the situation, Amru began the construction of a new city on the opposite, or eastern bank of the Nile, a mile or two lower down the river. This settlement now forms one of the suburbs of the city of Cairo.

Amru found a powerful ally in the Egyp-



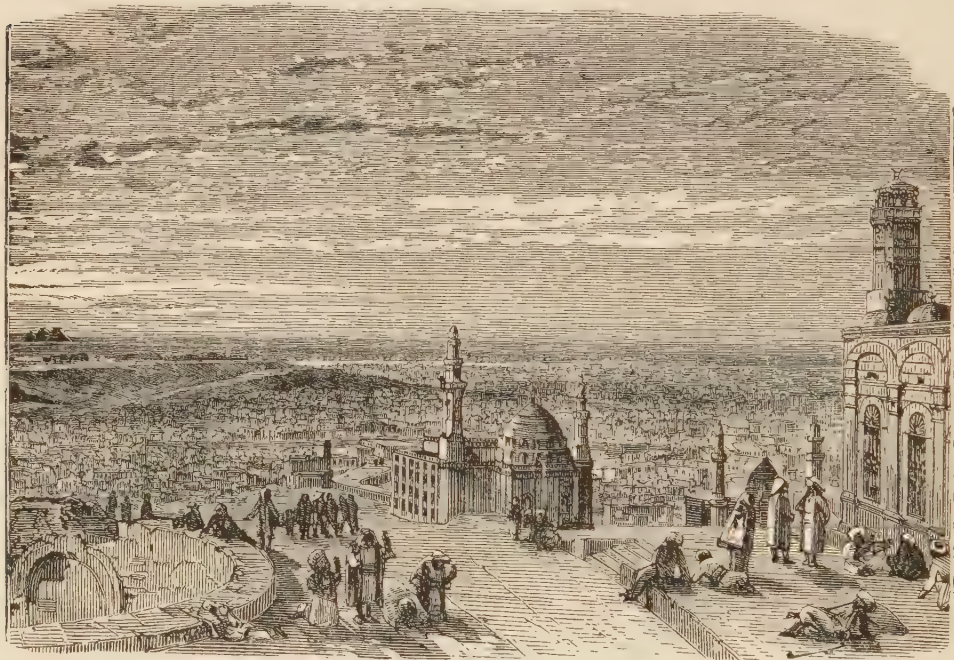
DOOR AT CAIRO INSCRIBED WITH PASSAGES FROM THE KORAN.

tian people, who had been rendered bitterly hostile to the empire by the persecutions to which they had been subjected on account of their religion. The Saracens were everywhere welcomed as the deliverers of the Coptic church. The Egyptians readily submitted to Amru, agreed to pay a stipulated tribute, and swore allegiance to the khalif. The Saracen army during its march was constantly supplied with provisions and trustworthy intelligence. Alexandria was besieged, but its numerous Greek population held out bravely for fourteen months, in-

flicting upon the Saracens a loss of 23,000 men. At length the city was taken, A. D. 641, and the Greeks embarked in great numbers and fled across the Mediterranean. During the next four years the imperial forces made several efforts to regain Alexandria, but were driven back by Amru. The conquest of Egypt was now complete. It was marked by an act of vandalism which has scarcely a parallel in history. The great library of Alexandria, which had been spared by Amru, was burned by order of the Khalif Omar. The precious manuscripts were distributed among the 4,000 baths of the city to heat their waters, and

khalif, and established an independent kingdom, which lasted thirty-seven years. It was subdued at length by the khalif, and a long period of anarchy followed.

During these centuries a new Arab state grew up in northern Africa. In A. D. 908, Mohammed, surnamed Al Mehdi, or the Leader, the chief of the Shiah sect of the Saracens, threw off the authority of the Khalif of Bagdad, and set up an independent state in northern Africa. He made himself khalif, or both the religious and civil ruler of his new kingdom, which he and his successors succeeded in extending over a considerable portion of Africa. This dynasty



VIEW OF CAIRO FROM THE CITADEL.

so great was their number that six months were required for their destruction.

For the next two centuries Egypt remained a province of the Saracen empire, governed by viceroys. Large numbers of Arabs settled in the country, and great accessions to the Mohammedan faith were made from the Egyptians. The Coptic faith declined, and Islamism took its place, so that Egypt gradually changed from a Christian to a Mohammedan country. This period was also marked by great disturbances. In addition to the usual riots and outbreaks, several general revolts occurred, but were suppressed. In A. D. 868, Ahmed, the viceroy, threw off his allegiance to the

became the formidable rivals of the khalifs of Bagdad, and assumed the name of Fatimites in honor of their great ancestress Fatima, the daughter of Mohammed, the Prophet of Islam.

In A. D. 970, Moez, or Muezzeddin, the fourth of the Fatimite khalifs, conquered Egypt. The time was well chosen, for the country was in a state of anarchy, and the people were suffering from a severe famine. The Fatimite army carried large stores of corn with them, and by distributing these to the starving people, obtained their submission to the spiritual and temporal claims of the African khalif. Al Muezzeddin made Egypt the seat of his power, built the city

of Cairo, and made it the capital of his dominions. Thus Egypt became once more an independent and powerful state. The Egyptian khalif denounced the Khalif of Bagdad as an impostor, and declared himself the only lawful successor of the prophet. His claims were diligently preached throughout the eastern world, and a serious division was thus made in the ranks of Islam. The Fatimite khalifs soon added Syria and Arabia to their conquests. Palestine became once more the great battle-field of the rival armies of Egypt and the east. The Fatimite Dynasty ruled Egypt for two centuries.

The most famous of these khalifs was Al Hakem, who reigned from A. D. 996 to 1021. He was either a madman like the Roman Emperor Caligula, or a monster of cruelty. At the outset of his reign he was a zealous Mohammedan, and inaugurated a severe persecution of both the Christians and the Jews within his dominion. He compelled the Christians to bear heavy wooden crosses through the streets, and bound to every Jew the head of a calf in memory of their idolatry at Sinai. He subsequently substituted a heavy wooden bell for the calf's head. In 1020 Hakem, who had fallen under the influence of Hamza, a wandering fanatic, proclaimed himself the incarnation of the Deity, and commanded his subjects to worship him. "At the name of Hakem, the lord of the living and the dead," says Gibbon, "every knee was bent in religious adoration; his mysteries were performed on a mountain near Cairo; 16,000 converts signed his profession of faith." Hakem now became a rigorous persecutor of the Mohammedans, as well as the Christians and the Jews. He destroyed the Christian Church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem, and a thousand other churches in Syria and Egypt. In a short while, however, he ceased his persecution of the Christians, and allowed them to rebuild their churches. In his civil administration, Hakem was a cruel and meddlesome tyrant. He was constantly interfering in the private affairs of his subjects, especially the women, and punished all infractions of his arbitrary decrees in the most barbarous manner. He condemned the women of Egypt to the most perfect seclusion, and forbade them to appear upon the streets. One day he saw what he supposed to be a woman standing in the streets of Cairo, in defiance of his edict; upon coming nearer, he found that it was only a lay figure, made of pasteboard.

It bore in its hand, however, a card on which was a writing accusing the khalif's sister of immorality. Hakem in a rage let loose his troops upon the inhabitants of Cairo, and massacred a large number of them. He then ordered an inquiry into the morals of his sister, who, alarmed for her own safety, caused him to be assassinated, A. D. 1021.

After the death of Hakem, Hamza fled to Syria and established in the fastnesses of Mount Lebanon the sect of the Druses, who still regard Hakem as their Messiah.

The Fatimite line ended with the Khalif Adhed, who died in A. D. 1171. The later khalifs were feeble princes, monarchs only in name. The real power was held by their viziers or chief ministers. The khalif was shut up either in the mosque or the seraglio, as his instincts inclined him, and the vizier ruled the state in his name. This led to frequent struggles for power which weakened the country very greatly. In the reign of the Khalif Adhed the contestants for the supremacy appealed to the Latin King of Jerusalem and to the Sultan of Damascus, respectively, for assistance. Both of these monarchs were hostile to the Egyptian khalifate, and each responded to the appeals made to him in the hope of overthrowing that power and adding Egypt to his own dominions. The Latin King Almeric headed his own army, but the forces of Nouredin, the Sultan of Damascus, were headed by the Emir Shiracouh, a Kurd by birth, and his nephew Saladin. Three successive expeditions made Shiracouh master of Egypt. The conqueror was then invested by the Khalif Adhed with the office of Grand Vizier of Egypt. He lived only two months after this, and, while he accepted the office conferred upon him by Adhed, always styled himself the subject of Nouredin and his lieutenant in Egypt. At his death he was succeeded by his nephew Saladin, who was generally supposed to be wanting in talent, and too much addicted to pleasure to have much authority in the army. Adhed hoped that Saladin's weakness would enable him to regain his lost power, and for a while it seemed that he would succeed. Saladin's true nature now awoke, however, and he soon made himself master of the Egyptian khalif.

Nouredin now ordered Saladin to put an end to the Fatimite khalifate; but Saladin hesitated, as he feared that so bold a

step would provoke an outbreak of the people. "However, one of his council ascended the oratory before the khatib or general reader, and offered the public prayer in the name of the Khalif of Bagdad. No cry of astonishment, no burst of rage and indignation at this offence to national principles, broke the solemn tranquillity of devotion. In a few days the will of the court spread through the country, and the people silently submitted to the subversion of their altars." Adhed was confined to his bed with his last illness during this revolution, and died in ignorance of it.

Saladin at once seized the treasures of the dead khalif, and shut up the children of the latter in the seraglio. He was confirmed in his office by the Sultan of Damascus. "The green silk on the pulpits in Egypt gave way to the black ensigns of the Abbassides, and the schism of two hundred years in the Moslem church was ended."

As long as Nouredin lived, Saladin acknowledged his authority, but at the death of that monarch he proclaimed himself Sultan of Egypt and Syria, and this usurpation was ratified by the Khalif of Bagdad, the spiritual head of Islam, through gratitude to the destroyer of his rival.

The Christian kingdom of Jerusalem had owed its existence to the mutual enmity of the Saracens and the Turks. Now that Saladin's usurpation had made these people practically one, he began to cast longing eyes upon Palestine. A pretext for war was soon afforded him in the violation of the treaty between the Mohammedans and Christians by one of the Latin barons. Saladin rapidly assembled his army, crossed the Jordan, and defeated the Christians in the battle of Hatin, A. D. 1187, in which he took their king, Guy de Lusignan, and his principal commanders prisoners. He followed up this success by the capture of Tiberias, Acre, Jaffa, Cæsarea, and other towns. Tyre held out under the Marquis of Montferrat, but Jerusalem was compelled to surrender after a long and desperate defence.

This success of the Mohammedans roused Europe to undertake the Third Crusade. Saladin succeeded in holding the greater part of his conquests during the long war which ensued, but at length consented to a treaty by which he surrendered the seacoast from Jaffa to Tyre to the Christians.

He was more successful in other quarters, and during his reign extended his power over Arabia and a large part of western Asia, so that "at the hour of his death his empire was spread from the African Tripoli to the Tigris, and from the Indian Ocean to the mountains of Armenia."

Saladin died in Palestine A. D. 1193. His dominions were divided among his three sons, who became Sultans of Aleppo, Damascus, and Egypt. Egypt fell to the share of Aziz, and thus became once more separated from Syria. During the next century Egypt was repeatedly harassed by the armies of the European powers which took part in the crusades. These were all successfully repulsed by the descendants of Saladin. The last of these attacks was made by Louis IX. of France, in 1248. The French king brought with him a large and splendid army, and laid siege to Damietta. After some unimportant successes, he was defeated with a loss of 30,000 men, and made prisoner.

Malek Sala, one of the successors of Saladin on the Egyptian throne, bought a large number of captives from Zenghis Khan, and organized them as his body-guard under the name of Mamelukes. To these were added from time to time other captives from the same region—the country around the Caspian Sea. The Mamelukes were the flower of the Egyptian army, and from the first appreciated their power. They dethroned the successor of Malek Sala, and made Ibeg, their leader, sultan in his place. For the next 130 years the Mamelukes ruled Egypt, making and unmaking sultans at their pleasure. Towards the close of the fourteenth century the Circassians, who now comprised the bulk of the Mameluke force, defeated the Turkish Mamelukes, and made their own leader sultan. For the next century anarchy reigned supreme in Egypt.

In 1485 the Ottoman Turks, who had established themselves in Europe, with Constantinople as their capital, turned their arms against Egypt. The war lasted five years, and resulted in the defeat of the Turks by the Mamelukes. Selim I. renewed the war in 1516, and on the 22d of January, 1517, defeated the Mamelukes at Ridania, a little village between the Syrian frontier and Egypt. The Mamelukes lost 25,000 men in this battle, and their power was completely broken. Seven days later Selim occupied Cairo without resistance,

and leaving a garrison there proceeded to overrun the rest of the country. Cairo had no regular fortifications, and a few days later a Mameluke force made a dash at it, captured the city, and exterminated the Turkish garrison. Selim now sent his best troops to retake the city. The Mamelukes barricaded the streets and occupied the houses. For three days they held the city against the Turks, but were at length induced by Selim's promises of amnesty to surrender. Eight hundred Mamelukes gave themselves up, and were at once put to death by the conqueror, who then ordered a general massacre of the citizens, in which 50,000 people are said to have perished. The Mameluke Sultan Touman Bey was soon after captured and put to death, and Egypt was completely in the power of the Turks.

In spite of the anarchy which had prevailed in the government, the period of the Mameluke dominion was not entirely unfavorable to Egypt. Some of the Mameluke sultans were wise and vigorous rulers, and Cairo bears witness in its mosques and tombs to the zeal with which the arts were cultivated during this period. Learning and intellectual pursuits also flourished in the Mameluke capital.

Selim I. made Egypt a province of the Turkish empire. "He resolved to divide authority among the variety of races in the country, and so to secure his imperial sovereignty. He did not extirpate the Mamelukes; nor did he provide for their gradual extinction by forbidding the beys to recruit their households with new slaves from Circassia. Twenty-four beys of the Mamelukes, chosen from those who had acted with the invaders, continued to preside over the departments of the province, and their chief was styled Governor of Egypt. . . . He formed a more effectual and lasting safeguard for the Turkish supremacy by placing a permanent force of 5,000 Spahis and 500 Janissaries in the capital, under the command of the Ottoman Aga Khairaddin, who had orders never to leave the fortifications. This force was recruited from among the inhabitants of Egypt, and formed gradually a provincial militia with high privileges and importance. Selim placed the greater part of the administrative functions of law and religion in the hands of the Arab sheiks, who possessed the greatest influence over the mass of the population, which, like themselves, was of

Arabic origin. The sheiks naturally attached themselves, through religious spirit and inclination, to Constantinople rather than to the Mamelukes, and drew the feelings of the other Arab inhabitants with them. Selim took no heed of the Copts, the aboriginal natives of Egypt; but it was from among this despised class and the Jews that the Mameluke beys generally selected their agents and tax gatherers, and the villages were commonly under the immediate government of Coptic local officers."*

For the next two centuries Egypt was governed by Turkish pashas. This was a period of decay. The country declined in population and wealth, and submitted to the rapacity and greed of its Turkish masters with a docility which showed how completely the ancient Egyptian and Sarcenic spirit had been broken by tyranny.

In the eighteenth century the Mamelukes, who had been steadily regaining their power, and who had already attempted several rebellions against the authority of the Sultan of Turkey, threw off their allegiance, and under the leadership of Ali Bey, their ablest chief, proclaimed the independence of Egypt, A. D. 1768. In 1772 Ali Bey was betrayed and poisoned, and the authority of the Turkish sultan was nominally restored. This was followed by more than twenty years of confusion and civil war between the various factions of the Mamelukes.

In 1798 a French army under Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Egypt, with the deliberate intention of conquering the country. This danger united the Mameluke factions in a solid body. On the 21st of July, 1798, they attacked the French at the Pyramids, but were defeated. Their splendid cavalry was almost annihilated. Six days later Cairo submitted to the French, who within a year conquered the whole country.

Napoleon was recalled to France by the state of affairs there in the summer of 1799, and left General Kleber to hold the country he had won. Kleber proved an able successor, but was assassinated by a Turk. His successor, General Menou, was attacked by an English and Turkish army under General Abercrombie, at Canopus, and was defeated. He was soon compelled to surrender Alexandria to the English, and to

* *History of the Ottoman Turks*, by Sir Edward Creasy, p. 149.

consent to evacuate Egypt and return with his army to France, August, 1801.

Egypt was now restored to the sultan. A fresh war broke out between the Turks and the remnant of the Mamelukes, and resulted, in 1806, in the appointment to the pashalic of Egypt of Mehemet Ali, a native of Macedonia, who had served with great distinction in the Turkish armies, and who had recently been the leader of one of the contending factions in Egypt.

Mehemet Ali was a man of great ability. He addressed himself at once to the

in a narrow court, surrounded by high walls, the victims were unable to offer any resistance. This infamous massacre literally exterminated the Mamelukes.

Mehemet Ali was now free to carry out his scheme without interruption. He established his power firmly in Egypt, and his armies under his sons conquered the Wahabites, in Arabia, and brought that country under his sway. Nubia and Senaar were next conquered and added to the Egyptian dominions. Mehemet Ali organized a strong army and an efficient navy on the



LANDING OF THE FRENCH IN EGYPT.

task of restoring order in his province, and did not scruple to use any means to accomplish his object. His first effort was to free the country and himself from the tyranny of the Mamelukes. He accomplished this in 1811 by a stroke of treacherous cruelty. Pretending to be reconciled to the Mamelukes he invited those formidable warriors to meet him at Cairo. Five hundred accepted his invitation, and were lured by him within the citadel, where he fell upon them with his Albanian troops and massacred them to a man. Cooped up

European model, and officered each with European adventurers, chiefly Frenchmen. Harbors and docks were constructed, and manufactures of arms, clothing, and other articles were introduced into Egypt and carefully fostered by the pasha. Under him the country had once more a firm, if a despotic, government, and enjoyed a degree of internal peace and prosperity such as it had not known for centuries. In the Greek Revolution (1821-1827) the Egyptian army and fleet were sent to the assistance of the sultan, and did a considerable share of the

fighting. The fleet was almost destroyed in the battle of Navarino, in October, 1827.

Mehemet Ali's real design was to convert his viceroyalty into an independent hereditary kingdom. Immediately after the close of the Greek war he restored his fleet on a more formidable scale, and increased his army. The empire of the sultan had been seriously weakened by the losses it had sustained since the opening of the century, and the time seemed ripe for the execution of his design. As the price of his services against Greece, Mehemet Ali had been given the pashalic of Crete. He now demanded that of Syria, but was refused by the sultan. He therefore determined to conquer Syria, and a quarrel with the Pasha of Acre gave him a pretext for entering that country. He despatched an army of 40,000 men under Ibrahim Pasha, his son, an experienced and able general, into Palestine, and laid siege to Acre, which he also attacked with his fleet. Acre was captured on the 27th of May, 1832, and the Egyptian forces rapidly overran Palestine and Syria. The armies sent against Ibrahim by the sultan were defeated in succession at Ems, in upper Syria, on the 6th of July, 1832; at Beylan (in Cilicia, near the ancient battlefield of Issus) on the 29th of the same month; and at Konieh, in Asia Minor, on the 29th of October, 1832. Ibrahim was now master of almost the whole of Asia Minor, and was preparing to advance upon Constantinople, which must have fallen before him, when the European powers intervened and compelled Mehemet Ali to accept a settlement, which confirmed him in his pashalics of Egypt and Crete, and added to them those of Jerusalem, Tripoli, Aleppo, Damascus, and Adana, but which left him a vassal of the porte. The treaty was signed on the 8th of July, 1833. It was a great victory for Egypt, and a humiliation to the sultan, and was a virtual surrender of all the countries which the conquests of Selim I. had won for Turkey.

Mehemet Ali steadily pursued his design of converting his dominions into an independent monarchy, and thus aroused the anger of the Sultan Mahmoud II. Mehemet refused to continue the payment of tribute to the porte, and took the bold step of removing the Turkish guards from the Tomb of the Prophet and replacing them with his own Arab soldiers, an act which was an open repudiation of the

authority of the sultan as chief of Islam. This brought the quarrel to a crisis, and after some attempts at negotiation the sultan sent a peremptory order to the Egyptian ruler to restore the Turkish guards at the prophet's tomb; to make prompt payment of his annual tribute, and to acknowledge himself the vassal of the sultan. Mehemet bluntly refused to comply with these demands, and the sultan declared war upon his rebellious vassal A. D. 1839. A large and well-equipped Turkish army crossed the Euphrates, under Hafiz Pasha, and encountered the Egyptian force, under Ibrahim Pasha, at Nezib, on the 25th of June, 1839. Whole regiments of the Turkish army de-



IBRAHIM PASHA.

serted the sultan's standard and went over to the Egyptians. The force which remained firm was routed by Ibrahim with the loss of all its artillery, baggage, and stores. On the 6th of July, 1839, a fleet of thirty-six vessels was despatched from Constantinople to attack Alexandria. It reached Alexandria on the 13th, and was at once surrendered to the Egyptians by its traitorous commander.

Turkey was now once more at the mercy of Egypt, and Constantinople must have fallen had not the European powers again interfered. The English fleet expelled the Egyptian garrisons from the Syrian ports, and aided the sultan's forces to regain possession of that country. Mehemet Ali

was forced to restore the sultan's fleet, and to withdraw his troops from Crete and Asia Minor. A treaty was signed on the 13th of February, 1841, by which Egypt was confirmed to Mehemet Ali and his successors in the direct line, but all his conquests in the first war were restored to the sultan. The Egyptian pasha was to pay a certain annual tribute to the sultan, and to render him specified military and naval assistance on demand.

Mehemet Ali continued to govern Egypt until 1848, when, being eighty years old, his mind began to give way. His son Ibrahim was made pasha in his place, but died two months later, on the 9th of November, 1848.

Abbas Pasha, the nephew of Ibrahim, now became viceroy of Egypt. He had been governor of Cairo, under Mehemet Ali, and had been guilty of such cruelties that when Ibrahim became viceroy he was sent into exile at Hedjaz. Abbas was a true Mohammedan, and endeavored to undo all the work of civilization that had been accomplished by his predecessors. He erected palaces and fortresses in the desert, and would shut himself up in them for months at a time, neglecting his government during such absences. He abolished the educational institutions established by his predecessors, and disbanded the army on the ground of economy. He was a bitter enemy to Europeans, and discharged all who were in the service of the state, and endeavored to drive them out of the country. He refused all concessions to Europeans, with one exception, which consisted in granting leave to an English company to build a railway from Alexandria to Cairo and Suez. In 1852 the sultan ordered the pasha to introduce into Egypt the *Tanzimat*, or fundamental law of Turkey. This code not only gave greater liberties to the people than the Egyptians had yet enjoyed, but also curtailed the autocratic power of the pasha. Abbas at first refused to obey this order, but was at length obliged to do so. He narrowly escaped being called to account by the sultan for his cruelty to his relatives, and owed his immunity to his liberal use of money at Constantinople. He furnished a contingent of 15,000 men to the Turkish army during the Crimean war, and sent large sums of money to the porte. He died suddenly on the 12th of July, 1854. He had threatened the life of a princess of his family, and is believed to

have been assassinated by two Mamelukes in her service.

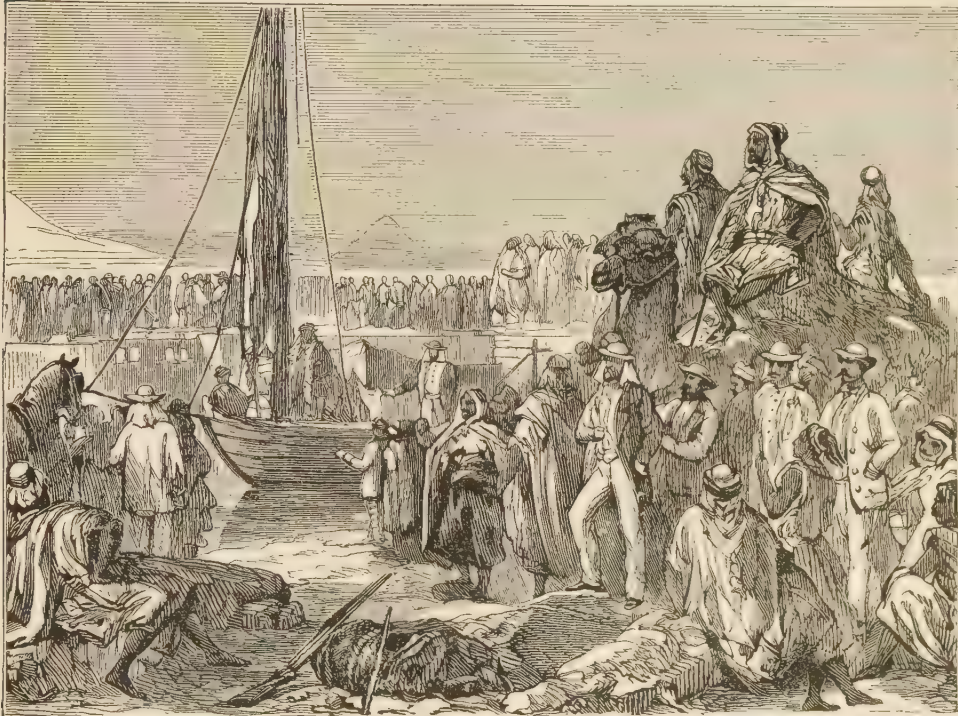
Said Pasha, the fourth son of Mehemet Ali, succeeded to the viceroyalty. He was a wiser and better ruler than his predecessor. He began his reign by curtailing the powers of the mudirs and sheiks el-beled. He organized a new army and introduced a better system of conscription, established a more equitable system of taxation, and permitted the sale of produce to other purchasers than the government. He also undertook several important internal improvements, among which were the cleansing of the Mahmoudieh canal, which had become a fruitful source of pestilence, and the continuation of the railway from Alexandria to Cairo and Suez. He also gave the first impetus to the construction of the Suez Canal, one of the termini of which appropriately bears his name. The close of the Crimean war found him with a large army, which he used to check the raids of the Bedawin and to invade that part of Nubia which had not yet been annexed, and which he now placed under his protectorate. He died January 18th, 1863.

Ismail Pasha succeeded his uncle Said, and continued in a more enlightened and more vigorous manner the reforms of that ruler. The civil war then in progress in America had produced a great scarcity of cotton, and Ismail took advantage of the demand for that article to introduce the cultivation of it into Egypt. He fostered this new industry with such care and discretion that Egypt is now one of the principal cotton markets of the world. He was the warm friend and patron of the Suez Canal, which was completed and opened on the 17th of November, 1869, in the presence of a large and brilliant assembly of guests from all parts of the world. By the payment of a large sum of money to the porte he obtained a reversal of the Mohammedan law of succession, by which the Egyptian viceroyalty is hereafter to descend from father to son. In 1866 he furnished a corps of 30,000 men to the porte for the suppression of the rebellion in Crete. Soon after this he voluntarily increased the amount of his tribute. In 1867 he obtained from the porte the right to make such laws as were needed for the internal administration of Egypt, and to conclude treaties with foreign powers respecting general transit and postal affairs. He asked the porte to confer upon him the title of "Sovereign of the Land of



SUEZ CANAL, EGYPT, CONNECTING THE MEDITERRANEAN WITH THE RED SEA.

Egypt," but was given instead the title of *Khedive* (substitute, or viceroy). He subsequently demanded for Egypt independent legislation and diplomatic representation abroad. The porte now began to see that his aim was absolute independence of Turkey, and refused his requests. Ismail threatened to withdraw his troops from Candia, or to take possession of that island, if his demands were not granted, and for a while a war between the sultan and his vassal was imminent. It was averted by the intervention of the foreign powers, which he had contracted for in France, and to abstain in future from all diplomatic acts and making loans, and to submit his annual budget of expense for inspection and approval at Constantinople. The khedive refused to comply with these demands, and declared he would make loans whenever and wherever he saw fit. The sultan was about to send an ultimatum to Egypt, but was persuaded by England and France to wait until after the opening of the Suez Canal. The festivities were scarcely over when the khedive received the ultimatum



OPENING OF THE SUEZ CANAL.

which compelled the khedive to relinquish his ambitious designs and submit to the authority of the sultan.

In 1868 Ismail extended his authority over the countries of the upper Nile. In the same year he undertook to negotiate a foreign loan, and sent invitations to the sovereigns of Europe to attend the opening of the Suez Canal. These were the acts of an independent sovereign, and gave great offence to the porte, which ordered him to reduce his army to 30,000 men, to recall his order for iron-clads and improved arms,

of the sultan requiring him to choose between submission and war. Seeing that the European powers would oppose him in his efforts at independence, the khedive, on the 9th of December, 1869, announced his submission to the will of the sultan, and for a time laid by his plans for independence.

Ismail now devoted himself to an effort to bring the country south of Egypt, as far as the sources of the Nile, under his authority. He was in a large measure successful in this attempt. He was also obliged to undertake several wars with Abyssinia, in which

he was generally successful. "Through the other native territories he has drawn a military cordon and opened roads for traffic. His intention is to transform those regions into an agricultural district; he supplies the chiefs with seed and holds them under obligation to furnish certain quantities of produce. Thus he has made their stores of ivory, gums, hides, wax, gold, etc., more accessible; and the railways and telegraphs, which he is now rapidly building through Nubia, as well as his control over the Red Sea and the Suez Canal, enable him to secure the wealth of these districts for the benefit of the lower provinces."

These efforts to build up the prosperity of Egypt won back for the khedive the favor of the sultan, and on the 8th of June, 1873, a firman was granted by the latter confirming the privileges enjoyed by the predecessors of Ismail, and changing the position of Egypt from a province into an almost sovereign kingdom. "The firman authorizes the khedive to make laws and internal regulations; to organize every means of defence, and without restriction to augment or diminish the number of his

troops; to contract with foreign powers commercial treaties, and others regulating the position of foreigners, and their intercourse with the government and the population; and to contract loans abroad in the name of the Egyptian government, with complete and entire control of the financial affairs of the country. The khedive is forbidden to make treaties bearing on political matters; he can have no agents accredited at foreign courts; the money coined in Egypt must be coined in the name of the sultan; the colors of the Egyptian army and navy must be in no way different from those of the Turkish forces; iron-clad vessels must not be built without the permission of the sultan. The khedive retains the privilege of conferring military promotions up to the rank of colonel, and civil grades to that of *rutbeh-i-sanieh* only. Finally, he is bound to remit every year, in full, and without delay, to the Turkish treasury, 150,000 purses of tribute."

Upon the commencement of hostilities between Russia and Turkey, in 1877, the khedive sent a strong contingent of troops to Europe for service in the Turkish army.

BOOK III.

THE HISTORY OF CHALDÆA.

CHAPTER I.

RISE AND FALL OF THE CHALDÆAN MONARCHY.

Chaldæa the most Ancient Asiatic Monarchy—Extent of the Country—Its Geographical Position—Physical Characteristics—The Tigris and the Euphrates—Climate—Fertility of Chaldæa—Vegetable Products—Animals—Foundation of the Chaldæan Monarchy by Nimrod—Character of Nimrod—His Successors—The Fourth and Fifth Dynasties—Relations with Assyria—Chaldæa Conquered by Assyria—The Civilization of Chaldæa—Its Cities—Temples—Commerce—Influence of Chaldæa upon the Ancient World—Religion—Food and Habits of the People.

THE most ancient of the monarchies of Asia was Chaldæa. The country occupied by this kingdom consisted of a portion of the fertile district which breaks about its centre the broad belt of desert which traverses the eastern hemisphere from

the Atlantic on the west, to the Yellow Sea on the east. This region is divided into a western plain, whose features bear a general resemblance to those of the Nile valley, though on a larger scale; and an eastern mountainous region "consisting for the most part of five or six parallel ranges, and mounting in many places far above the level of perpetual snow." The western plain, lying between the Syro-Arabian desert and the foot of the great mountain range of Kurdistan and Luristan, was in ancient times the seat of three of the great empires of the world, and was known to the Jews as Aram-Naharaim, or "Syria of the two rivers," and to the Greeks and Romans as Mesopotamia. It owes its distinctive features, its importance, and its fertility to the two great rivers which traverse it—the Euphrates and the Tigris. This is true to a greater extent of lower than of upper

Mesopotamia; "for of lower Mesopotamia," says Professor Rawlinson, "it may be said with more truth than of Egypt, that it is an 'acquired land,' the actual gift of the two streams which wash it on either side; being, as it is, entirely a recent formation—a deposit which the streams have made in the shallow waters of a gulf into which they have flowed for many ages."

Chaldæa occupied the southern portion of this great plain, and extended from the Persian Gulf on the south to the natural limit between upper and lower Mesopotamia on the north, and from the Tigris on the east to the Arabian desert on the west. It seems that the Persian Gulf at the period of the establishment of the Chaldæan monarchy extended about 120 or 130 miles farther north than it does at present, and that it has gradually receded to the southward to its present limits. Therefore a tract of land, 130 miles long, by some sixty or seventy miles wide, has been gained from the sea in the course of forty centuries. Primitive Chaldæa would thus be reduced to a district covering about 23,000 square miles.

This region was always monotonous and featureless. Its rivers are its chief geographical features—almost its only ones. At present it consists of a vast level, broken only by single solitary mounds, which mark the sites of its ancient cities and temples, and by lines of crumbling embankments which show the course of its now choked-up canals. The landscape, except in the early spring, is parched and dreary in color. The only verdure is found along the rivers and in the marshy tracts.

On the northeast of this region, and extending far beyond its northern limit to the main range of the Taurus, of which it forms the eastern prolongation, is the chain of the ancient Niphates mountains, the loftiest of the many parallel ranges which rise between the Mesopotamian plain and the Euxine Sea. In many places it passes the line of perpetual snow. The Tigris takes its rise on the southwestern and the Euphrates on the northeastern slopes of this range. The latter breaks through the mountain range near the source of the Tigris, and thence pursues a tortuous course to the Persian Gulf. Both are rivers of the first class, the Tigris being 1,146 miles, and the Euphrates 1,780 miles in length. Both are strong, full streams, and are navigable for a considerable distance. The Euphrates has few tribu-

taries after leaving the mountains, having none in the last 800 miles of its course; the Tigris is constantly receiving the waters of other streams along its entire course. The Tigris is therefore a larger and deeper stream in its lower part than the Euphrates. Both rivers rise many feet in the spring of the year, and overflow their banks in several places. The Tigris inundates the country along its lower course, between the 31st and 32d parallels of latitude. The flood of the Euphrates covers a more extensive region, spreading as high up as its junction with the Khabour. From Hit to the southward it overflows both banks. Its flood is variable according to the inclination of the plain and the nature of its banks. "If care is taken, the inundation may be pretty equally distributed on either side of the stream; but if the river banks are neglected, it is sure to flow mainly to the west, rendering the whole country on that side the river a swamp, and leaving the territory on the left bank almost without water." Though these overflows do not deposit a fresh soil, as is the case in the Nile valley, they are the cause of the fertility of the Mesopotamian plain, and in ancient times were conducted throughout its whole extent by a system of canals.

The climate of this region is moderate and pleasant in winter. Frost is known, but it is very slight; ice rarely forms in the marshes, and snow is unknown. Heavy rains fall in November and December. As the spring advances the rains become slighter. Summer begins about May, and until November there is scarcely any rain. For weeks and months the sky is cloudless. The summer is intensely hot. The heat is tempered only, at morning and evening, by a slight haze, which for a time breaks the force of the sun's rays. At this season the phenomenon of the mirage is very common, and is witnessed in its most beautiful form.

The fertility of the land is very great. In ancient times enormous crops were raised from it. Modern travellers agree that by a proper system of irrigation and careful cultivation this region might once more be made one of the most fruitful sections of the earth. The principal products were wheat and dates. "According to the native tradition, wheat was indigenous in Chaldæa. Its tendency to grow leaves was so great that the Babylonians used to mow it twice and then pasture their cattle on it for a while, to keep down the blade, and induce

the plant to run to ear." The ultimate return was from fifty to one hundred fold. The cultivation of the date-palm was extensively pursued; the date forming one of the principal articles of diet among the people. Barley, millet, vetches, sesame, and fruits of all kinds grew in profusion. Another product was the reed, which grew in dense thickets in the marshes, rising often to a height of fourteen or fifteen feet. The dwellings of the poorer class were constructed of reeds and mats made of leaves. Boats were also made of reed frames covered with leaves and a coating of bitumen.

Chaldæa was destitute of stone or minerals of any kind. The stone used in its buildings was brought from other countries. The country contained an inexhaustible supply of clay, from which excellent bricks were made. It abounded in bitumen, which made an admirable cement.

The wild animals indigenous in Chaldæa were the lion, the leopard, the hyæna, the lynx, the wild cat, the wolf, the jackal, the wild boar, the buffalo, the stag, the gazelle, the jerboa, the fox, the hare, the badger, and the porcupine. Domestic animals were also numerous, and were chiefly the camel, the horse, the buffalo, the cow, the ox, the goat, the sheep, and the dog.

The early history of Chaldæa is obscure and uncertain. It would seem that after the dispersion of the other descendants of Noah from the plains of Babel, Nimrod, a descendant of Ham, remained in the great plain and established a kingdom in the region lying at the head of the Persian Gulf. The unfinished tower was converted into a temple, and other buildings were erected around it made of bricks from the clay of the plain. Thus Babylon was founded by Nimrod, who is also regarded as the founder of the empire. The date assigned to this event, with which Chaldæan history opens, is one or two centuries anterior to the year B. C. 2286. Nimrod's kingdom extended from Babylon to the sea. Being a monarch of great personal prowess and ambition—a "mighty hunter before the Lord"—he extended his dominion over the neighboring tribes, and by the strength of his character and his great achievements succeeded in establishing a nation in lower Mesopotamia, which he governed with a firm hand from his capital, the city of Ur or Hur, situated on the right bank of the Euphrates, a short distance from its mouth. He built, in addition to Babylon, the cities of Erech or

Hurak, Accad, and Calneh. Of the other events of his reign we know nothing. The impression he made upon his country is remarkable. He was evidently one of the greatest men of the ancient world. By his own nation he was deified, and was, down to the latest times, one of the principal objects of worship, under the title of *Bilû-Nipru*, or Bel-Nimrod, "the god of the chase," or "the great hunter." Rawlinson thinks the name given by the Arabian astronomers to the constellation of Orion—*El Jabbar*, "the giant"—was in memory of Nimrod. Nor has he been forgotten by the ignorant people who dwell in his land to-day. He forms, with Solomon and Alexander the Great, one of the three heroes of ancient times who alone seem to have been remembered by them when all others have been forgotten.

We have no account of the immediate successors of Nimrod. It would seem that his conquests were followed, at some uncertain period, by an emigration of Semitic and Hamitic tribes to the northward. The Assyrians, a Semitic people, withdrew to upper Mesopotamia and laid the foundations of their monarchy along the middle Tigris; the Phœnicians, a Hamitic race, passed to the country of Canaan, and settled along the shores of the Mediterranean, where they founded a kingdom of their own. The race from which Abraham sprang passed into northern Mesopotamia.

One of the kings of this early dynasty was Urkham or Uruk. He is the earliest Chaldæan monarch of whom any traces have been found in the country. He began his reign about B. C. 2326. He built numerous gigantic structures, which seem to have been designed almost exclusively as temples. They are massive in size, but rude in execution. The bricks of which they are constructed are rough, and are put together in an awkward manner, moist mud or bitumen being used as mortar. "In his architecture," says Professor Rawlinson, "though there is much that is rude and simple, there is also a good deal which indicates knowledge and experience." Astronomy also seems to have been cultivated during the reign of this king. Ur was the capital of the kingdom in this reign; Babylon not yet being a place of importance. Uruk was succeeded by his son Elgi or Ilgi, who also styles himself "King of Ur." His signet-cylinder has been recovered, and is now in the British Museum.

After the reign of Elgi there is a blank in Chaldæan history, broken by the conquest of the country by an Elamitic dynasty from Susa, about B. C. 2286. The first of these kings was Kudur-Nakhunta, who appears to have governed Chaldæa by a viceroy, while he held his court at Susa. Another was Kudur-Lagamer, who also reigned at Susa and divided Chaldæa into several provinces which he governed by viceroys.

A third dynasty came to the throne about B. C. 2052, and numbered eleven kings, whose total reigns make up a period of only forty-eight years. This dynasty may be said to mark the transition between the period of national subjection to the Elamite kings and that of complete independence under the succeeding dynasty (the fourth), which was one of native Chaldæan kings. This dynasty came into power about B. C. 2004, and reigned until B. C. 1546. It consisted of about eight or ten monarchs; but little is known of the events of their reigns.

The Fifth Dynasty flourished from about B. C. 1546 to B. C. 1300. It was founded by Khammurabi, an Arab chief, who, taking advantage of the weakness and depression of Chaldæa under the last king of the Fourth Dynasty, succeeded in making himself master of the country. He appears to have reigned about twenty-six years, and left the crown to his son. He was a great and wise king, and seems to have been the first to comprehend the benefits to be derived by the country from a proper system of irrigation. He constructed a canal from one of the rivers of the country for this purpose, and he says in one of his inscriptions, that it "changed desert plains into well-watered fields; it spread around fertility and abundance." He constructed several important buildings. Babylon seems to have been the seat of his court. During the existence of this dynasty intimate relations were maintained with Assyria, which had now become an independent power. The two nations were sometimes bound together by treaties of alliance, and sometimes by royal marriages. Towards the close of the period Assyria once intervened in the affairs of Chaldæa to depose a usurping king and place on the throne the son of the monarch who had been murdered by the leader of the revolution. After this the friendly relations between the two countries appear to be interrupted; and finally, in about B. C. 1300, Tiglath-Nin, King of

Assyria, invaded and conquered Chaldæa, which was merged into the Assyrian monarchy, and continued for centuries to form a part of that kingdom.

The early periods of Chaldæan history are marked by the advance made by the people in civilization and the arts. As early as the era of Nimrod, Babylon, Erech or Orchoë, Accad, Calneh, and Ur were flourishing cities. The plan of these cities was rectangular, and the walls and buildings were of brick cemented usually with bitumen. Many of the edifices of this period were colossal in size. The temples were usually pyramidal in shape, and were built in successive steps or stages to a considerable height. They were placed so as to face the cardinal points of the compass. Writing was in use, as is shown by the



CHALDÆAN PRIEST.

CHALDÆAN DIVINER.

legends stamped in the baked bricks of this period. Gems were cut, polished, and engraved with portraits. The art of working in metals was known, and arms, ornaments, and useful implements were constructed of various metals. Cloths and textile fabrics of a delicate tissue were manufactured. Astronomy was cultivated, and the results of observations of the heavenly bodies were carefully recorded. Commerce was also carried on by both land and sea with the neighboring nations. The "ships of Ur" navigated the Persian Gulf and traded with the people along its shores.

"The Chaldæan monarchy," says Professor Rawlinson, "is rather curious from its antiquity than illustrious from its great names, or admirable for the extent of its dominions. Less ancient than the Egypt-

tian, it claims the advantage of priority over every empire or kingdom which has grown up upon the soil of Asia. The Arian, Turanian, and even Semitic tribes, appear to have been in the nomadic condition, when the Cushite settlers of lower Babylonia betook themselves to agriculture, erected temples, built cities, and established a strong and settled government. The heaven which was to spread by degrees through the Asiatic peoples was first deposited on the shores of the Persian Gulf at the mouth of the 'Great River;' and hence civilization, science, letters, art, extended themselves northward and eastward and westward. Assyria, Media, Semitic Babylonia, Persia, as they derived from Chaldæa the character of their writing, so were they indebted to the same country for their general notions of government and administration, for their architecture, for their decorative art, and still more for their science and literature. Each people no doubt modified in some measure the boon received, adding more or less of its own to the common inheritance. But Chaldæa stands forth as the great parent and original inventress of Asiatic civilization, without any rival that can reasonably dispute her claim."

The religion of Chaldæa was from the earliest period of which we have any record a polytheism of the grossest kind. Fifteen or sixteen principal gods were worshipped, and a number of inferior or secondary divinities. Local gods abounded, every town being under the protection of its own particular divinity. Our knowledge of this system is still incomplete. The most important deities appear to have been: 1. Il, or Ra, the principal divinity, but of whom we know scarcely anything. 2. A triad, consisting of Ana, Bil or Belus, and Hea or Hoa. These correspond to the classical Pluto, Jupiter, and Neptune, and each is accompanied by a female principle or wife. The wife of Ana is Anat; of Bil or Bel, Mulita or Beltis; and of Hea, Davkina. 3. A second triad, consisting of Sin or Hurki, the moon god; San or Sansi, the sun; and Vul, the god of the atmosphere. Each of these has his female principle or wife. The wife of Sin or Hurki is a goddess commonly called "the great lady," whose name is uncertain; the wife of San or Sansi is Gula or Anunit; the wife of Vul is Shala or Tala. These gods and god-

esses stand at the head of the Chaldæan Pantheon. Following them is a group of five minor deities, who represented the five planets, viz.: Nin or Ninip (Saturn), Mero-dach (Jupiter), Nergal (Mars), Ishtar (Venus), and Nebo (Mercury). These, with the others already named, constituted the principal gods of the Chaldæans. The inferior deities are too numerous to be mentioned here.

"The striking resemblance of the Chaldæan system to that of classical mythology seems worthy of particular attention. This resemblance is too general, and too close in some respects, to allow of the supposition that mere accident has produced the coincidence. In the Pantheons of Greece and Rome, and in that of Chaldæa, the same general grouping is to be recognized; the same genealogical succession is not unfrequently to be traced; and in some cases even the familiar names and titles of classical divinities admit of the most curious illustrations and explanations from Chaldæan sources. We can scarcely doubt but that, in some way or other, there was a communication of beliefs—a passage in very early times from the shores of the Persian Gulf to the lands washed by the Mediterranean, of mythological notions and ideas. It is a probable conjecture that 'among the primitive tribes who dwelt on the Tigris and Euphrates, when the cuneiform alphabet was invented, and when such writing was first applied to the purposes of religion, a Scythic or Scytho-Arian race existed, who subsequently migrated to Europe and brought with them those mythical traditions which, as objects of popular belief, had been mixed up in the nascent literature of their native country,' and that these traditions were passed on to the classical nations, who were in part descended from this Scythic or Scytho-Arian people."

The food of the people consisted of the vegetable products of the country. The dates which abound here formed then, as now, the main sustenance of the inhabitants. Fish and chickens and the wild boar were also eaten, at least by the wealthier classes; though animal food would seem to have been rare. In the towns the houses were of brick; in the rural districts they were mere huts of reed plastered with slime. The dwellings of even the wealthy appear to have been rude and coarse.

BOOK IV.

THE HISTORY OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MONARCHY— THE EARLY KINGS.

Description of Assyria—Its Geographical Position and Area—Eastern and Western Assyria—The Mountainous Region—Cities of Assyria—Climate—Fertility of the Country—Mineral Wealth—Animals—Character of the People—Foundation of the Assyrian Kingdom—Asshur—Relations with Chaldæa—Early Kings—Babylon Conquered—Conquests of Tiglath-Pileser I.—Character of the Civilization of Assyria—Use of Letters—Mode of Preserving Official Records—Assyrian Art—Sargon's Palace—The Bas-Reliefs—The Assyrian Military System—The Royal Dignity—Musical Instruments—Dress of the People—Religion of the Assyrians.

ASSYRIA, properly speaking, occupied the upper portion of the Mesopotamian valley. It was bounded on the north by Mount Masius, according to some writers, according to others by the course of the Tigris from Diarbekr to Til. On the east its limits were marked by the high and difficult chain of the Zagros mountains. Its western boundary was the Euphrates, and its southern the northern limit of Chaldæa. The Tigris divided it into two unequal sections, which may be termed Eastern and Western Assyria. The extreme length of the country, from Diarbekr, on the north, to the Chaldæan border, on the south, was about 350 miles, and the width from the Zagros mountains to the Euphrates varied from 300 to 170 miles, giving to Assyria an area of about 75,000 square miles.

Eastern Assyria, though smaller than the section lying west of the Tigris, was the most densely inhabited and most important part of the kingdom. It contained three out of the four great cities of the country. It consists of a series of rich and productive plains, which are well watered by numerous streams which flow from the mountains into the Tigris. These plains are separated from each other by detached ranges of hills which run in a direction generally parallel

to the Zagros chain, and supply numerous brooks and small streams which traverse the country in addition to the rivers. All the streams generally flow through deep beds, which are concealed from view from the plains, except when swollen by the rains and melting snows, when they run with full banks, and even overflow the level country. Western Assyria is a less favored region. It is scantily supplied with water, and depends upon irrigation for its fertility. "The general character of the country is level, but not alluvial. A line of mountains, rocky and precipitous, but of no great elevation, stretches across the northern part of the region, running nearly due east and west, and extending from the Euphrates at Rum-kaleh to Til and Chelek upon the Tigris. Below this a vast, slightly undulating plain extends from the northern mountains to the Babylonian alluvium, only interrupted about midway by a range of low limestone hills called the Sinjar, which, leaving the Tigris near Mosul, runs nearly from east to west across central Mesopotamia, and strikes the Euphrates halfway between Rakkah and Kerkesiyeh, nearly in longitude 40°." The country north of the Sinjar range to Mount Masius is an undulating plain resembling the rolling prairies of North America. Water is scarce. Only small streams descend from the Sinjar range, and these are soon absorbed by the thirsty earth. Gypsum abounds in the soil, which is here naturally sterile and difficult of cultivation. Traces of volcanic action are numerous. Basaltic fragments lie thick over the plain, and near the confluence of the two chief branches of the Khaboor are found several old craters of extinct volcanoes. The Sinjar range is composed of a soft white limestone.

The true heart of Assyria was the region lying along the Tigris from latitude 30° to 36° 30'. Within these limits were gathered the great cities of the kingdom and the bulk of the population. One of these, Asshur, the primitive capital, now called

Kileh-Sherghat, stood on the west bank of the Tigris, but Nineveh, Calah (now Nimrud), and Dur-Sargina (city of Sargon) now called Khorsabad, lay on the east of that stream. Other cities, many of them places of note, studded the country east of the

miles below Calah, on the right bank of the Tigris. Dur-Sargina, or Khorsabad, was nine miles east of north from the northern angle of the wall of Nineveh.

The climate of Assyria differs in its various regions. That of eastern Assyria,

owing to the proximity of the lofty, snow-capped range of Zagros, is cooler and moister than the climate of the region west of the Tigris. The mountain breezes moderate the summer heats. The winters are moderately severe. Rain falls heavily in the winter, and even in the spring. Heavy dews are also experienced after the rains have subsided. The most southern part of Assyria, west of the Tigris, from latitude 34° to the Chaldaean border, possesses a climate similar to that of the last-named country. Central western Assyria is cooler than the district lying south of it. The summer heats are oppressive during the middle of the day, but the mornings and nights are pleasant. Considerable rain and snow fall in winter, but this season is brief and not very severe. The mountain region which forms the northern part of western Assyria possesses a colder and more rigorous climate than the central region. The temperature in winter falls eight or ten degrees below zero. The district has an average elevation of 1,300 feet, and lies near the great mountain range of Armenia, which is covered with perpetual snow. Hence the severe winters. Heavy snows fall, which lie on the



A CITY TAKEN BY ASSAULT, AND THE INHABITANTS LED AWAY CAPTIVE. FROM AN ASSYRIAN BAS-RELIEF.

Tigris. The western region also contained a number of important places. Nineveh lay opposite the modern Mosul. Calah was about twenty miles to the south of Nineveh by the direct route, and about thirty by the course of the Tigris. Asshur was forty

ground for several weeks. The spring is wet and stormy, but the summer and autumn are fine.

Taken as a whole, ancient Assyria was a region of great fertility. It did not possess as many actual advantages as its

southern neighbor, Chaldæa, but careful cultivation and irrigation drew rich returns from the soil. The citron flourished, and the mulberry gave nourishment to an unusually large silk-worm not found elsewhere. The most of the edible vegetables appear to have been cultivated in Assyria. In the south, the date palm, the orange, and the lemon were grown. The pomegranate, the olive, the vine, the apricot, and the fig flourished in all parts of the country.

Assyria was better supplied with minerals than Babylon. Stone of a good quality abounded in all parts of the country. Iron, copper and lead still exist in great abundance in the Tiari mountains, not far from Nineveh, and in other places. The Khurdish mountains supplied silver and antimony, and perhaps other metals. Bitumen, naphtha, petroleum, sulphur, alum, and salt were also among the mineral products of Assyria.

The wild animals of the country consisted of the lion, the leopard, the lynx, the wild cat, the hyæna, the wild ass, the bear, the deer, the gazelle, the ibex, the wild sheep, the wild boar, the jackall, the wolf, the fox, the beaver, the jerboa, the porcupine, the badger and the hare. The tiger is believed to have been found in Assyria at a very early period. The rivers abounded in fish, and the marshy thickets with wild fowl. The domestic animals were the camel, the horse, the ass, the mule, the sheep, the goat, the ox, the cow, and the dog.

The Assyrians were a strongly religious people, paying great attention to the worship of their gods. They were also a fierce, treacherous race, delighting in the dangers of the chase and in war. The Assyrian troops were notably among the most formidable of ancient warriors, but that they were not specially cruel is shown by the enormous number of male prisoners captured by them in war. They never kept faith when it was to their interest to break treaties, and were regarded with suspicion by their neighbors in consequence of this characteristic. In mental power they deserve to be ranked among the foremost of the Asiatic races.

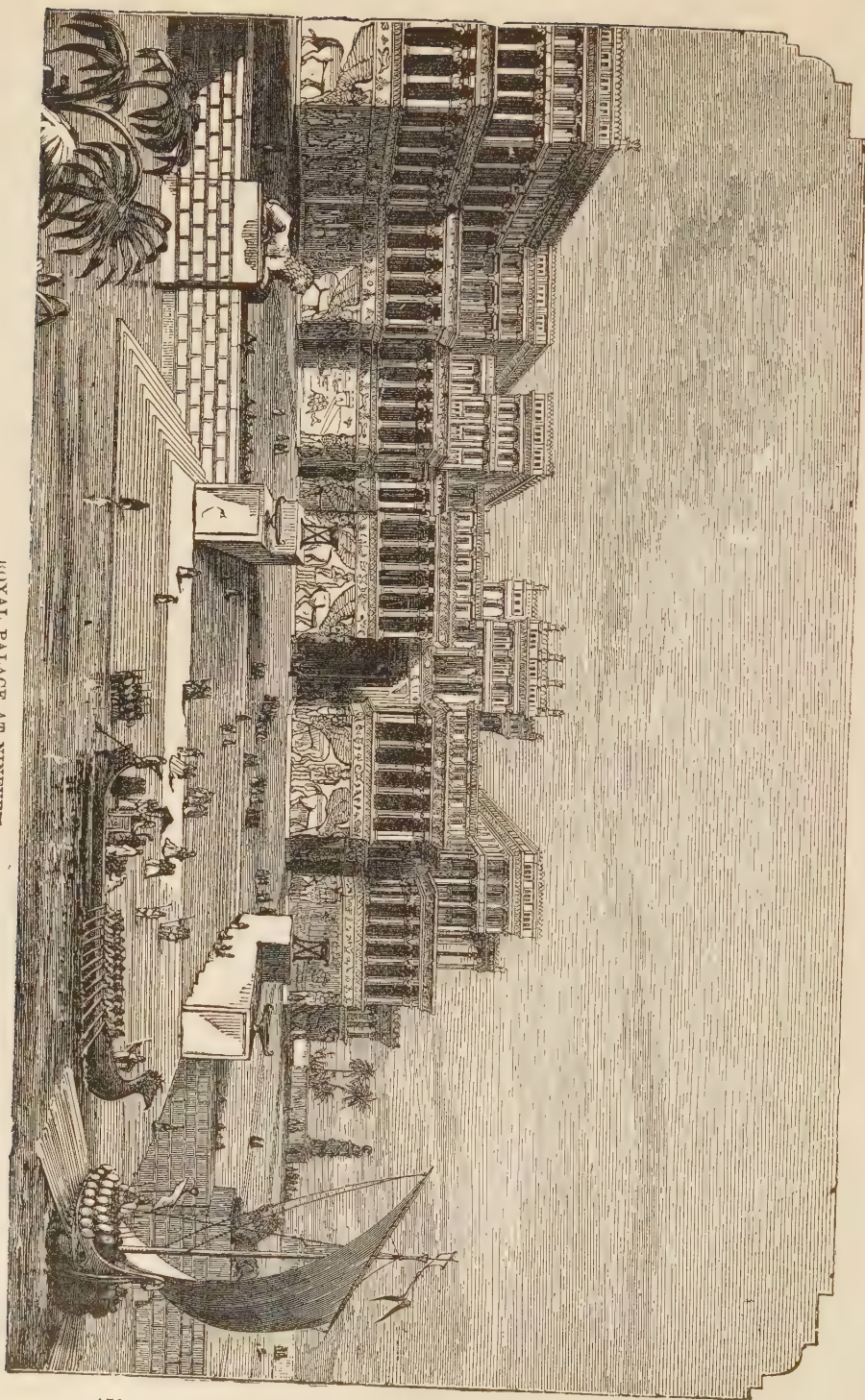
As has been stated in the account of the Chaldæan monarchy, the conquests of Nimrod were followed at some uncertain period by an emigration of the Semitic inhabitants of the lower country to the northward. The exact time of this removal is unknown, and

it is also uncertain whether it was a voluntary act on the part of the Assyrians, or an enforced colonization carried out by the Chaldæan kings. The tribe, or tribes, from which sprang the Assyrians, removed from Chaldæa to the upper country along the middle Tigris, and there erected a city to which they gave their own tribal name of Asshur. It seems certain that for some time after their removal the Assyrians were governed by rulers appointed by, or under the supremacy of, the Chaldæan kings. Gradually, however, they became stronger, and at length were able to gratify their natural longings for independence by throwing off the Chaldæan rule, and establishing a separate monarchy of their own. The seat of the empire was at Asshur. The date of



SHALMANESER PUTTING OUT THE EYES OF A CAPTIVE, WHO, WITH OTHERS, IS HELD PRISONER BY A HOOK IN THE LIPS.

the establishment of the monarchy is uncertain. Some of the early kings were connected by marriage with the Chaldæan sovereigns, and the two nations existed side by side for a considerable period, as friends. Assyria also took part in the struggles of the pretenders to the Chaldæan crown, and one of the kings, Asshur-upallit, interfered to place the crown on the head of the rightful heir, who was his relative. One of the kings of this period, Shalmaneser I. (about B. C. 1320), conducted successful wars in the Niphates mountains, and planted cities in that region. He also built Calah (now Nimrud), on the east bank of the Tigris, forty miles above Asshur. It is evident from this that the kingdom had grown far to the north, and had become stronger and



ROYAL PALACE AT NINEVEH.

more populous, and had fairly entered upon its remarkable career of conquest and internal prosperity. The arts of this period were rude, however; letters were used sparingly, and civilization was still in its infancy. The cities erected at this time were quadrangular in shape; the temples were pyramidal towers; and the royal palaces were built on lofty artificial mounds.

Shalmaneser was succeeded by his son Tiglath-Nin I., who was probably the original of the Greek Ninus. This monarch established the supremacy of his own nation by the conquest of Babylon (about B. C. 1300). It must not be supposed, however, that Chaldæa was from this time continuously a part of the Assyrian kingdom. It was probably thus subject for about a century, but then the yoke of Assyria seems to have been shaken off by a line of kings of apparently Assyrian descent, who were hostile to Assyria, and were engaged in frequent wars with that power. All that the latter appears to have been able to accomplish was to preserve her supremacy over Babylon, which was content to hold a secondary position in western Asia, acknowledging the suzerainty of the Ninivite kings.

The immediate successors of Tiglath-Nin were unimportant. Asshur-riš-ili, who reigned about B. C. 1150–1130, was a monarch of greater pretensions than his predecessors. He seems to have engaged extensively in foreign wars, and to have paved the way for the conquests of his greater son, Tiglath-Pileser I. He invaded Babylonia and carried on a war against a king named Nebuchadnezzar (Nabu-kudur-uzur), and by some writers it is believed that he carried his arms farther south into Palestine, and that he is the monarch mentioned in the Book of Judges as Chushan-riš-athaim, “King of Mesopotamia,” who is said to have held the Israelites in subjection for eight years. This identification rests upon very uncertain grounds.

Tiglath-Pileser I. came to the throne about B. C. 1130. He subdued the tribes in the region of Mount Zagros, and conquered northern Syria. He also waged a successful war against Babylonia. He appears to have been a famous hunter. He erected several great temples, and palaces and castles for his own use, and improved the system of irrigation. He also introduced foreign cattle into Assyria, and un-

dertook the naturalization of foreign vegetable products in the kingdom. During his reign the strength of the army was increased, and the limits and power of the kingdom were extended. Assyria in this reign stands out as a compact and powerful kingdom, centralized under a single monarch, with a single great capital, in the midst of half-civilized and weak and divided nations.

Asshur-bil-kala succeeded his father, Tiglath-Pileser I. Nothing is known of him except that he waged war in lower Mesopotamia. He appears to have reigned from about B. C. 1110 to B. C. 1090.

Let us glance now at the civilization of the Assyrians as revealed by their monuments. This view will embrace the entire period of their history, and is introduced here for purposes of convenience.



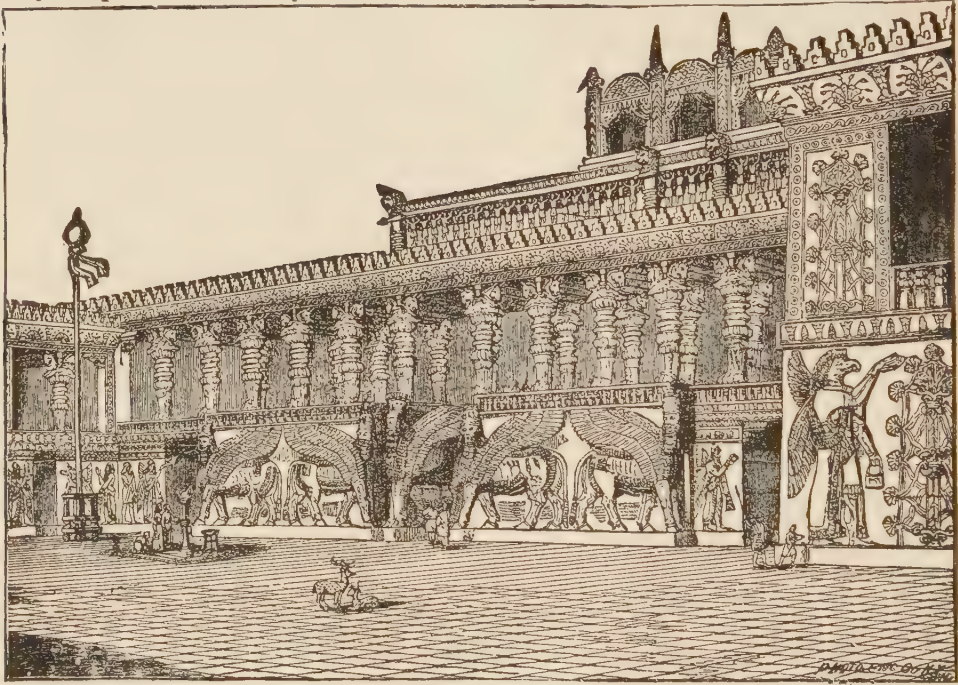
ASSYRIAN SPHYNX.

The Assyrians at an early period made use of letters, and kept a carefully prepared record of their history. These records were either engraved on stone, or were stamped on bricks. These bricks were of two kinds—sun-dried and kiln-burned. The former would simply be hardened by fire; the latter could not be affected by water. The records were stamped on both kinds of brick, and were thus preserved from the two great dangers of fire and flood, to which Assyria was subject. All the writings of this nation seem to have been upon materials of this description. Paper, such as was used in Egypt, may have been employed for some of the public documents, but very rarely. None has been found in any of the mounds opened by modern explorers.

As workers in metals and ivory, as

glass-blowers, as designers, as architects, engravers, sculptors and embroiderers of dresses, the Assyrians far surpassed all the nations of the East. Their architecture was less massive than that of the Egyptians. Although stone was plentiful in eastern Assyria, brick was preferred in the construction of their edifices. Their most magnificent buildings were their royal palaces. Less religious than the Egyptians and Greeks, they showed more attention to the king than to the gods, and their temples were insignificant compared with the royal residences. The most complete of the Assyrian palaces that has yet been uncov-

centre. "In the interior arrangements of the building there was neither regularity nor symmetry. Two-thirds of the northwest part was occupied by the grand reception hall and its large and sumptuous galleries, with walls cased with bas-reliefs; one-third, to the southeast, by the inhabited apartments, with smaller and less decorated rooms. Passages opened into two of the sides of the large court; one on the northwest led to a square esplanade, or court, occupying the northern angle of the artificial mound of the palace, in front of a building touching the northwest face of the seraglio, with which it had no internal com-

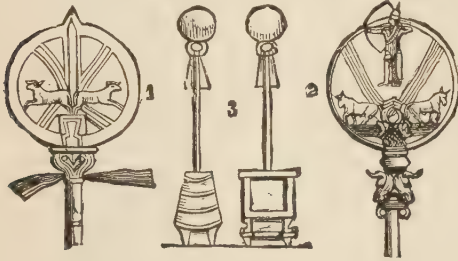


COURT OF SARGON'S PALACE.

ered is that of Sargon, at Khorsabad. It exhibits the architecture of this nation, and also its decorative art and sculpture, in their highest forms. Like all Assyrian palaces, it stands on the summit of an immense mound constructed of bricks. The mound was arranged in two platforms of unequal height, in the form of the letter T. The palace proper stood on the loftier mound, and consisted of a series of buildings ranged around immense courts. The main building, occupied by the king, stood at the bottom of the principal court, and possessed a perfectly regular façade, with a magnificently ornamented gateway in the

munication. This building was most lavishly ornamented; it comprised six immense halls decorated with sculpture, and some other smaller rooms. It was, we may almost say, a second palace grafted on to the first—a second selamlik, rivalling in splendor that of the seraglio. . . . The passage opening into the southeast side of the reception hall of the seraglio led to the lower platform, and to the great court of the offices. The lower platform of the artificial hill built up for the palace of Sargon was occupied by the khan and the harem. This portion of the edifice looked towards the city, and communicated directly with

it. In the midst was the khan, properly so called; that is, an immense square court, surrounded on all sides by buildings, stables, lodgings for grooms, and for the greater number of slaves. It was approached from the city by two enormous flights of steps in the middle of the south-east face of the terrace. An elaborately decorated passage led, as we have said,



ASSYRIAN ENSIGNS OR STANDARDS.

from this court of the khan into the reception hall of the seraglio; two small doors also gave direct communication with the inhabited rooms of the palace. To the right of the immense court we have just mentioned, the khan, was a building of some extent, with many courts and numerous chambers, forming part of the offices or common rooms of the palace. This was the khazneh, or treasury; for there were the stores of provisions and utensils for the use of the royal household, as well as places of custody for all the valuables that Sargon, in his dedicatory inscription, tells us he had acquired by force of arms and stored in his palace. The harem was adjoining the khazneh. It was a building of moderate extent, containing three courts, the walls of one of them covered with the richest decorations in enamelled bricks; many long galleries, intended no doubt for feasts or festivals; and lastly a large number of rooms for habitation. This harem was shut in as closely as possible; all communication with the outer world was intercepted, and the women must have found themselves in a real prison. One single vestibule, guarded by eunuchs, gave access to it; this had two issues; one communicating with the great court of the offices, was the entry by which people came in from the outside; the other opening on a long, narrow court leading to the inhabited apartments of the seraglio; through this the king had access to his harem without being seen by the public. Behind the harem was an enormous tower, or pyramid

in seven stages, nearly fifty yards high. The seven stages, equal in height, and each one smaller in area than the one beneath it, were covered with stucco of different colors, and thus presented to view the colors consecrated to the seven heavenly bodies, the least important being at the base. This was the Zikurat, or observatory, and on its summit the priestly astrologers, pupils of the Chaldeans, attempted to read the future in the stars."

In sculpture the Assyrians were behind many of the ancient nations. Their best works are their bas-reliefs. Their statues are comparatively rare, and are clumsy and coarse in design and execution. They never succeeded in modelling the human figure; their greatest successes are in the representation of animals, and these occur in their bas-reliefs. The low relief, says Rawlinson, "was to the Assyrians the practical mode in which artistic power found vent among them. They used it for almost every purpose to which mimetic art is applicable: to express their religious feelings and ideas; to glorify their kings; to hand down to posterity the nation's history and its deeds of prowess; to depict home scenes and domestic occupations; to represent landscape and architecture; to imitate animal and vegetable forms; even

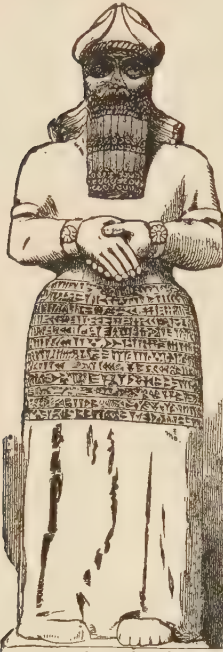


ASSYRIAN KING PLACING HIS FOOT ON THE NECK OF AN ENEMY.

to illustrate the mechanical methods which they employed in the construction of those vast architectural works, of which the reliefs were the principal ornamentation. It is not too much to say that we know the Assyrians, not merely artistically, but historically and ethnologically, *chiefly* through their bas-reliefs, which seem to represent to us almost the entire life of the people." The reliefs, it will be understood, were

sculptured on stone slabs, which were set in the lower part of the walls they adorned.

In their ornamental metallurgy the Assyrians exhibited great skill. There were



NEBO. Assyrian Statue in British Museum

three kinds of this work: entire figures, or parts of figures, cast solid; castings in low relief; and embossed work, wrought principally with the hammer, "but finished by a sparing use of the graving tool." The solid figures were small, and were confined to animal forms, principally lions. Castings in low relief were used chiefly for the ornamentation of thrones and chariots, and consisted of animal and human figures, winged deities, griffins, etc. The embossed work was very curious and beautiful, and was applied to weapons, ornaments for the person, household utensils, and

many other objects. The usual material used by the Assyrians for ornamental metallurgy was bronze, composed of one part of tin to ten of copper, which is still considered the best proportion. It seems that the Assyrians also understood how to inlay one metal with another. They also exhibited a high degree of skill in carving ivory and cutting gems.

They appear also to have understood the art of dyeing, and the use of the pulley, the lever, and the inclined plane. The last was constantly used by them in their attacks upon fortified places.

In the organization and equipment of their troops, and in their system of attack and defence and their method of reducing fortified places, the Assyrians manifested a superiority to the nations by which they were surrounded.

The king was separated from the orders below him by a rigid etiquette. No one was permitted to have access to him except through the proper officers of the court, who always accompanied him. Only the vizier and chief eunuch were privileged to

open conversation with him. When he received them he sat on his throne, and they stood before him. The throne was carried with the army when the king went to war. The Assyrian monarchs, as a rule, led hardy and active lives. In peace they engaged in superintending the public works, administered justice, etc., and sought relaxation in the dangerous pleasure of hunting the lion and the wild bull. In war the king usually rode in his chariot, but sometimes marched on foot, and went into battle in the same manner. The sovereign showed himself freely to the people, while maintaining his haughty dignity in all things, and was rarely the weak and effeminate voluptuary that the Greeks imagined him. The court ceremonial was elaborate and imposing. The dress of the king in peace and war was magnificent. He had also a special dress in which he engaged in the religious ceremonies prescribed for him.

The musical instruments of Assyria consisted of the harp, the lyre, the guitar, the pipe, the tambourine, the cymbal, the drum, the dulcimer, and the trumpet. Bands of music are represented in some of the bas-reliefs, showing that they were sometimes used in public ceremonials.

The ordinary dress of the common people was a plain tunic, reaching from the neck to a little above the knee, and confined at the waist by a broad belt or girdle. The sleeves were very short. The head and feet were without any covering. The king and



ASSYRIAN ARMLET. From Nineveh Marbles, British Museum.

his great officers wore shoes and head dresses. Sandals were worn by laborers above the lowest grade. Soldiers and the better class of laborers wore a close-fitting trouser and a leather boot. Persons of the lower classes wore no ornaments. Armlets and bracelets were confined to persons of rank. Earrings were worn by the soldiers and musicians. Men of rank wore a long fringed robe, which reached nearly to the feet. The sleeves were short, and barely covered the shoulder. Down to the waist, where it was confined by a belt or girdle, it fitted closely; below the waist it was fuller, but still scant. Fillets, earrings, armlets, and bracelets con-

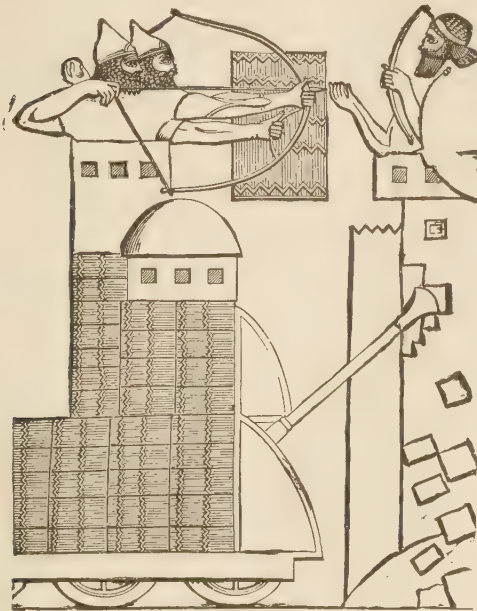
stituted the jewelry of the upper classes. Women of the better sort dressed in long fringed gowns, fuller than those of the men. The sleeves were long. Outside of this dress they often wore a short cloak of the same pattern, open in front and falling over the arms, which it covered nearly to the elbows. Their hair was either arranged in short crisp curls, "or carried back in waves to the ears, and then in part twisted into long pendent ringlets, in part curled, like that of the men, in three or four rows at the back of the neck." The head was sometimes encircled with a fillet. A girdle seems to have been worn around the waist; the feet were bare, or only protected by a sandal. Women of the lower class appear to have worn simply a gown reaching to the ankles; and a hood for a covering for the head. The ornaments and toilet articles of the Assyrian women of the better class indicate a high degree of luxury in their mode of life.

The religion of the Assyrians resembled that of the primitive Chaldeans so closely as to be almost identical with it in its higher

ens their power, lengthens their days and their reigns, and grants prosperity in peace, and victory in war. He is styled by the kings "Asshur, my lord." He had no prominent temple or shrine in any part of the country, and it is believed that all the



REPRESENTATIONS OF A WINGED DEITY, SUPPOSED TO BE THE GOD ASSHUR.



ASSYRIAN BATTERING-RAM.

divinities. Below these were the local gods, peculiar to Assyria. The principal divinity in the Assyrian mythology is the "great god" Asshur. He is the protecting god of both the country and the dynasty. He places monarchs on their thrones, strength-

temples were open to his worship, to whatever god they might be dedicated. The Assyrian religion is described as "the worship of Asshur." The kings represent themselves as passing their lives in his service, as fighting to extend his worship and exterminate his enemies. The emblem of Asshur was the winged circle or globe, from which a figure in a horned cap is frequently seen to issue, sometimes simply holding a bow, sometimes shooting his arrows against the Assyrians' enemies.

Next to Asshur the Assyrians worshipped, in early times, Anu and Vul; in the later periods of their history they adored Bel, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Nin or Ninip, and Nergal. Gula, Ishtar, and Beltis were the favorite goddesses. Hoa, Nebo, and Merodach were worshipped under the later empire. The idols of the gods were made of stone and of baked clay. Sacrifices of animals and birds were offered to them. The religion of the Assyrians was of a sensuous character; the ceremonies were imposing; and some of the rites practised were impure and disgusting, though the religious symbols are almost entirely free from the grossness which is found in classical works of art. Prayers to the gods were frequently offered in addition to the sacrifices.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE REIGN OF ASSHUR BIL-KALA
TO THE FALL OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE.

Uncertain Period of Assyrian History—Reign of Asshur-izir-pal—Rapid Advance of Assyria Under him—His Conquests—Growth of Civilization—Shalmaneser II. Conquers Syria and Compels Israel to Pay Tribute—Shamas-Vul II. Extends the Boundaries of the Empire—Semiramis—Obscure Period in Assyrian History—Tiglath-Pileser II. Founds the New Assyrian Empire—Extent of his Dominions—Shalmaneser IV. Invades Phœnicia and Israel—Sargon's Successful Rebellion—His Brilliant Reign—He Conquers Egypt—Sennacherib King—He Conquers Babylon—Compels Judah to Become Tributary—Destruction of his Army by Visitation of God—Later Wars of Sennacherib—His Elamitic Expedition—The Babylonians Rebel and are Subdued—Conquest of Cilicia—Tarsus Founded—Murder of Sennacherib—Esar-haddon King—His Conquests—His Arabian Expedition—Conquers Egypt—Asshur-bani-pal Succeeds to the Throne—Crushes the Egyptian Revolt—Brilliant Reign of Asshur-bani-pal—His Closing Years—War with Media—Assyria Overrun by the Scythians—The Country Devastated—The Foundations of the Empire Undermined—Saracus King—Media Renews the War—Treachery of Nabopolassar, who Makes himself King of Babylon and Joins the Medes—Death of Saracus—Capture of Nineveh—Fall of the Assyrian Empire.

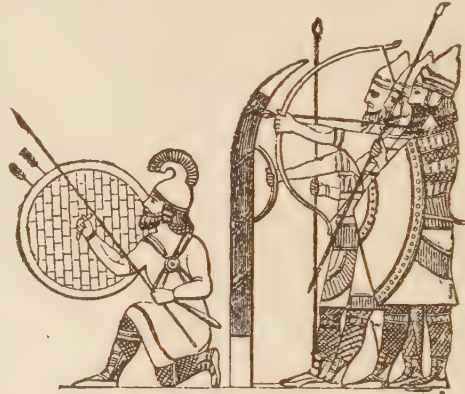
FROM the reign of Asshur-bil-kala to the middle of the tenth century B. C., Assyrian history is almost a blank. It is believed that for a time the kingdom had passed under a cloud, possibly because of the rapid growth of the Israelitish dominions under David, or possibly because Babylonia for a time eclipsed the power of Assyria.



ASSYRIAN SHIELDS.

ria. Whatever may have been the cause of this temporary decline, we know scarcely anything with certainty of Assyrian history during this period. All that can be asserted

with safety is that Asshur-bil-kala ceased to reign about B. C. 1090, and was succeeded by his younger brother Shamas-Vul, of whom we know nothing save that he built or repaired a temple at Nineveh. His reign probably ended about B. C. 1070. A dim light is shed upon Assyria about B. C. 909. The capital is still at Asshur, "where a new



ASSYRIAN SHIELDS.

series of kings, bearing names which, for the most part, resemble those of the earlier period, are found employing themselves in the repair and enlargement of public buildings, in connection with which they obtain honorable mention in an inscription of a later monarch. Asshur-dayan, the first monarch of this group, probably ascended the throne about B. C. 930, shortly after the separation of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. He appears to have reigned from about B. C. 930 to B. C. 911. He was succeeded by his son Vul-lush II., who held the throne until B. C. 889."

The uncertain period of Assyrian history closed in B. C. 889, when Tiglath-Nin II. ascended the throne. He reigned six years, and was succeeded, B. C. 883, by his son Asshur-izir-pal, a great and powerful monarch. Under him Assyria began its career of conquest. He subdued the surrounding nations, and carried his triumphant arms into the Zagros region, into Armenia, western Mesopotamia, and Babylonia, coming in contact, for the first time, with the Medes and Persians. The boundaries of the kingdom were greatly extended, and the influence of Assyria was all powerful in every direction. By a sudden leap the nation sprang from obscurity into greatness. In the short period of six years, Asshur-izir-pal conducted ten campaigns. The first seven and the tenth of these were in the

regions named. The ninth is to the modern student of history the most interesting. The march of the Assyrian king was direct to Carchemish, across the Euphrates, which he passed by means of rafts. Having received the submission of Carchemish, he entered the territory of the Patena (the region about Antioch and Aleppo), the cities of which submitted to him, and passing around the northern flank of Lebanon, he reached the Mediterranean. Here he erected altars and offered sacrifices to the gods. The Phœnician states, from Aradus southward, sent in their submission, as they were unable to resist his advance. Laden with spoil, he returned to his own country.

The reign of Asshur-izir-pal was not only an era of conquest. Assyria advanced rapidly in wealth and in the arts. Its pro-

fect history of the country was preserved. Engraved *stelæ* were set up in all the countries under Assyrian rule. Foreign nations were, through the medium of the Assyrian power, brought into a more constant communication with each other. Bactrian camels, elephants, etc., were imported into Assyria. During this reign, Asshur, the ancient capital, became unsuited to the needs of the empire, and the seat of government was transferred to Calah, which the king enlarged and beautified with magnificent edifices and noble public works.

Shalmaneser II. succeeded his father, Asshur-izir-pal, B. C. 858, and reigned thirty-five years. During the first twenty-seven years of his reign he conducted twenty-three campaigns. Babylonia, Chaldæa, Media, the Zimri, Armenia, upper Mesopota-



PROCESSION OF ASSYRIAN MUSICIANS.

gress in the latter was simply wonderful. During this reign magnificent buildings were erected, and were decorated for the first time with bas-reliefs, enamelled bricks, and frescoes, painted on plaster. "The evidence of the sculptures alone," says Rawlinson, "is enough to show that in the time of Asshur-izir-pal, the Assyrians were already a great and luxurious people, that most of the useful arts not only existed among them, but were cultivated to a high pitch, and that in dress, furniture, jewelry, etc., they were not very much behind the moderns."

During this period and the reigns of the successors of this great king, literature was cultivated. The records of each reign were carefully cut in stone, or impressed on cylinders of baked clay. In this way a per-

mia, the country about the upper waters of the Tigris, the Hittites, the Patena, the Tibareni, the Hamathites, and the Syrians of Damascus, were each and all attacked successfully. Three campaigns were conducted against Damascus, which kingdom was aided by the forces of Israel, Hamath, the Hittites, and the Phœnicians, all of whom were alarmed at the growing power of Assyria. The first campaign occurred in the ninth year of Shalmaneser's reign; the second five years afterwards; and the third three years later still. The Syrians and their allies were commanded by Benhadad, King of Damascus. The first efforts of the Assyrians were fruitless, but in the third campaign they were successful. The allies were defeated with terrible loss, their confederation was broken up, the various

members submitting to the conqueror, except Damascus, which was left to face him single-handed. A fourth campaign, the next year, resulted in the defeat of the Syrians under Hazael. Three years later the Assyrians invaded Syria. Hazael, thoroughly cowed by his misfortunes, attempted no resistance. He made his sub-



EMBROIDERED DRESS OF AN ASSYRIAN KING.

mission to the Assyrian king, and even the distant kingdom of Israel was glad to purchase an exemption from punishment by the payment of tribute.

In the last years of the reign of Shalmaneser, a dangerous rebellion broke out under the lead of his son, the heir apparent, Asshur-danin-pal. It was crushed by the king's second son, Shamas-Vul, and the heir apparent was either killed in the struggle or put to death. Shalmaneser died B. C. 823, and was succeeded by his son Shamas-Vul II., who reigned thirteen years. Assyria was now the predominant power of Asia. Although Armenia, on the north, remained unconquered, the authority of the empire was extended on the west to the confines of the kingdom of Judah; Syria, Phœnicia, Hamath, and Israel, becoming tributaries of the Assyrian crown. On the south the frontier was unchanged, for Babylonia, though sometimes tributary, managed on the whole to maintain its position. Some territory had been gained on the east. The Medes and Persians were at this time mere wandering tribes, without a civilization or a government. Shalmaneser won some important successes over the former, and received tribute from the latter. Shamas-Vul II. conducted successful wars against the Medes and Persians, and the Babylonians, but added nothing to the territory of his empire. He was succeeded by his son Vul-lush III., B. C. 810.

Vul-lush III. extended his dominions eastward and westward in twenty-six campaigns. His supremacy was established over Babylon, and the Assyrian empire stretched from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean. His wife was Sammuramit, the heiress of Babylonia. She is better known as Semiramis. The Greeks and Romans preserved a legendary history of her which made her one of the greatest, as well as one of the most infamous personages of history; and she was believed to be the wife of Ninus, the mythical founder of Nineveh. It is now admitted that the acts attributed to her were fabulous, and that she was, at the most, simply joint ruler with Vul-lush III., her husband.

With the death of Vul-lush III. a change came over the policy and history of Assyria. He ceased to reign B. C. 781, and until B. C. 745 the history of Assyria is obscure. A weak, peaceful policy was pursued, conquests were discontinued, and the empire appears to have entered upon a decline in every respect. Three monarchs bore sway during this interval. Shalmaneser III., B. C. 781-771; Asshur-dayan III., B. C. 771-753; and Asshur-lush, B. C. 753-745. During this period Babylon revolted under Nabonassar. Other revolutions shook the kingdom of Assyria proper, and at length the dynasty was overthrown in



ASSYRIAN CUIRASS.

the great outbreak which placed Tiglath-Pileser II. on the throne, and ushered in the more glorious era of the new or lower Assyrian empire. It was during the last days of the elder empire that the Prophet Jonah was sent to Nineveh to warn the inhabitants of their doom, which was averted by their repentance.

The New or Lower Assyrian Empire began with the accession of Tiglath-Pileser II., B. C. 745. The circumstances by which

he acquired the crown are unknown to us; but he was a usurper, and it appears of humble origin. By a series of vigorously prosecuted wars he regained all that his predecessors had lost, and even extended his dominions. He conquered Damascus, Samaria, Tyre, the Philistines, and the Arabians of the Peninsula of Sinai. He also overran the northern territory of Israel and ravaged the trans-Jordanic territory of that kingdom, carrying away the inhabitants into captivity in Assyria. Judah was made tributary to him. He was succeeded by Shalmaneser IV., B. c. 727.

Soon after the accession of Shalmaneser IV., Hoshea, King of Israel, refused tribute, but was compelled to submit. In spite of this submission, however, Hoshea revolted again a few years later, and allied himself with the kingdom of Egypt, which had

also subdued. This accomplished, Sargon turned his arms against Egypt, the ally of Israel, and the only remaining great power unsubdued by Assyria. The two armies met at Raphia, south of Gaza, and the Egyptians were decisively defeated, although aided by the Philistines. This victory made Sargon master of Philistia and the Delta. In the latter the supremacy of the Assyrians was firmly established. The Egyptian king, confined to the limits of upper Egypt, became tributary, and even the Ethiopian King of Meroë sent in his submission to the conqueror. Sargon next turned his attention to Babylonia, conquered it, and became master of Babylonia and Chaldæa. This success was followed by the conquest of the Aramæan tribes and at least a portion of Susiana, B. c. 709. In the next year Cyprus sent in



SHALMANESER II. RECEIVING TRIBUTE FROM JEHU OF ISRAEL.

passed under the sway of the Ethiopian Sabaco. Shalmaneser invaded Palestine, and, dividing his forces, attacked Phœnicia, which had revolted on the death of Tiglath-Pileser II., and Israel. Siege was laid to both Tyre and Samaria. His operations against Tyre were unsuccessful. The fleet which he collected to attack the city from the sea was beaten and destroyed by the Tyrians. Samaria held out for two years. During these operations a revolt broke out in Assyria, and its leader, Sargon, seized the throne and brought Shalmaneser's reign to an end, B. c. 721.

Sargon proved himself a great king. He quickly established his authority over the whole empire of Assyria, crushing all opposition with a firm hand. Samaria surrendered to his generals in the first year of his reign. The city was destroyed, the country depopulated, and the Israelites transported to Ganzanitis and Media, which he had just conquered. Syria was

its submission and paid tribute. Sargon, now master of the ancient world, illustrated his glorious reign by the construction of a magnificent palace and a city at Dur-Sargina, or Khorsabad. The former was one of the most splendid and beautifully adorned edifices ever erected in Assyria, and has been described in the preceding chapter.

Sargon's reign was terminated by his death, B. c. 705. He was succeeded by his son, Sennacherib, the most famous of all the Assyrian monarchs, in whose reign the empire reached a high degree of glory and power. Soon after his accession Babylon revolted under Merodach Baladan. Sennacherib defeated him, B. c. 703, and seated an Assyrian viceroy on the Babylonian throne, replacing him a year or two later with his own eldest son, Asshur-inadi-su. Phœnicia having revolted, Sennacherib marched against it and compelled its submission. He then continued southward,

conquered the rebellious Philistines, and terrified Egypt and Ethiopia into submission by a great victory over their forces at Altaku, or Eltekeh. Then, marching against Jerusalem, he forced Hezekiah to become tributary, and took an immense sum from him as tribute. Returning home, he put down a new outbreak in Babylon.

The opening of the seventh century B. C. was marked by one of the most terrible disasters ever suffered by Assyria. Heze-



TIGLATH-PILESER II.

kiah, King of Judah, undaunted by his bitter lesson of two years previous, entered again into an alliance with Egypt, and threw off his allegiance to Assyria. Sennacherib resolved to punish him, and in B. C. 699 marched from Nineveh into Palestine, with a powerful army, to crush the rebellion. Well knowing that Egypt, not Judah, was the true foe of Assyria in this quarter, he marched along the sea-coast towards the Egyptian frontier, intending to

crush Egypt before punishing Judah. His progress was barred by the fortresses of Libnah and Lachish, on the extreme verge of Palestine, and which seem to have been subject at this time to Egypt. He at once laid siege to Lachish, which appears to have fallen soon, after which he besieged Libnah. In the meantime, however, finding that Hezekiah still maintained his defiant attitude, he sent a detachment of his army, under the Rabshakeh, or chief cup-bearer, and the Rab-Saris, or chief eunuch, to summon Jerusalem to surrender, accompanying his demand with a message grossly insulting to the God of Israel, and which drew upon him the divine vengeance. The demand was refused by Hezekiah, and the Assyrian commanders, finding their detachment unequal to the capture of so strong a city, rejoined Sennacherib, who, having taken Lachish, was now engaged in the siege of Libnah. The Assyrian monarch despatched fresh messengers to Hezekiah, with a letter in his own hand, in which he renewed his demand for the submission of Judah, warned Hezekiah of the fate of the princes who had resisted Assyria, and blasphemously told him that his God, in whom he trusted, was not able to deliver him from the Assyrians. Hezekiah took this letter into the temple and, spreading it out before the Lord, implored his help against Sennacherib, who had sent to him "to reproach the living God." The Prophet Isaiah was commanded to declare to Hezekiah that the King of Assyria should not come near Jerusalem, nor molest it, but should return at once to his own country.

Meanwhile, Libnah having surrendered, Sennacherib had marched towards Pelusium, on the Egyptian frontier, where the Egyptian army, under Sethos, awaited him. On the day when Hezekiah spread his letter before the Lord, Sennacherib encamped in front of the Egyptian army, intending to attack it the next morning. That night, by the direct interposition of the power of God, 185,000 men of the Assyrian army died in their sleep. Horror-struck by this fearful calamity, and to greatly weakened by it to think of continuing the war, Sennacherib abandoned his camp at once, and began a hurried retreat. The Egyptians, seeing his confusion and flight, pursued him, harassed his march, and cut off his stragglers. The Assyrian monarch returned to Nineveh with

the remnant of his proud hosts, and for a while there seems to have been a pause in Assyrian affairs. So powerful a nation, however, was not to be ruined even by so great a loss, and although Sennacherib carefully refrained from repeating his attempts upon Palestine during the remainder of his reign, he won great successes in other quarters.

He conducted a successful campaign, which was more a raiding expedition than an attempt at conquest, in the northern portion of the Zagros range. After this he waged a severe war with the Babylonians and Susianians. The Babylonians appear to have taken advantage of the disaster at Pelusium to throw off the Assyrian yoke, and the Susianians, or Elamites, had given mortal offence to Assyria by receiving and protecting the Chaldeans of Beth-Yakin, who had fled from Sennacherib's dominions. These, taking with them their gods and treasures, had crossed the Persian Gulf in their ships, and had landed on the Elamitic coast, where they were kindly received by the Susianian kings and allowed to take up their abode. Sennacherib resolved, after reducing Babylonia to subjection, to take vengeance upon the Elamites. Having compelled the submission of Babylonia, he brought a number of Phœnician shipbuilders and sailors from the Mediterranean coast, over which his supremacy extended, and built a fleet of Phœnician war-galleys in the lower Tigris. Embarking his army in these, the largest and most formidable vessels that had ever been seen in these waters, he crossed the Persian Gulf, landed on the portion of the Elamite coast occupied by the emigrant Chaldeans, destroyed the city they had built, ravaged the country, burnt a number of Elamite towns, and, re-embarking his army and his captives, returned to the Tigris, without having encountered any serious resistance from the Elamites, who, expecting an attack from the land, had massed their army along their northwestern frontier. The sudden descent of the Assyrians upon their coast took them completely by surprise, and found them utterly unprepared to resist it.

But though successful in this expedition, Sennacherib found trouble awaiting him on his return. His expedition was popularly regarded as venturesome in the extreme, and as certain of destruction by the sea. The Babylonians, acting upon this hope, rose in rebellion immediately after the

sailing of the fleet from the Tigris. To their surprise the Assyrians returned from Susiania flushed with victory. Landing upon the Babylonian coast, they at once proceeded to reduce the province to subjection. A great battle was fought, and the Babylonian king, Susub, was captured. The Susianians entered Babylonia a little later in aid of their allies, but were routed by the Assyrians with great loss. Babylonia was obliged to submit, and Sennacherib returned in triumph to Assyria. In order to break the power of Susiania, Sennacherib now invaded that country with a strong army, penetrated to the heart of it, de-



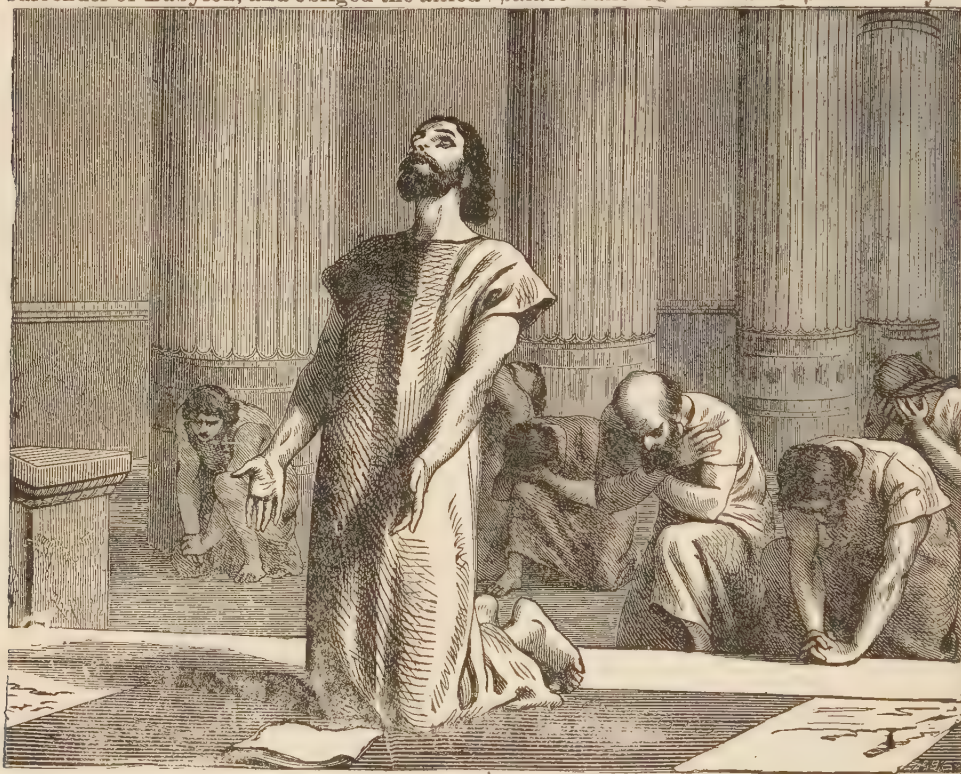
SARGON.

stroyed thirty-four large cities and a number of villages, and captured Badaca, the second city of the kingdom. He reannexed to the Assyrian empire the cities of Beth-Kahiri and Raza, which had been conquered by the Susianians in the reign of Sargon, and returned to Nineveh loaded with spoils, leaving Susiania greatly crippled. Soon after this, war again broke out in Babylonia. Susub, the king who had been taken prisoner by Sennacherib in the year of the naval expedition, managed to escape from captivity, and, returning to Babylonia, was hailed by the people as

king. By stripping the treasury and temple of the god Bel, at Babylon, of its wealth and ornaments, he managed to raise funds enough to purchase the alliance of the Sussians, who marched to his aid. The Babylonians were also joined by a number of revolted Aramæan tribes from the middle Euphrates. Sennacherib encountered the allied army at Khaluli, on the lower Tigris. After a long and bloody battle, he defeated it, broke up the alliance, compelled the surrender of Babylon, and obliged the allied

queror. Sennacherib signalized his conquest by the erection of a new city on the model of Babylon, and called it Tarsus. It subsequently became a noted city, and was the birthplace of the Apostle Paul.

Sennacherib was a great builder and a wise patron of the arts. He built a palace at Nineveh, which in size and splendor eclipsed all the earlier edifices of Assyria, and was only excelled in beauty of ornamentation by one Assyrian edifice—the palace built on the same platform by his



HEZEKIAH LAYS SENNACHERIB'S LETTER BEFORE THE LORD.

kings to seek safety in flight. Babylon was severely punished. The fortifications were destroyed; the temples were plundered and burnt; and the images of the gods were broken to pieces. An Assyrian viceroy was again placed over Chaldaea.

Somewhat later, Sennacherib undertook an expedition against Cilicia, in which the Assyrians encountered the Greeks for the first time. A Greek fleet guarded the Cilician shore, and was defeated by the ships of Sennacherib. It appears that the Greeks were also defeated on land in Cilicia, and that country submitted to the con-

grandson, Asshur-bani-pal. The art of sculpture made a remarkable advance in this reign. Other great edifices were also constructed in other parts of the country, canals and aqueducts were built for the purpose of bringing good water to the capital, and the Tigris was confined to its channel by an embankment of brick. Sennacherib's reign was brought to a close by his murder by two of his sons, B. C. 681. The murderers also slew their brother, Nergilus, who claimed the crown, and were themselves overthrown in the course of a few months by Esar-haddon, their youngest

brother, who was supported by the army, and who was engaged in guarding the Armenian frontier at the time of the murder of his father.

Esar-haddon came to the throne in B. C. 681, and reigned for thirteen years. His court was held alternately at Nineveh and Babylon. He compelled the submission of the Babylonians in the first year of his reign. Then, marching into Phœnicia, he put down a revolt of the Sidonians, and conquered the King of the Lebanon region, who had aided them, and put to death the Kings of Sidon and the Lebanon. His next campaign was in Armenia, in which he gained some important successes. He also subdued the Cilicians, who had revolted at the death of Sennacherib. About B. C. 675 he made an expedition into the southern part of Chaldea, where Nebozirsi-sidi, a son of Merodach-Baladan, had established himself with the help of the Susianians. He deposed this prince and gave the control of the region to another son of Merodach-Baladan, named Nahid-Marduk, who had sought his aid. He then conquered Edom and made it tributary to Assyria. His next expedition was into the heart of Arabia. He crossed the desert with a large army and reached the more fertile and settled region beyond. He captured and plundered several towns, and returned to his own country in safety. "Considering the physical perils of the desert itself, and the warlike character of its inhabitants, whom no conqueror has ever really subdued, this was a most remarkable success. . . . Arabia has been deeply penetrated thrice only in the history of the world; and Esar-haddon is the sole monarch who ever ventured to conduct in person such an attack." He also subdued the Aramaean tribes along the Euphrates, and gained some important successes in the remoter regions of Media. These wars consumed the first ten years of his reign.

The most important event of Esar-haddon's reign was the conquest of Egypt, which was accomplished about B. C. 670. He defeated the Egyptian forces under Tirhakah in a great battle, and captured Memphis. Then proceeding southward, he took Thebes, drove the Egyptian king into Ethiopia, and established his authority over the kingdom, which he divided into twenty petty states, over each of which he placed a king. All these petty kings were made to a certain extent subordinate to

the prince who reigned at Memphis. This prince was Nechoh, the father of Psammetichus, and a native Egyptian. The revolt of Manasseh, King of Judah, occurred about this time, but was put down by the Assyrian generals, who sent the Jewish king in chains to Babylon, where Esar-haddon was then holding his court. The Assyrian monarch at first treated his captive severely, but subsequently released him and restored him to his throne on condition of his paying an increased tribute. Having thus pacified the kingdom of Judah, Esar-haddon, in order to strengthen the Assyrian influence in Palestine, colonized the territory of the kingdom of Israel with families from the distant regions of his empire.

In B. C. 669 Esar-haddon appears to have fallen ill. Tirhakah at once made his appearance in Egypt, and soon re-established his authority over the entire valley of the Nile, driving out the petty kings set up by the Assyrians. Esar-haddon, unable to meet this outbreak in person, associated his eldest son, Asshur-bani-pal, with him in the government of the empire. He resigned the crown of Assyria to his son, and retained that of Babylon, to which city he retired, and died there about B. C. 667, in the early part of that year.

Immediately upon the death of his father, Asshur-bani-pal appointed his younger brother, Saül-Mugina, Viceroy of Babylon, and collecting his forces, invaded Egypt. Tirhakah sent a powerful army to meet him, remaining at Memphis to await the issue of the conflict. The Egyptians were defeated in a great battle near the city of Kar-banit, and Tirhakah withdrew to Thebes, from which he was driven by the Assyrians. He fled to Ethiopia, and the Assyrian authority was re-established over Egypt. Asshur-bani-pal restored the petty kings established by his father, and having quieted the country, returned to Nineveh. Almost immediately after his withdrawal from Egypt the country was again thrown into confusion by the efforts of the Ethiopians. Nechoh, who had been placed over Memphis, deserted the Assyrians and joined the Ethiopians. The kings who remained faithful seized Nechoh and some of his associates and sent them in chains to Nineveh, and endeavored to suppress the revolt; but Tirhakah succeeded in regaining Thebes, from which he threatened to reconquer all Egypt. The Assyrian king, seeing the danger, forgave Nechoh for his defection,

restored his throne to him, and sent him back to Egypt with a strong Assyrian force, with which he drove Tirhakah once more into Ethiopia, where that monarch died, leaving his cause to his stepson Urdamané, who soon afterwards descended the Nile valley, defeated the Assyrians near Memphis, took that city by assault, and reconquered lower Egypt. Asshur-bani-pal at once took the field in person, and entering Egypt at the head of a powerful force, drove the Ethiopians out of the kingdom. In this campaign the Assyrians took Thebes by assault and sacked it, plundering it of an immense booty, which they carried off to Nineveh. The country was once more arranged on the plan established by Esarhaddon.

Asshur-bani-pal's next war was in Asia Minor, which he conquered. Gyges, King



ASSYRIAN RIDING HORSE.

of Lydia, alarmed at his progress, paid him tribute. A large part of Armenia was conquered in this reign; Susiania was completely subjugated and attached to Babylon as a province, and many of the outlying Arabian tribes were subdued. Assyria was now at the height of her prosperity and power, without an enemy in the world either willing or able to oppose her. Asshur-bani-pal built the most magnificent of all the Assyrian palaces by the side of the palace of his grandfather Sennacherib, at Nineveh. He was devoted to the arts and to music, and established a sort of royal library at Nineveh. He was unquestionably one of Assyria's greatest kings. "In his reign the Assyrian dominions reached their greatest extent, Assyrian art culminated, and the empire seemed likely to extend itself over the whole of the East." This period of glory constituted the first part of Asshur-bani-pal's reign.

It has been generally supposed that Asshur-bani-pal died about B. C. 647; but recent discoveries have made it probable that he lived twenty years longer, and died about B. C. 626. This view is adopted by Professor Rawlinson, one of the most eminent authorities in this department of history. This period furnishes a striking contrast to the first twenty-two years of this great king's reign. The first part witnessed the culmination of the glory and power of Assyria; the last, upon which we now enter, was to witness the beginning of the decline of the great empire, in which Assyria passed from the supremacy in the ancient world to a doubtful and precarious position. The first of the causes of this decline was the rapid growth of the Median kingdom into a strong military power on the very borders of Assyria. So rapid was this growth that the Medes felt strong enough to invade Assyria about B. C. 634. They were unsuccessful, but the fact of their invasion was significant. They were defeated near Nineveh, and their leader, who is called Phraortes, was killed. The aged Asshur-bani-pal had lost the vigor of his youthful spirit, and contented himself with defeating the invaders, but made no effort to follow them into their own country. Profiting by this, Cyaxeres, who succeeded to the Median crown, spent the next two years in preparing an army, and in B. C. 632 invaded Assyria, defeated the Assyrian army in the field, and closely invested Nineveh. He was suddenly obliged to raise the siege and return in haste to his own country, in consequence of an invasion of Media by the Scythian hordes of the north of Asia.

These daring and barbarous people swarmed over the Caucasus into southern Asia, appearing first in Media, which they subdued, but not entirely, owing to its mountainous character, and then spread themselves westward over Asia towards the Mediterranean. Assyria, already weakened by the revolt of Egypt under Psammetichus, was quickly overrun by the Scythians, who passed on into Syria, where the tide was checked by Psammetichus, then engaged in the siege of Ashdod, in Palestine. He bribed the barbarians to spare Egypt, and they turned aside into other countries, and finally disappeared; some, it is believed, returning to their original homes in the steppe country beyond the Caucasus, and others taking service under

the native rulers of Asia, who in the course of a few years regained sufficient strength to throw off the barbarian yoke and re-establish their authority. The first country to accomplish this was Media, under the wise guidance of Cyaxeres.

Assyria suffered fearfully from the ravages of the Scyths, whose numbers made the attempt to resist them hopeless. Many of the old cities were taken, despoiled of their treasures, and their palaces wantonly burned. The country was ravaged and depopulated, for the barbarians pursued a policy of extermination. "Assyria, when the Scythians quitted her," says Rawlinson, "was but the shadow of her former self. Weak and exhausted, she seemed to invite a permanent conqueror. If her limits had not much shrunk, if the provinces still acknowledged her authority, it was from habit rather than from fear, or because they too had suffered greatly from the northern barbarians." Thus, though it was weak and exhausted, Assyria was still an empire, and it is possible that the last efforts of Asshur-bani-pal were devoted to reorganizing his dominions and repairing the damages inflicted by the Scythians. He was cut short in this work by his death early in B. C. 626, after a reign of forty-two years.

He was succeeded by his son Asshur-emed-ilin, better known by the name of Saracus, given to him by the Greeks. Scarcely anything is known of him, except that his reign was one of continued misfortune. Under him the empire grew weaker. The treasury was exhausted, and the country was on the verge of ruin in consequence of the ravages of the Scythians. It is not known whether he had the ability to repair these evils, but it is certain that he had not the means of doing so. Before anything could be accomplished the Medes and Susianians, having formed an alliance, invaded Assyria—the former from the east and the latter from the south. Saracus, in order to meet this double danger, divided his forces into two armies. He advanced with one to meet the Median invasion, and sent the other, under Nabopolassar, his ablest general, to drive back the Susianians, who were marching from the sea upon Babylon. This disposition of his forces, though wise and prudent in itself, proved the ruin of Assyria in consequence of the treachery of Nabopolassar, who, seeing his own opportunity in his country's weakness, deserted the Assyrian cause and made terms with

the enemy. By this arrangement he secured the throne of Babylon for himself, and the daughter of Cyaxeres as a bride for his eldest son Nebuchadnezzar. Then uniting his forces with those of Cyaxeres, they marched upon Nineveh and closely invested it. Seeing the city on the point of capture, Saracus, in despair, burned himself in his palace, and Nineveh was taken by the conquerors, who divided Assyria between them, B. C. 625.

Thus fell the Assyrian empire, not so much from any inherent weakness, or from the effect of gradual decay, as by an unfortunate combination of circumstances—the invasion of the Medes, a strong nation of warriors, at a time when the empire had been brought to its lowest state by the



DAGON.

irruption of the Scythians; and the treachery of its most trusted lieutenant.

The independent kingdom of Assyria lasted about one thousand years. The empire covered about seven centuries of this period, from B. C. 1300 to B. C. 625; or perhaps, to be more accurate, we must limit this duration to five centuries, commencing with the reign of Assur-ris-ilim, about B. C. 1150. The first twenty-two years of the reign of Asshur-bani-pal saw the empire at the height of its power and dominion. "In the middle part of this prince's reign Assyria was paramount over the portion of western Asia included between the Mediterranean and the Halys on the one hand, the Caspian Sea and the

great Persian desert on the other. Southwards the boundary was formed by Arabia and the Persian Gulf; northwards it seems at no time to have advanced to the Euxine or to the Caucasus, but to have been formed by a fluctuating line, which did not in the most flourishing period extend so far as the northern frontier of Armenia. Besides her Asiatic dominions, Assyria possessed also at this time a portion of Africa, her authority being acknowledged by Egypt as far as the latitude of Thebes. The countries included within the limits thus indicated, and subject during the period in question to Assyrian influence, were chiefly the following: Susiana, Chaldæa, Babylonia, Media, Matiene or the Zagros range, Mesopotamia; parts of Armenia, Cappadocia, and Cilicia; Syria, Phœnicia, Palestine, Idumæa, a portion of Arabia, and almost the whole of Egypt. The island of Cyprus was also, it is probable, a dependency. On the other hand, Persia proper, Bactria, and Sogdiana, even Hyrcania, were beyond the eastern limit of the Assyrian sway, which towards the north did not on this side reach farther than about the neighborhood of Kasoin, and towards the south was confined within the mountain barrier of Zagros. Similarly, on the west, Phrygia, Lydia, Lycia, and even Pamphylia, were independent, the Assyrian arms having never, so far as appears, penetrated westward beyond Cilicia, or crossed the river Halys.

"The nature of the dominion established by the great Mesopotamian monarchy over the countries included within the limits above indicated, will perhaps be best understood if we compare it with the empire of Solomon. Solomon 'reigned over *all the kingdoms* from the river (Euphrates) unto the land of the Philistines and unto the borders of Egypt; they brought presents and served Solomon all the days of his life.' The first and most striking features of the earliest empires is that they are a mere congeries of kingdoms. The countries over which the dominant state acquires an influence not only retain their direct individuality, as is the case in some modern empires, but remain in all respects such as they were before, with the simple addition of certain obligations contracted towards the paramount authority. They keep their old laws, their old religion, their line of kings, their law of succession, their whole

internal organization and machinery; they only acknowledge an external suzerainty which binds them to the performance of certain duties towards the head of the empire. These duties, as understood in the earliest times, may be summed up in the two words, 'homage' and 'tribute;' the subject kings 'serve' and 'bring presents.' They are bound to acts of submission; must attend the court of their suzerain when summoned, unless they have a reasonable excuse; must there salute him as a superior, and otherwise acknowledge his rank; above all, they must pay him regularly the fixed tribute which has been imposed upon them at the time of their submission or subjection, the unauthorized withholding of which is open and avowed rebellion. Finally, they must allow his troops free passage through their dominions, and must oppose any attempt at invasion by way of their country on the part of his enemies." In return, the empire guaranteed to its dependents protection against their foreign foes. It is evident that such an empire contained within itself the elements of constant disorder and of its own destruction. Rawlinson well says, that "it exhibits in a marked way both the strength and weakness of this class of monarchies—their strength in the extraordinary magnificence, grandeur, wealth, and refinement of the capital; their weakness in the impoverishment, the exhaustion, and the consequent disaffection of the subject states. Ever falling to pieces, it was perpetually reconstructed by the genius and prowess of a long succession of warrior princes, seconded by the skill and bravery of the people. Fortunate in possessing for a long time no very powerful neighbor, it found little difficulty in extending itself throughout regions divided and subdivided among hundreds of petty chiefs, incapable of union, and singly quite unable to contend with the forces of a large and populous country. Frequently endangered by revolts, yet always triumphing over them, it maintained itself for five centuries, gradually advancing its influence, and was only overthrown after a fierce struggle by a new kingdom formed upon its borders, which, taking advantage of a time of exhaustion, and leagued with the most powerful of the subject states, was enabled to accomplish the destruction of the long dominant people."

BOOK V.

THE HISTORY OF BABYLONIA.

CHAPTER I.

RISE AND FALL OF THE BABYLONIAN KINGDOM.

Geographical Position of Babylonia—Almost Identical with Chaldæa—Babylon under Assyrian Rule—Frequent Revolts—Saracus Places Nabopolassar over Babylon—The Latter Revolts and Makes Himself King of Babylonia—The Median Alliance—Fall of Assyria—The Babylonian Empire Formed—Reign of Nabopolassar—War with Egypt—Nebuchadnezzar Defeats Nechoh at Carchemish—Nebuchadnezzar King—Phœnicia and Judah Subdued—Jerusalem Taken and Destroyed—Conquest of Egypt—Brilliant Reign of Nebuchadnezzar—His Great Works—The Hanging Gardens—The Walls of Babylon—Commercial Wealth—Character of the King—His Madness—His Recovery and Closing Years—His Successors—Nabonadius King—Associates his Son with him—The War with Persia—Belshazzar's Feast—Cyrus Captures Babylon—Fall of the Babylonian Empire—Babylon Becomes the Second Capital of the Persian Empire.

BABYLONIA proper was almost identical in its territorial area with the ancient kingdom of Chaldæa, and need not be described here. It lay entirely west of the Tigris, and consisted of two "vast plains, or flats, one situated between the two rivers (the Tigris and Euphrates), and thus forming the lower portion of the Mesopotamia of the Greeks and Romans—the other interposed between the Euphrates and Arabia, a long but narrow strip along the right bank of that abounding river." It comprised an area of about 27,000 square miles—being smaller than Scotland or Ireland. The country east of the Tigris formed no part of Babylonia proper, but was Cissia, or Susiania—a distinct region known to the Jews as Elam—and was inhabited by a people distinct from the Babylonians. At the height of its power the Babylonian empire embraced, as we shall see, a large part of the eastern world.

After the conquest of Chaldæa by Tiglath-Nin I., in B. c. 1300, and its absorption in the Assyrian monarchy, the people of that region were more or less discontented, and from time to time efforts were made to throw off the Assyrian yoke, but without success. In B. c. 747, however, Nabonassar

made a successful revolt, and established an independent monarchy in Babylonia. He reigned fourteen years, and destroyed the records of the Assyrian viceroys who had preceded him in order to blot out the record of his country's slavery. He was succeeded by Nadius, who reigned from B. c. 733 to 731. Two kings next came to the throne, Chinzinus and Porus, B. c. 731 to 726. Their successor was Elulæus, B. c. 726 to 721, who was, in his turn, succeeded by Merodach-Baladan. This king, about B. c. 713, sent an embassy to Hezekiah, King of Judah, congratulating him upon his recovery from a dangerous illness. In B. c. 709 he was attacked and dethroned by Sargon, and Babylon was once more ruled by an Assyrian viceroy. This state of affairs lasted until B. c. 704, and was followed by an interregnum of a little more than a year. Merodach-Baladan, who had escaped from captivity, then regained his throne and reigned six months, when he was attacked and defeated by Sennacherib, who placed an Assyrian viceroy named Belibus on the throne, about B. c. 702. In B. c. 700, Sennacherib had cause to suspect Belibus of treason, and removed him from the government of Babylonia, which he bestowed upon his own eldest son Asshur-inadi-su, or Assaranadius, who reigned until B. c. 693. During this reign Babylon twice revolted from Assyria, and was twice reduced to submission. A troubled period of about thirteen years followed this reign, and was brought to a close only by the conquest of Babylon, in B. c. 680, by Esarhaddon, who added to his other titles that of King of Babylon, built himself a palace in that city, and reigned alternately there and at Nineveh. He held the crown until B. c. 667, when his son, Saos-duchinus, was made viceroy. This prince governed Babylon for twenty years, and was succeeded in B. c. 647 by Cinneladanus, who reigned for twenty-two years.

In B. c. 625 Nabopolassar was placed in command of the province by Saracus, the last Assyrian king, with orders to stay the march of the Susianians, who were approach-



JEWISH CAPTIVES IN BABYLONIA.

ing from the Persian Gulf. He was probably made viceroy. The people of Babylonia were already rising in rebellion when he entered the capital, and he saw that by placing himself at the head of the popular movement he could effect the ruin of his master and advance his own interests. He accordingly entered into an alliance with Cyaxeres, who had invaded Assyria from Media, arranged a marriage between his eldest son Nebuchadnezzar and the daughter of Cyaxeres, and by the terms of the alliance secured to himself the crown of Babylonia as an independent sovereign. These matters being arranged, Nabopolassar at once united his forces with those of Cyaxeres, and took part with him in the war which resulted, as we have seen, in the capture and destruction of Nineveh and the overthrow of the empire of Assyria.

In the division of the Assyrian dominions, Nabopolassar was given the province of Susiania and the valley of the Euphrates, Syria, and Palestine, Assyria proper and the countries dependent upon Assyria to the north and northwest going to Cyaxeres. Thus Babylon became the head of a powerful empire. The countries named above submitted to the change without any effort at resistance. They had doubtless become so accustomed to seeing an Assyrian king hold his court alternately at Nineveh and Babylon that they may not have appreciated the full force of the change at first. For some years the Babylonian king devoted himself to the consolidation of his government, and his dominions were at peace. From B. C. 615 to B. C. 610 there was almost constant war between Media and Lydia. Nabopolassar, or sometimes his son Nebuchadnezzar, took part in these wars as the ally of Cyaxeres. In the last-named year, as the hostile armies were about to engage each other, an eclipse of the sun took place, which terrified both. Nabopolassar took advantage of this to mediate between Cyaxeres and the Lydians, and succeeded in bringing about a peace which gave to western Asia nearly half a century of uninterrupted tranquillity.

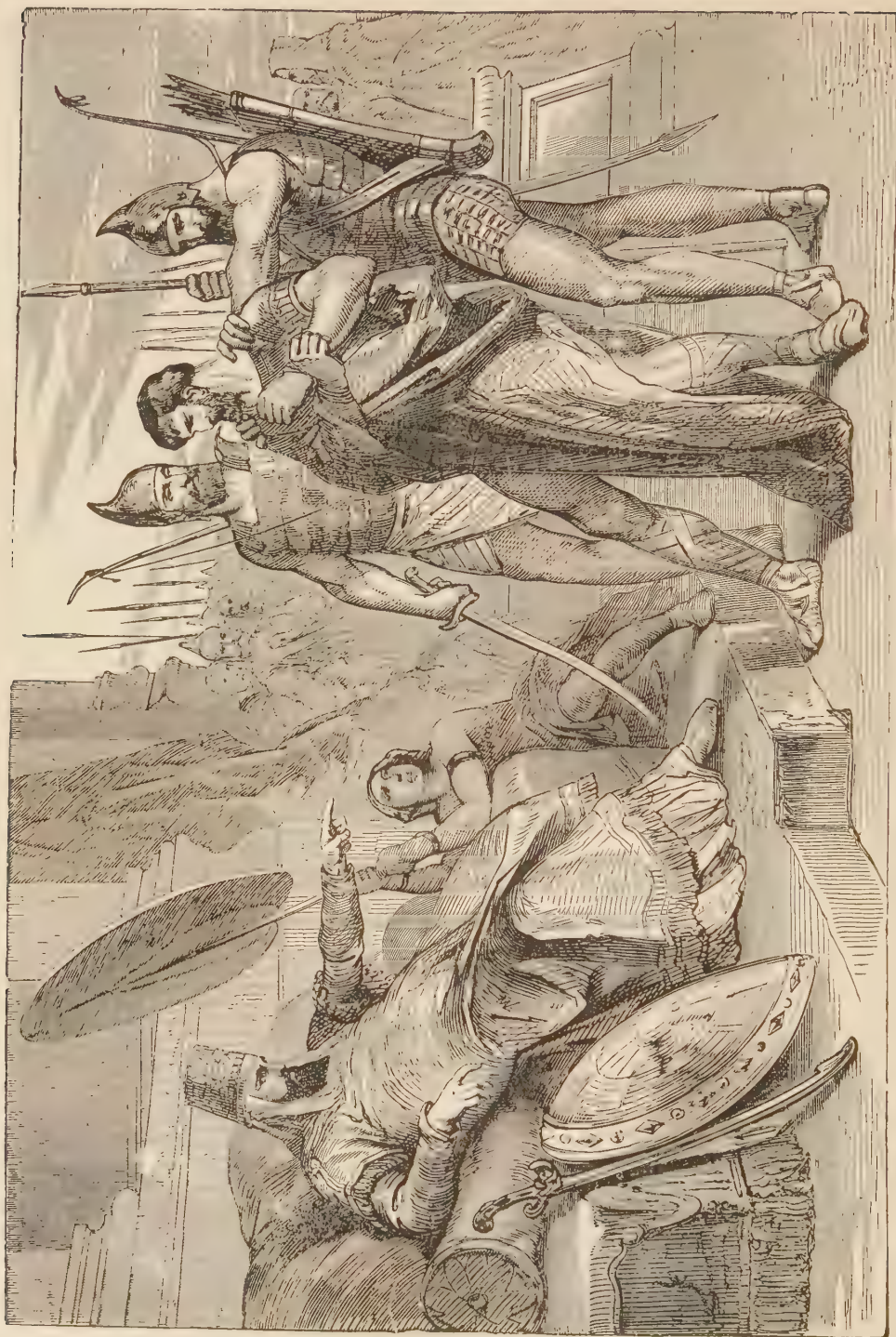
In B. C. 608, Nechoh, having succeeded his father Psammetichus on the throne of Egypt, invaded the dominions of Babylon, and having defeated Josiah, King of Judah, who sought to stay his march, at Megiddo, overran all the country between Egypt and the river Euphrates. Three months later, in returning to Egypt, he visited Jerusalem,

deposed Jehoahaz, a younger son of Josiah who had been made king by the people, and gave the crown to Jehoiakim, his elder brother. About the same time he laid siege to the important Philistine city of Gaza.

Nabopolassar made no effort for fully three years to recover his lost territory, but allowed Nechoh to enjoy his conquests. In B. C. 605, however, he assembled a vast army and placed it under the command of his son Nebuchadnezzar, who advanced rapidly to the Euphrates. He attacked the Egyptian army near Carchemish, routed it, and continued the pursuit to the frontier of Egypt, recovering on the march all the lost territory, and receiving the submission of Jehoiakim, King of Judah. It was his intention to invade Egypt, and crush that power, but he was compelled to desist upon reaching the frontier by news of the death of his father. He made peace with Nechoh, hastened back to Babylon, and assumed the crown, B. C. 604. The remaining years of the seventh century B. C. appear to have been peaceful, and were employed by Nebuchadnezzar in improving his capital, and in consolidating his dominions.

The opening of the sixth century B. C. called the Babylonian king once more to the field to suppress the revolts of Phœnicia and Judah, the latter of which was encouraged by Egypt. In B. C. 598, at the head of an allied Babylonian and Median army, he invaded Phœnicia and laid siege to Tyre. This city was strong enough to resist him for thirteen years. During this period he deposed Jehoiakim, King of Judah, and put him to death, set up Jehoiachin and replaced him with Zedekiah, and crushed the final revolt of the Jews by the capture of Jerusalem, and the destruction of their Temple and city, and the transportation of the nation into Babylonia, as has already been related. In the same period he defeated the effort of the Egyptian king to raise the siege of Jerusalem, but was not able to punish that monarch until after the capture of Tyre. Tyre was taken and destroyed B. C. 585, after a siege of thirteen years, and all Phœnicia was compelled to submit to the conqueror.

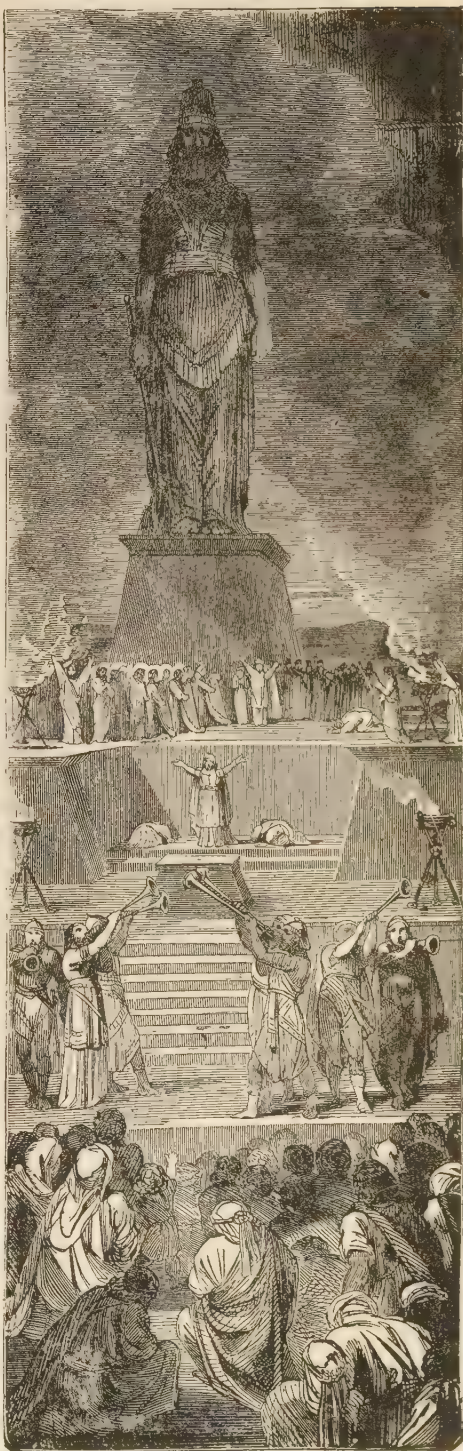
Nebuchadnezzar now addressed himself to the task of punishing Egypt, and in B. C. 581 invaded that country, and gained some unimportant successes. He does not appear to have prosecuted the war with much vigor, and for a while Egypt escaped the punish-



ZEDEKIAH KING OF JUDAH BEFORE NEBUCHADNEZZAR KING OF BABYLON.

ment it had drawn upon itself by its interference in the affairs of Babylon. In B. C. 570, however, he invaded the kingdom a second time, conquered it, and placed a new king named Amasis on the throne as his vassal.

The reign of Nebuchadnezzar constitutes the most illustrious period of Babylonian history. He was not only a great conqueror, but a ruler of unusual wisdom and strength of character. He covered the country with useful works, such as canals, reservoirs, sluices for the improvement of irrigation, and a system of piers in the harbors of the Persian Gulf—and he made Babylon the most magnificent city of the east. In order to gratify his queen Amyitis who pined for the mountains of her native Media, he built the celebrated "Hanging Gardens of Babylon," which were considered among the seven wonders of the world. They consisted of a series of terraces built on arches, rising high above the walls of Babylon. Earth was laid on this structure and planted with trees and shrubbery, and hydraulic engines raised water to the highest levels for fountains and cascades and for the nourishment of the plants. "Art strove to emulate nature with a certain measure of success, and the lofty rocks and various trees of this wonderful Paradise, if they were not a very close imitation of the Median mountain scenery, were at any rate a pleasant change from the natural monotony of the Babylonian plain, and must have formed a grateful retreat for the Babylonian queen, whom they reminded at once of her husband's love and of the beauty of her native country." The city was surrounded with walls of baked bricks, 33 feet high, and 85 feet thick. Their total circuit was 41 miles, making the area of the city enclosed by them a little more than 100 square miles. Under the wise policy of this great king, and in consequence of its admirable position, half-way between the Indus and the Mediterranean, with the Euphrates and the Tigris affording communication with the Persian Gulf and the more northern regions, Babylon became the leading commercial city of the east. Merchants from all the known countries were to be found in her markets. The looms of Babylon produced the finest carpets known, and the towns along the Tigris and Euphrates were noted for the fineness of quality and beauty of color of their cotton fabrics. Nor was Babylon the only city improved

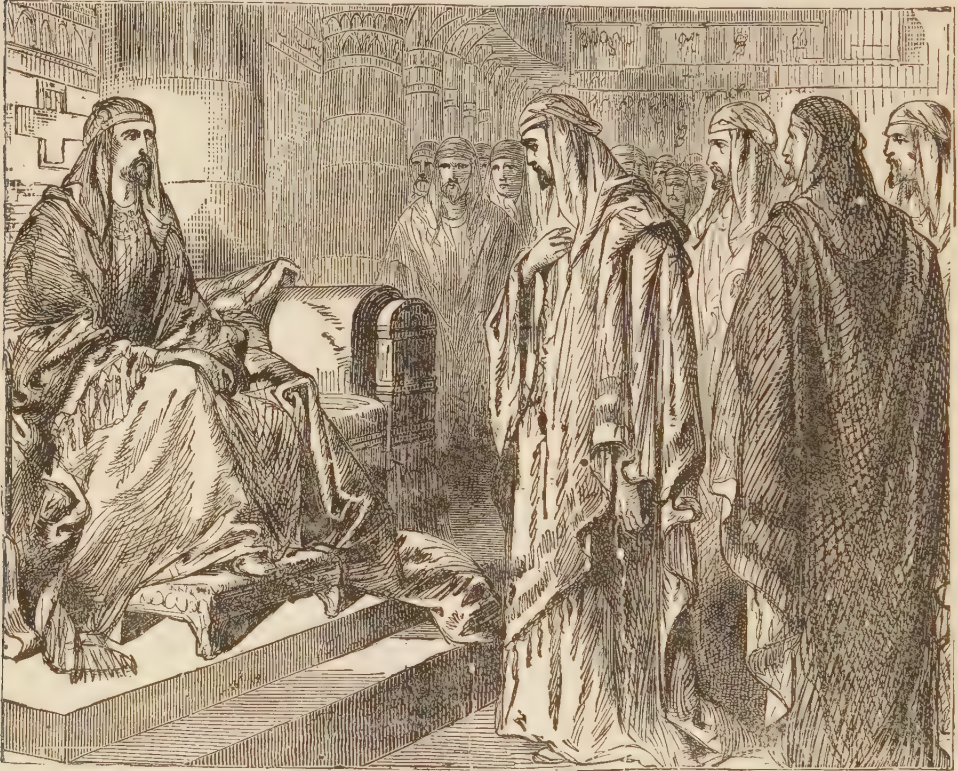


NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S IMAGE OF GOLD.

by the king. All the principal Babylonian towns were adorned with noble buildings and temples, and protected with strong walls, and there was scarcely any part of the kingdom to which the genius of the king did not extend.

Nebuchadnezzar is one of the most remarkable personages of ancient history. He is also one of the most striking figures of the Bible narrative, from which we obtain perhaps the clearest view of his character. The Book of Daniel pictures him at

his absolute power could be given than his placing Daniel, a foreigner, over the heads of the entire priestly class. His wealth is so great that he can make an image of pure gold, ninety feet high and nine feet broad. In his religious views he has none of the exclusiveness of his race. He worships, sometimes his own deities, and then suddenly transfers his allegiance to the God of the captive Hebrews, and compels all his people to follow his example. His temper is violent and hasty, but not obstinate. "His



DANIEL INTERPRETING NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S DREAM.

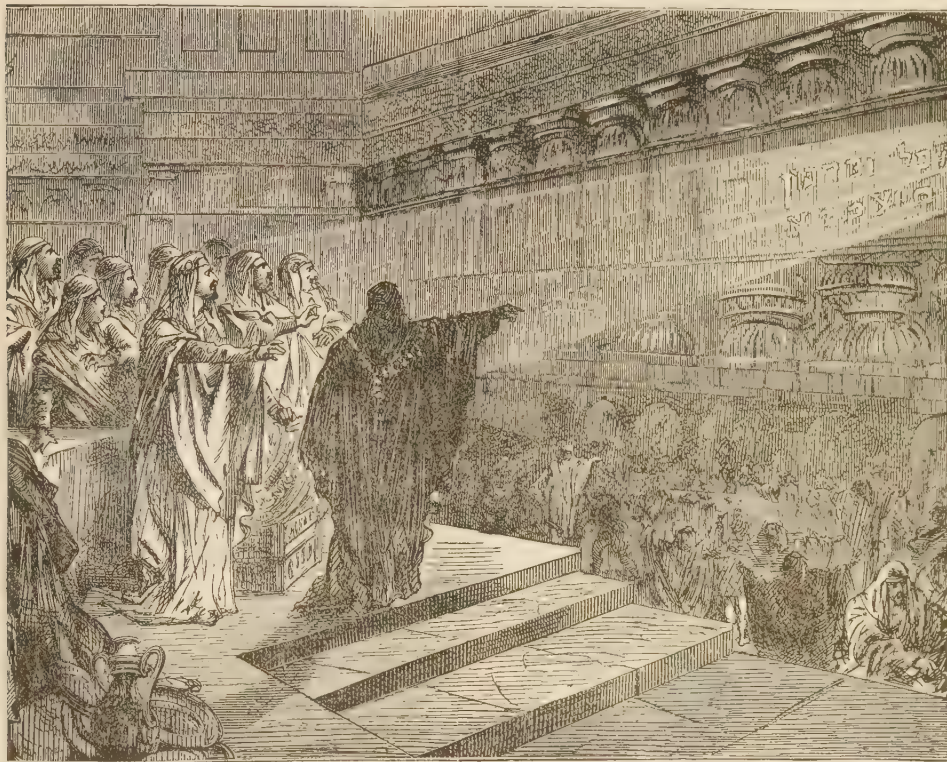
the head of a magnificent court, surrounded by "princes, governors and captains, judges, treasurers, councillors, and sheriffs;" waited on by eunuchs who were "well favored," and highly educated; and attended, when he wished it, by a multitude of astrologers and "wise men," who sought to interpret for him the will of his gods. He is shown to us as an absolute monarch, who can, at a word, make or unmake kings and princes, and upon whose nod depend the lives and fortunes of the people of the vast domain over which he reigns. No better proof of

fierce resolves are taken suddenly and as suddenly repented of; he is, moreover, capable of bursts of gratitude and devotion, no less than of excesses of fury; like most orientals, he is vainglorious; but he can humble himself before the chastening hand of the Almighty; in his better moods he shows a spirit astonishing in one of his country and time—a spirit of real piety, self-condemnation, and self-abasement, which renders him one of the most remarkable characters in Scripture." On the other hand, he was at times ferociously cruel, not

always because reasons of state demanded severity on his part, but because he seemed occasionally to delight in inflicting suffering upon his vanquished enemies. He was devotedly attached to his wife, who had been chosen for him by his father for political reasons, and built for her the Hanging Gardens, as has been stated.

Towards the close of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, probably at a time when his great conquests and public works were completed, and when he was enjoying the repose and

It consists in the belief that one is not a man, but a beast, in the disuse of language, the rejection of all ordinary food, and sometimes in the loss of the erect posture and a preference for walking on all-fours." Within a year of the time that the warning was given, Nebuchadnezzar was seized with the malady, and became a helpless lunatic. Imagining himself a beast, he shunned human society, lived in the open air day and night, cast away all clothing, and lived on herbs. His body became covered with



BELSHAZZAR'S FEAST.

prosperity which had been won for his empire, the king suddenly received a warning from heaven. He dreamed a dream which troubled him very much, and related it to the prophet Daniel, who, by divine inspiration, interpreted its meaning to him. He told the king that God would send upon him an unusual kind of madness as a punishment for his sins; that the malady would last seven years, and that during that time he would be incapable of holding his throne. "This malady, which is not unknown to physicians, has been termed 'Lycanthropy,'

a rough coating of hair, and his condition was pitiable indeed. During the madness of the king it is probable that his subjects were not permitted to see him, and that he was kept within bounds by watchful attendants. The queen most probably carried on the government. The fidelity and devotion of the Babylonian courtiers to their unfortunate sovereign must have been drawn out by the nobler qualities of his nature which had attached them to him in his prosperity. They were sustained by the hope inspired by the prediction of Daniel

that the duration of the malady would be "seven times," which they probably believed to mean "seven years." At the end of these seven years the king's reason suddenly returned to him, and, amid the rejoicings of his court, he once more assumed the government. He was now an old man, and doubtless took to heart the lesson of his terrible punishment. His closing years were as brilliant and prosperous as his first, and he died, after a reign of forty-four years, B. C. 561, leaving the kingdom to his son, Evil-Merodach, who reigned two years, and was slain in a revolt of his subjects, headed by his brother-in-law, Neriglissar.

Neriglissar began to reign B. C. 559, and reigned four years. His reign was one of peace, and was employed chiefly in building the Western Palace at Babylon. He died in B. C. 556, and left his crown to his son, Laborosoarchod, or Labossoracus, a mere boy, who was deposed and put to death after a reign of a few months, by a conspiracy. The conspirators chose Nabonadius to be king. Not being of royal birth, he sought to strengthen his position by marrying a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, most likely the widow of Neriglissar.

As soon as his son by this marriage, Belshar-uzzar, or Belshazzar, was old enough, he associated him with him on the throne. Alarmed by the growing power of Persia, he entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with Cræsus, King of Lydia, to check the Persian advance. All to no purpose, however, for, in the spring of B. C. 538, Cyrus, the Persian monarch, invaded Babylonia, defeated Nabonadius in a pitched battle, and shut him up in Borsippa. Then, advancing upon Babylon, he captured that city by entering it by the course of the Euphrates, the waters of which he had diverted from their bed, leaving the way into the city open. The Babylonians were engaged in a revel in honor of one of their gods, and were unconscious of the movement of Cyrus until the city was taken. Belshazzar was slain in his banquet hall. Borsippa surrendered upon the fall of Babylon. Nabonadius was kindly treated by Cyrus, and was given the government of the important province of Carmania. Babylon became the second city of the Persian empire, and was the residence of the court for half of the year.

With the conquest of Cyrus the Babylonian kingdom came to an end.

BOOK VI.

THE HISTORY OF PHENICIA.

CHAPTER I.

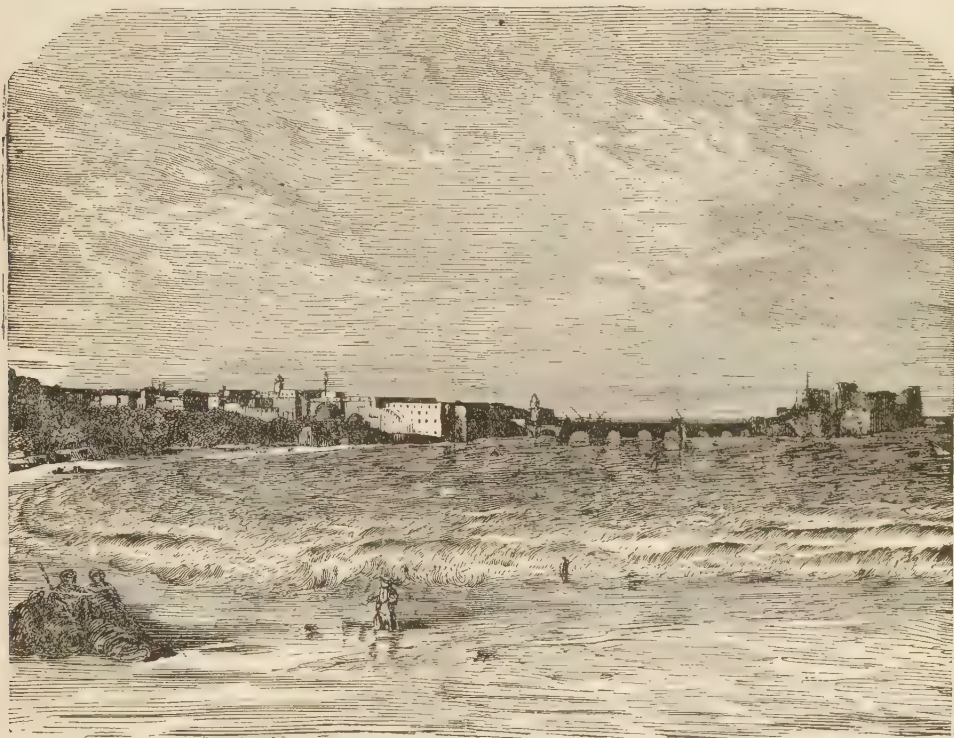
FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE CONQUEST OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

Description of Phœnicia—Its Cities—Origin of the Phœnician People—Sidon, the Oldest City—Its Colonies—Tyre—The Old and New Cities—First Commercial Ventures of the Phœnicians—The Tin Trade—Dangers of the Land Traffic—The Phœnicians Take to the Sea—Extent and Character of their Commerce—The Phœnician Colonies—The Art of Dyeing—Glass-blowing—Pottery—Bronze Work—Agriculture—The Phœnician Alphabet and Their Use of Letters—Language of the Phœnicians—Their Literary Works—Architecture—Art—Religion of the Phœnicians—Character of the People—Rise of Tyre—Hiram King—His Alliance with David and Solomon of Israel—Organization of the Phœnician Confederacy—Hiram's Successors—Pygmalion King—Flight of Dido and the Aristocratic Party—Carthage Founded—Phœnicia Tributary to Assyria—Siege of Tyre—Sennacherib takes Tyre—End of the Tyrian Supremacy—Esar-haddon Destroys Sidon—Capture of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar—Phœnicia Becomes a Persian Province—Conquered by Alexander the Great—Its Subsequent History

ANCIENT Phœnicia consisted of a narrow strip of land extending along the Mediterranean, from the Ladder of Tyre, on the south, to the island of Aradus, the Arvad of the Bible, on the north. The length of the country was about 120 miles. Its width from the base of the Lebanon range to the sea never exceeded twenty miles, and was often much less. Near Sidon the mountains are but two miles from the sea, and at Tyre the Phœnician plain is five miles wide. The entire Phœnician plain was a region of great fertility. It was abundantly watered and was provided with a number of well-sheltered harbors, suitable to the requirements of ancient commerce. Several important cities stood along the coast. The most southern of these was Tyre; about twenty miles to the northward was Sidon; sixteen miles north of Sidon was Berytus.

which has in modern times become the principal seaport of Syria; still farther north was Byblus, the Gebal of the Bible, inhabited by seamen and caulkers; north of this was Tripolis, now known as Tarabulus; and last of all was Aradus, the Arvad of Genesis (x. 18) and Ezekiel (xxvii. 8). The Lebanon range, which shuts in the country on the east, besides supplying an abundance of pure water, was well wooded, and afforded an inexhaustible supply of timber for ship-building.

commercial enterprises, by land and sea, with the neighboring nations, and was the first to engage in the system of founding colonies, which subsequently became a distinctive feature of the Phœnician policy. Tyre was the first of these colonies. Sidon enjoyed the supremacy over the other cities until about B. C. 1050, when it was captured and destroyed by the Philistines from the southern part of Palestine. The inhabitants took refuge in Tyre, which became the principal Phœnician city.



MODERN SIDON.

The Phœnicians were a branch of the Hamitic race, and were descended from Canaan. They came into the country from the Chaldæan plains about the era of Nimrod, and built a number of independent cities, which were subsequently united in a confederacy. One of these cities was usually recognized as the leader of the confederacy. This supremacy was exercised only in war, the other cities being free to manage their internal affairs in their own way.

Sidon appears to have been the oldest of the Phœnician cities, and the first to attain wealth and power. It early embarked in

The exact date of the founding of Tyre is unknown. The original city stood on the mainland, but at a later period a new city was built on an island about half a mile from the shore. It soon surpassed old Tyre in wealth and splendor, and its name became the synonym for commercial greatness.

The sea was the great field of action, and the inexhaustible mine of riches for the Phœnicians. For many centuries they had no rivals, and the commerce of the ancient world was exclusively in their hands. It is most probable that their first trading

ventures were made with Egypt, which was reached by land. Bronze implements have been found in the tombs of Egypt contemporary with the pyramids. Bronze is composed in part of tin, and tin is not found in Egypt, or nearer than the Caucasus, or India, or Spain. It must, therefore, have been brought into Egypt from the regions in which it is produced. The Phœnicians are believed to have been the medium of its introduction, and their earliest traffic is thus seen to have been the tin trade. The land traffic in this metal with Egypt, however, was attended with great difficulties. It required long and laborious journeys, and the routes pursued led through regions frequented by marauding tribes. Moreover, the route of the tin traders was controlled by ambitious monarchies which desired to monopolize the trade. The Phœnicians were thus driven to seek a source of supply for this metal free from these drawbacks, and a route safe from the violence of the marauders. Spain afforded such a source of supply, and the sea furnished a safe and open route. Consequently the Phœnician ships steered for the Spanish coast, from which, loaded with Spanish tin, they sailed for Egypt. Nor did they relinquish this, their earliest commerce, when they had acquired the wealth and power of their later history. Until a very late period the Phœnicians retained the exclusive privilege of furnishing Italy and Greece, as they had formerly supplied Egypt, with tin. When the mines of Spain were exhausted, the pillars of Hercules were passed, and voyages were made to the coast of Cornwall for the metal which had been the basis of commerce.

The growth of the Phœnician commerce was rapid. Theirs was a carrying trade almost exclusively. In order to extend their trade, colonies, or trading stations, were established in distant countries, and many of these became in later times important cities. The position of these colonies indicates to a certain degree the extent of the trade of Phœnicia; but it must be borne in mind that the colonies were generally centres from which ventures were pushed into more remote regions. In the eastern Mediterranean the Phœnician colonies were Paphos, Amathus, Tamisus, Ammochosta, in Cyprus; Ialyssus and Camarius, in Rhodes; Thera and most of the Cyclades; and Thasos. In the western Mediterranean they were Lillybœum and

Panormus (Mahaneth), in Sicily; Gaulos, Milite, Utica, Carthage, and Hadrumentum, in north Africa; Carteia, Malaca, in Spain. On the Atlantic coast, beyond the Pillars of Hercules, they were Tartessus on the Bœtis (Gaudalquiver), and Gadez (now Cadiz) on an island close to the Spanish coast. In the Persian Gulf, Tylos and Aradus (perhaps Bahrein).

From Gades and Tartessus voyages were made to the west coast of Africa for apes, and to the Scilly Isles and Cornwall for tin. From Tylos and Aradus the Phœnician vessels descended the Persian Gulf and traded with India and Ceylon, bringing back diamonds and pearls. Elath, at the head of the Red Sea, was the starting-point for voyages to Ophir on the southeast coast of Arabia, where gold was obtained. The Black Sea was also penetrated, and commercial relations were established with Thrace, Scythia, and Colchis. The stations in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf necessitated a land traffic between them and the Phœnician cities, and it seems likely that this land traffic extended to the neighboring nations.

In addition to their carrying trade the Phœnicians derived great wealth from their manufactures. Their principal production was the famous dye known as the "Tyrian purple," which they obtained in minute drops from two shell-fish, the *buccinum* and the *murex*. This purple was of a dark red-violet, of various shades, according to the species of mussel employed. Cotton, linen, and silk fabrics were dyed with this hue, but the most beautiful effects were obtained with woollen goods. As the dye was very costly, it was used only for stuffs of the best quality. Its manufacture and the process of dyeing were not confined to Tyre, but were common to all the Phœnician cities. Homer arrays his heroes in Sidonian robes dyed with this gorgeous purple.

The Phœnicians claimed the invention of the art of glass blowing. Whether they originated it or not, they were the first to attain a high degree of skill in its exercise. Sidon and Sarepta were the principal seats of this industry. The sand used was obtained from the banks of the little river Belus, near the promontory of Carmel. Many specimens of their glass-ware still exist, and attest their skilful workmanship. They were also skilled in pottery. The Greeks learned from them the art of mak-

ing painted vases, which they afterwards carried to such perfection. Pottery was largely exported. The Tyrians used it to exchange for tin in their voyages to Cornwall and the Scilly Isles.

The Phœnicians also excelled in their bronze work and in working the precious metals. They were skilful jewellers, and the specimens of this branch of their work which have been recovered by modern explorers give us a high opinion of the skill and taste displayed by the ancient jewellers of Canaan. They were equally noted for their beautiful carvings in ivory.

They were also skilful cultivators of the soil. Excellent wines were produced in the neighborhood of Tyre, Berytus, and Gebal, and in the Lebanon. Silk formed then, as it does now, an important production. The fruits of this region were noted for their excellence and profusion.

It was once believed that the Phœnicians were the inventors of letters. The discoveries of late years have raised great doubts concerning this claim. It seems certain, however, that while the writing of other ancient Eastern nations was ideographic, that is, an attempt to depict ideas—a characteristic which clung even to the highest development of the Egyptian system—the Phœnicians used an alphabet of twenty-two letters which seem to have been selected from the characters of the Egyptian hieratic writing. Each letter of this alphabet was the invariable representative of one articulation. We know of no such system in use anterior to that of the Phœnicians. It is believed that the Phœnician alphabet was invented about the time of Avaris, one of the Shepherd kings of Egypt, several centuries prior to the exodus of the Israelites. It is the first *true* alphabet we find in use, so that whether the Phœnicians invented letters or not, they were the first to use them in their proper manner, as a system distinct from hieroglyphic or ideographic writing. Wherever they carried their commercial enterprises they established their alphabet also, and thus taught the use of letters to other nations. As M. Renan happily observes, the alphabet was one of their exports.

It is one of the contradictions of history that the Phœnicians, though they were descendants of Ham, spoke a purely Semitic language. "It is certain that the Phœnician idiom differed but slightly, and in no important point, from that of the Hebrews.

The identity of grammatical forms and of the vocabulary are so complete between the Hebrew and the Phœnician, that they cannot be considered as two distinct languages, but merely as two slightly differing dialects of the same language."

The Phœnicians appear to have been a literary people at a very early period of their history. The principles of their religion, and their social and political organizations, constituted a written law. Among their books were treatises on religion, agriculture, and the useful arts, and the various cities possessed regular records or archives in writing, extending back to very ancient times, and preserved with great care. In the sciences great progress was made. The Sidonian architects were considered the best in Syria. Astronomy, arithmetic, geometry, navigation, and philosophy flourished in Phœnicia, especially in Sidon, which sought to atone for her lost supremacy by her intellectual splendor.

The few remaining buildings of the Phœnicians show the character of their architecture. M. Renan says that its distinguishing feature "is its massive and imposing strength—a want, indeed, of finish in details, but a general effect of power and grandeur. In short it is a monolithic art." Their buildings were constructed of immense stones, such as may still be seen in the lower walls of the Temple platform at Jerusalem, which were built by Phœnician architects and masons, and in the sea-wall of the ruins of Tyre. Their tombs were constructed with grandeur and originality of design. All their edifices were erected to *last*. In spite of the hard fate that has befallen them, this characteristic has preserved to us some of the most interesting monuments of the past in a state sufficiently perfect to enable us to study them with success.

The statuary of the Phœnicians presents a mixture of the Egyptian and Assyrian styles, the general form being Egyptian and the execution Asiatic. Large statues were comparatively rare; statuettes, on the other hand, were numerous. Some of these exhibit great artistic skill, and are of stone; others are of baked clay and bronze, and are rough and coarse in design and execution. It seems that both classes were designed as idols, of which every Phœnician had one or more in his own house. Those of the rich constitute the first class, while the latter is made up of the gods of the poor, executed hastily and cheaply.

The religion of Phœnicia evidently sprang from the source from which those of Chaldaea and Assyria were derived. It was founded on the conception of one universal divine being, "whose person was hardly to be distinguished from the material world, which had emanated from his substance without any distinct act of creation." He was usually termed Baal, "the Lord." He represented the sun, the great agent of creative power. He was subdivided into a number of secondary divinities, called Baalim, emanating from his substance, and who were merely personifications of his attributes. "The supreme god, considered as the progenitor of different beings, became Baal-Thammuz, called also Adon, 'the Lord,' whence the Grecian Adonis.



MOLOCH.

As a preserver, he was Baal-Chon; as a destroyer, Baal-Moloch; as presiding over the decomposition of those destroyed beings whence new life was again to spring, Baal-Zebub." Each divinity had his female principle or wife: to each secondary Baal there was a corresponding Baalath, who represented the same god under a different aspect. The female principle of the great god Baal at Sidon was Ashtoreth or Astarte, who represented the moon. The planets were worshipped under the generic name of Cabirim or "powerful ones." Fire was also venerated, and the solar and sidereal deities were emphatically "fire gods." The learned Movers has well summed up the Phœnician religion as "an apotheosis of the forces and laws of nature; an adoration of

the objects in which these forces were seen, and where they appeared most active."

The worship of the Phœnician deities was accompanied by the most licentious and horrible rites. Children were burnt alive to appease the anger of Baal-Moloch. In Carthage this was carried to a frightful excess. "This religion silenced all the best feelings of human nature, degraded men's minds by a superstition alternately cruel and profligate, and we may seek in vain for any influence for good it could have exercised on the nation." The moral character of the people is well illustrated by their religion. They were unusually unruly and at the same time servile, gloomy, and cruel, corrupt and ferocious, selfish and covetous, implacable and faithless. They were traders in all things, and seem to have been dead to every generous emotion and elevated sentiment.

The situation of Phœnicia colored its whole history. The country was exposed to all the great conquerors who made Syria their battle-ground for ages, and its wealth constantly invited attack from them. Consequently the period of Phœnician independence was very brief, and is to be found in the infancy of the nation. At an early day it was obliged to submit to the supremacy of Egypt, and from this time passed successively to the powers that held the dominion of the ancient world.

The eleventh century before the Christian era witnessed the rapid growth of Tyre, which became the leading city of Phœnicia. Under the rule of its own kings it advanced swiftly in commercial wealth and internal magnificence. The first of its kings known to us was Abibaal, who was partly contemporary with David. He was succeeded about B. C. 1025 by his son Hiram, who reigned during the remainder of the century. Hiram made an important commercial alliance with David and with Solomon of Israel, and supplied a large part of the materials for the Jewish Temple and the workmen by which it was constructed. His reign marks a period of great prosperity in the Phœnician cities. It extended over a period of thirty-four years. The supremacy of Tyre was acknowledged throughout Phœnicia. Though each of the cities had its king, experience had taught them the necessity and advantages of a close confederation, and the kings of the various cities were all subject to the supremacy of their suzerain, the King of Tyre, "the true and only mon-

arch of the nation, who, in consequence, was called 'King of the Sidonians.' The reader must not confound this title with that of the King of Sidon, who was the local monarch of the ancient metropolis. The King of Tyre managed all business relating to the general interests of Phœnicia, its commerce and its colonies, concluded treaties with foreign nations, and disposed of the military and naval forces of the confederation. He was assisted by deputies from the other towns.

Hiram died in B. c. 991. He was succeeded by his son Baaleazar, who reigned seven years, and was succeeded by his son Abdastartus (or Abdastoreth), who reigned nine years, when he was murdered by a conspiracy, B. c. 975. The assassination of Abdastartus was followed by a long period of troubles and civil wars; various pretenders disputed the throne of Tyre one after another, in rapid succession. It was brought to an end about B. c. 941, by Eth-baal (or Ithobalus), the high priest of Astarte, who slew Phales, the last pretender, and established himself on the throne of Tyre as King of the Sidonians. He gave his daughter Jezebel in marriage to Ahab, King of Israel. The strong will of this princess made her supreme over her weak-minded husband, and through her Phœnician influence was paramount in Israel during Ahab's reign. Eth-baal was succeeded by his son Badezor, about B. c. 909. He reigned six years, and was succeeded by his son Matgen.

Matgen mounted the throne of Tyre B. c. 903. He reigned thirty-two years, and died B. c. 871, leaving two children, a son named Pygmalion, and a daughter named

to the exclusion of his sister, who married Zicharbaal, the Sichæus of Virgil. He was high priest of Melcarth, next in rank to the king, and the head of the aristocratic party. A short time afterwards, Zicharbaal was assassinated by order of Pygmalion, and Dido organized a conspiracy of the Phœnician nobles for the purpose of avenging



COIN OF SIDON.

her husband and dethroning her brother. Defeated by the vigilance of the popular party, the conspirators, to the number of several thousand, seized some ships lying in the harbor of Tyre ready for sea, and sailed away under the leadership of Elissar, whose name was in consequence changed to Dido, "the fugitive." They reached the northern coast of Africa and founded Carthage.

The departure of the aristocratic party removed the great check upon the power of the Tyrian king, who became from this time an absolute monarch. During this reign the Assyrians under Asshur-izir-pal made their appearance on the Mediterranean coast. The Phœnician cities made their submission as the price of exemption from conquest, and paid tribute. This condition of dependency seems to have lasted for nearly a century. Pygmalion's reign ended B. c. 824, but we have no account of any Phœnician monarch until after the middle of the next century. Native sovereigns, tributary to Assyria, reigned in the Phœnician cities, and were counted by the Assyrian monarchs among their dependents. Still, this dependency does not seem to have retarded the prosperity of Phœnicia, or injured its maritime power.

The Assyrian supremacy was patiently submitted to by the Phœnicians until the middle of the eighth century before the Christian era, when the people became restless under it. About B. c. 743, under a Hiram of Tyre, Phœnicia revolted from Tiglath-Pileser II., but was compelled to resume its tributary position by the advance of the conquerors into Palestine. In B. c. 727, under Elulæus, Phœnicia again re-



COIN OF TYRE.

Elissar or Elissa, better known as Dido. The latter was some years older than her brother, who had reached the age of eleven at his father's death. It was the wish of Matgen that his children should reign together. The populace, desirous of changing the aristocratic form of government, revolted and proclaimed Pygmalion king

volted, this time from Shalmaneser IV. The Assyrian king marched against the country, occupied old Tyre, which made no resistance, and laid siege to the island city. He was unable to assail it from the land, and was without a fleet, and the siege became a mere blockade, the most important feature of which was the cutting off of the water of insular Tyre, supplied by aqueducts from the mainland. The inhabitants are said to have drunk rain-water for five years, the period of the city's resistance.

Assyria, Tyre emerged from the siege sadly weakened. The other Phœnician cities had thrown off its supremacy and became tributary to Sargon, and its misfortunes were increased in B. C. 708 by the loss of its colony of Cyprus, which submitted to the Assyrians. In B. C. 704, just after the accession of Sennacherib, Elulæus re-established the supremacy of Tyre over Phœnicia, and proclaimed the independence of the country. In B. C. 700, Sennacherib invaded Phœnicia with a powerful force, and the



MODERN TYRE.

Shalmaneser was dethroned during the siege, which was continued by Sargon, his successor. The other Phœnician cities submitted previous to the commencement of the siege of Tyre and during its progress. Sargon collected a fleet of sixty ships from these cities, and endeavored to attack the island city from the sea; but the Tyrians sallied out with twelve ships, and defeated and destroyed Sargon's fleet. At last, after five years of fruitless efforts, the Assyrian generals raised the siege.

But though successful in its resistance to

other cities forsook Tyre, and submitted at the approach of the great king. Elulæus retired to insular Tyre, trusting to his usual good fortune, which, however, deserted him this time. Tyre was taken, and Elulæus sought safety in flight. Sennacherib spared the city, and made Tubal (or Ethbaal) king, as his vassal and tributary.

The capture of Tyre by Sennacherib destroyed the Tyrian supremacy, which for some time had borne very hard on the other cities. Tyre had retained for herself the chief profits of the Phœnician commerce,

and the other cities lent Sennacherib a hearty support in his war against her. All the cities were now placed on an equality as tributaries of Assyria. Sidon, upon the murder of Sennacherib, rebelled, and attempted to acquire the supremacy formerly held by Tyre. The revolt was signally punished by Esar-haddon, about B. C. 681, who destroyed Sidon, and enslaved its inhabitants. At the death of Esar-haddon the Phœnician cities threw off the Assyrian yoke, and made an alliance with Egypt. In B. C. 666, the Assyrian king, Assurbani-pal, having restored his authority in Egypt, put down the Phœnician revolt.

The punishment of the nation came at length, however. In B. C. 598, Nebuchadnezzar invaded Phœnicia, rapidly reduced the country, and laid siege to Tyre, which resisted him for thirteen years. At the end of this time he took the city by assault, and laid it in ruins. The greater part of the population fled to the fleet and sailed for Carthage, taking with them their wealth and industry; but a wretched remnant remained in the city under a king named Baal, whom the conqueror had set up as his vassal. Some years later Uaphris, King of Egypt, undertook to wrest Phœnicia from Babylon, but the Phœnicians remained



ANCIENT BERYTUS.

About B. C. 630, or 629, the great wave of the Scythian invasion swept over Phœnicia. The open country was ravaged, but none of the fortified cities were taken. The fall of the Assyrian empire gave the Phœnicians a momentary freedom. About B. C. 608, however, they submitted to Nechoh, King of Egypt. The Egyptian dominion was brought to a close in B. C. 605 by the defeat of Nechoh by Nebuchadnezzar at Carchemish. The sudden death of the father of the conqueror recalled him to Babylon, and allowed the Phœnician cities a short period of respite before the appearance of their new master in their country.

faithful to Nebuchadnezzar, and with the aid of Cyprus defeated the Egyptian fleet, which was manned by Greek and Carian mercenaries. Uaphris was stopped in his career by this reverse, and after capturing and sacking Sidon and ravaging the Phœnician coast returned to Egypt, laden with plunder.

Phœnicia passed under the Persian sway at the downfall of the Babylonian kingdom, or more properly at the accession of Cambyses. The principal part of the naval forces used in the Egyptian expedition of that king consisted of Phœnician ships and sailors. The Persian dominion came to an

end with the conquests of Alexander the Great, and at the same time the national existence of Phœnicia terminated. The country was absorbed in the kingdoms erected by the successors of Alexander, being sometimes the prize of Egypt and sometimes of the Greek kingdom of Syria.

Later on it was numbered among the conquests of Rome, and later still was wrested from the empire by the Mohammedans, who still hold it. Its history from the time of Cambysses is related in our account of the countries to which it was subject.

BOOK VII.

HISTORY OF THE KINGDOMS OF ASIA MINOR.

CHAPTER I.

THE RISE AND FALL OF PHRYGIA, CILICIA, AND LYDIA.

Natural Formation of Asia Minor—The Reason why it never became the Seat of a Great Empire—History of Phrygia—Origin of the Phrygians—Their Character—Phrygia Conquered by Lydia—History of Cilicia—Tributary to Assyria—Tarsus Founded—Becomes a Persian Province—History of Lydia—Wealth and Refinement of the Nation—Character of the Lydians—Wars of the Heraclidae and Mermnadæ—Gyges King—Conquers the Asiatic Greeks—Invasion of the Cimmerians—War with Media and Babylonia—Crœsus becomes King of Lydia—His Wealth—Visit of Solon—The Sage's Answer—Lydia Conquered by Cyrus—He spares the Life of Crœsus—Lydia a Persian Province.

THE Anatolian Peninsula, or Asia Minor, is divided by mountain chains into several distinct sections, isolated from each other. These regions were inhabited by several races—the Phrygians, the Lydians, the Carians, the Cilicians, the Paphlagonians, and the Cappadocians—which were nearly equal in strength. This equality, together with the natural division of the country, prevented the growth in Asia Minor of a powerful empire, and favored the growth of a number of parallel, independent kingdoms. It will be interesting as well as instructive to glance at the history of these kingdoms.

I. PHRYGIA. Phrygia was the first of the monarchies of Asia Minor to rise to importance, but its history is very obscure. The Phrygians are believed to have been the earliest settlers of Asia Minor, and it is probable that at one time they occupied the whole peninsula. Successive immigra-

tions of fresh tribes from the east and west drove them back from the coast, except in the region south of the Hellespont. They retained this region and the central portion of the peninsula, and thus had a large and fertile country, which abounded in pastures and contained a number of salt lakes. The people were brave, but brutal, and were occupied with agricultural pursuits, prominent among which was the culture of the vine. They came originally from Armenia, and in primitive times dwelt in caves or habitations which they hollowed out of the rocky hill-sides. They gradually abandoned these for regular and well-built cities. About B. C. 750, or perhaps earlier, the Phrygians are seen to have a well-organized monarchy, the capital of which was Gordium on the Sangarius. The line of kings lasted for about two centuries, but we know little about them. The monarchs were named alternately Gordias and Midas. As Lydia increased in power Phrygia began to decline, and about B. C. 560 was conquered by Lydia and became a province of that kingdom.

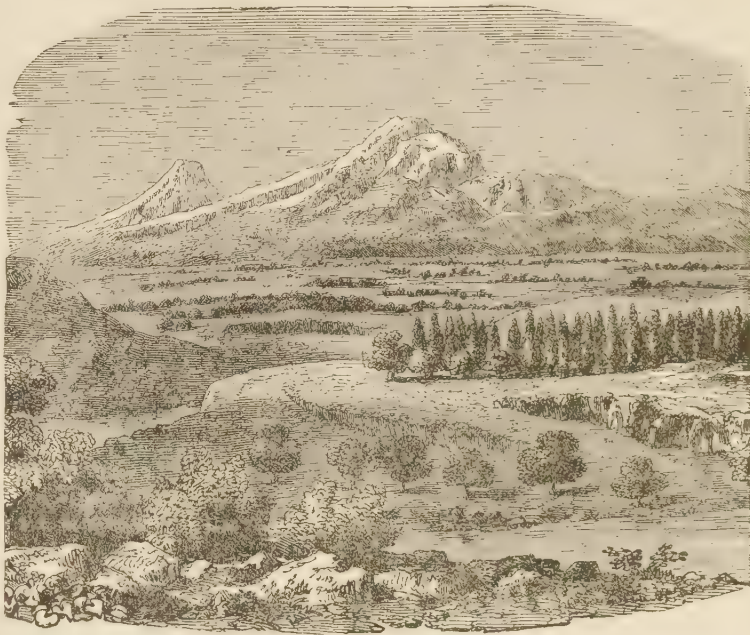
II. CILICIA. Cilicia occupied the southeastern portion of the peninsula. It was a rich and fertile country, and its inhabitants were generally devoted to agricultural pursuits. We know nothing of its early history save that it existed as an independent monarchy during the period of the early Assyrian monarchy. It was compelled to submit to Sargon, who, about B. C. 711, gave the country to Ambris, King of Tubal, as a dowry with his daughter. It thus became a tributary of Assyria. About B. C. 701, having revolted from Assyria, Cilicia

was invaded and ravaged by Sennacherib. About B. C. 685 that monarch founded the city of Tarsus, which in after years became famous as the birth-place of the Apostle Paul. About B. C. 677 Esar-haddon ravaged Cilicia, which appears to have incurred his anger by a revolt. About B. C. 616 a king named Tyennesis came to the Cilician throne, and from this time all the kings bore that name. Cilicia successfully resisted the attempts of Lydia to conquer her, but was compelled to submit to the Persian arms, and became a province of the Persian empire some time during the reign of Cambysses.

III. LYDIA.

Lydia, which ultimately became the most important state of Asia Minor, was situated on the eastern coast of the peninsula. It ultimately embraced the whole peninsula except Lycia, Cilicia, and Cappadocia. The principal towns were Sardis, the capital; Magnesia, at the foot of Mount Sipylus; Thyatira, and Philadelphia. The original Lydian territory was exceedingly fertile. The Pactolus, a tributary of the Hermus, carried a rich supply

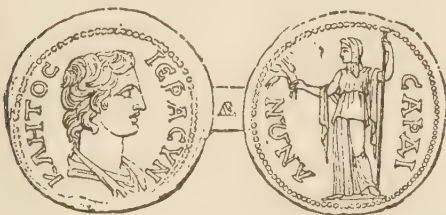
wealthy and cultivated people, and were the first to coin money. They "were one of the earliest commercial people on the Mediterranean, and their scented ointments, rich carpets, and skilled laborers or slaves were highly celebrated. The Greeks received from them the Lydian flute, and subsequently the cithara of three and of



MOUNT ARARAT.

twenty strings, and imitated their harmony. The Homeric poems describe the Lydians or Mæones as men on horseback, clad in armor, and speak of their commerce and wealth. It seems that the worship of the Lydians resembled that of the Syrians, and was polluted with its immoral practices. The ancient writers often mention the depravity of the Lydians, while admitting their skill and courage in war. When subdued they submitted quietly to their conquerors."

Lydia was organized as a monarchy at a very early period, and was governed until the seventh century before Christ by a dynasty called the Heraclidæ. The last portion of this early period was marked by the struggle between the Heraclidæ and the Mermnadæ, who appear to have been a branch of the royal family. The latter were obliged to seek safety in flight, but at length returned under the leadership of



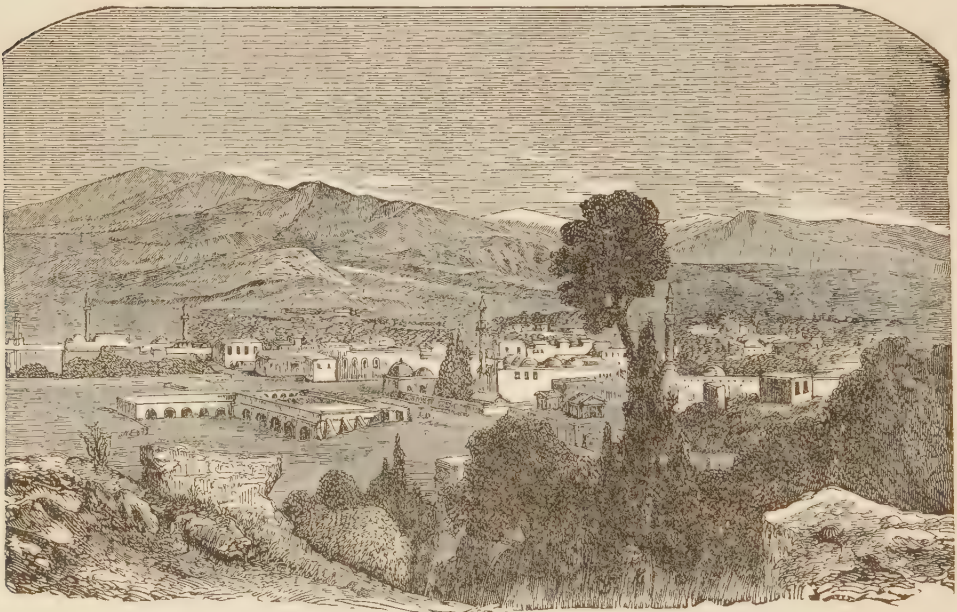
COIN OF SARDIS.

of gold from the slopes of Mount Tmolus, and the precious metal was washed from the sands in the streets of Sardis, the capital. Mounts Tmolus and Sipylus contained rich veins of gold. The Lydians were a

their chief, Gyges, who murdered Candaules, the reigning king, and mounted the throne about B. c. 700. Lydia was now a prosperous country, and the revenue of Gyges was so great that his wealth became proverbial. He changed the policy of his predecessors towards the Greeks of the Asiatic coast, and reduced them to submission to his rule. Towards the close of his reign, about B. c. 662, the Cimmerians, probably a Celtic people from beyond the Caucasus, burst through the mountain barrier and swept over Asia Minor. Gyges was slain in a battle with them, and Sardis, his capital, was taken and sacked. The citadel alone held out against the barbar-

Lydia and her allies became the fast friends of Media, and the peace was cemented by the marriage of the son of Cyaxeres to the princess of Lydia. Thus relieved from the fear of Media, Alyattes renewed the war against the Asiatic Greeks, in which the last years of his reign were passed. He captured Smyrna, and gained other important successes. He died B. c. 568, leaving his crown to his son Cræsus.

Cræsus continued the wars of his father, and conquered the Ionian, Æolian, and Dorian Greeks, and all Asia Minor west of the Halys, with the exception of Lycia and Cilicia. Under him Lydia reached the height of her glory and prosperity, but



TARSUS.

ians. In spite of this blow Lydia recovered rapidly, and under Alyattes, the great-grandson of Gyges, who came to the throne about B. c. 617, the Cimmerians were expelled from Asia Minor. It is likely that in consequence of this great service of Alyattes, the supremacy of Lydia was extended over the various nations that had suffered from the invasion.

About B. c. 615 Lydia became involved in a war with Media and Babylonia in her efforts to resist the advance of the former power into her territory. Peace was made at the end of five years through the mediation of the Babylonian king, B. c. 610.

only to be speedily overthrown in her turn. Cræsus was famed throughout the ancient world for his enormous wealth, and considered himself the most fortunate of men. When only crown prince he had been associated with his father in the government of the kingdom, and while holding this position had received a visit from Solon of Athens. The sage paid but little heed to the magnificence of the court, and this indifference annoyed Cræsus very much. Hoping to elicit a compliment from Solon, the prince asked him to name the happiest man he had met in his travels. "One Tellus," promptly replied

the sage, "a citizen of Athens; a very honest and good man, who had lived all his days without indigence, had always seen his country in a flourishing condition, had children that were universally esteemed, with the satisfaction of seeing those children's children, and at last died gloriously, fighting for his country." Astounded at such an answer, Cræsus asked the sage to name the person whom he esteemed the next happiest, thinking that the sage would surely name him; but Solon mentioned two brothers of Argos, who had won the admiration of their countrymen by their devotion to their mother, and who had been rewarded by the gods with a pleasant and painless death. "What, then," exclaimed Cræsus, "do you not reckon me among the number of the happy?" "King of Lydia," replied the sage, earnestly, "no man can be esteemed happy but he whose happiness the gods continue to the end of his life."

Alarmed by the success of Cyrus, and foreseeing the inevitable conflict which must ensue for the mastery of Asia Minor, Cræsus formed a league with the Babylonians, Egyptians and Spartans against Persia. The war soon came. An indecisive battle was fought in Cappadocia. Cræsus withdrew to Sardis, intending to

winter there, but Cyrus pursued him, defeated his army, took the city, and made the king a prisoner.

According to the barbarous custom of the times, Cræsus was condemned by the conqueror to be burned alive. As the doomed king was laid upon the funeral pile he remembered the words of the Athenian sage, and exclaimed bitterly, "Solon! Solon! Solon!" Cyrus, who was standing by, demanded the reason of this singular appeal to Solon at such a moment. Cræsus



COIN OF TARSUS.

then related to him his conversation with the sage, and the conqueror, reflecting upon the uncertainty of all earthly things, was touched with compassion for the unfortunate king, spared his life, and treated him with honor and respect as long as he lived.

Lydia became a province of the Persian empire, and its independent existence ceased, B. C. 554.

BOOK VIII.

THE HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF MEDIA.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE FALL OF THE KINGDOM.

Description of Media—Geographical Position—Physical Characteristics—Mountainous Character—The Climate—Vegetable Products—Mineral Wealth—Animals—Origin of the Medes—Personal Appearance and Character of the People—Polygamy—Religion of the Medes—The Primitive Faith—Appearance and Gradual Growth of Magism—True Character of Magism—Worship of the Elements—Primitive History of Media Unknown—Tribal Organization of the People—Phraortes Founds the Median Kingdom—Makes War upon Assyria—Is Defeated and Slain—Cyaxeres King—Invades Assyria—Media Conquered by the Scythians—The Banquet of Cyaxeres—Median Independence Restored—The War with Assyria Renewed—Alliance with Babylonia—

Fall of the Assyrian Empire—Media Receives a Part of the Assyrian Territories—Wars and Conquests of Cyaxeres—Peace with Lydia—Astyages King—Gradual Decline of the Median Monarchy—Media Succumbs to Persia and Becomes a Province of that Empire.

MEDIA, which was the third in importance of the ancient Asiatic monarchies, occupied a vast elevated region, with an average height of 3,000 feet above the level of the sea, lying south and west of the Caspian Sea, and between that sea and Assyria. Its length was about 600 miles, and its breadth about 250 miles, thus giving it an area of nearly 150,000 square miles, an extent greater than that of Assyria and

Chaldæa combined. It lay in a single solid mass, "with no straggling or outlying portions; and it is strongly defended on almost every side by natural barriers offering great difficulties to an invader."

The Median territory may be divided into two tracts—a series of lofty mountain ridges, which form its northern and western portion; and a high flat table-land, extending from the foot of the mountain region southward to the Indian Ocean and

the Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, Parthians, or Turks, and remains to this day as independent of the great powers in its neighborhood, as it was when the Assyrian armies first penetrated its recesses. Nature seems to have constructed it to be a nursery of hardy and vigorous men, a stumbling-block to conquerors, a thorn in the side of every powerful empire which arises in this part of the great eastern continent." The northern part of the mountainous region is



SCENE ON THE UPPER TIGRIS.

eastward to the country of the Affghans. The western part of the mountain region was known to the ancients as the Zagros; modern geographers call it Kurdistan and Luristan. "Full of torrents, of deep ravines, of rocky summits, abrupt and almost inaccessible; containing but few passes, and those narrow and easily defensible; secure, moreover, owing to the rigor of its climate, from hostile invasion for more than half the year, it has defied all attempts to effect its permanent subjugation, whether made by

known to modern geographers as Elburz. It is of far less importance than the Zagros region, and is not as well watered, its streams being small, often dry in summer, and soon absorbed in the Caspian Sea or the desert. The chief feature of this range is the lofty, snow-covered peak of Demavend, which looks down upon Teheran, and is the highest part of Asia west of the great Himalaya chain.

"The elevated plateau which stretches from the foot of these two mountain regions

to the south and east, is, for the most part, a flat, sandy desert, incapable of sustaining more than a sparse and scanty population. The northern and western portions are, however, less arid than the east and south, being watered for some distance by the streams that descend from Zagros and Elburz, and deriving fertility also from the spring rains. Some of the rivers which flow from Zagros on this side are large and strong. One, the Kizil-Uzen, reaches the Caspian. Another, the Zenderud, fertilizes a large district near Isfahan. A third, the Bendamir, flows by Persepolis and terminates in a sheet of water of some size—Lake Bakhtigan. A tract thus intervenes between the mountain regions and the desert, which, though it cannot be called fertile, is fairly productive, and can support a large settled population. This forms the chief portion of the region which the ancients called Media.”

Media, as a general rule, was a sterile region, and, except in the early spring, was stern and uninviting in appearance. The climate in the mountain region is severe; in the plains it is more temperate, but the thermometer rarely reaches ninety degrees in the shade. The climate, on the whole, is regarded as healthy. By the help of irrigation the great plateau will produce “good crops of grain, rice, wheat, barley, Indian corn, *doura*, millet, and sesame. It will also bear cotton, tobacco, saffron, rhubarb, madder, poppies which give a good opium, senna, and assafetida. Its garden vegetables are excellent, and include potatoes, cabbages, lentils, kidney-beans, peas, turnips, carrots, spinnach, beet-root and cucumbers.”

The minerals of Media were numerous and valuable. Many varieties of excellent stone are still found throughout the country, the principal of which is the beautiful Tabriz marble. Iron, copper, and native steel are still mined. Gold and silver were found in the mountains in ancient times. Sulphur, alum, and gypsum are found in various parts of the country, and salt abounds.

The wild animals of Media were the lion, the tiger, the leopard, the bear, the beaver, the jackal, the wolf, the wild ass, the ibex, or wild goat, the wild sheep, the stag, the antelope, the wild boar, the fox, the hare, the rabbit, the ferret, the rat, the jerboa, the porcupine, the mole, and the marmot. The domestic animals were the camel, the horse, the mule, the ass, the cow, the goat, the sheep, the dog, the cat, the buffalo.

The Medes were of Arian descent, and



ANCIENT SWORDS.

belonged to the same race as their neighbors, the Persians, from whom they differed but little. They were generally men of noble and graceful bearing, handsome in features, and strong and active. They wore full beards and moustaches; their hair was long and was curled in a mass of ringlets. The women are said by Xenophon to have been remarkable for their stature and beauty. Bravery and a capacity for endurance were striking characteristics of the Medes. After their absorption in the Per-

sian monarchy, the Medes were always reckoned as next to the Persian troops for steadiness and courage. They were cruel in war; "the Median conquests were accompanied by the worst atrocities which lust and hate combined are wont to commit when they obtain their full swing." The habits of the Medes were at first simple and manly; but their successes in war opened a way to luxury into which they plunged. The capture of Assyria was fatal to the hardy warriors; they adopted the luxurious habits of the conquered country; and their degeneracy followed quickly. Their dress was rich and highly ornamented, and showed at once their love of display. The Medes were originally a nation of horsemen. They were expert in the use of the bow, and fought as mounted archers. They doubtless used the sword and spear also, but it was as horse-archers that their greatest successes were won.

Polygamy was practised by the monarch and the wealthier classes. Letters received but little attention, and the arts were neglected.

The religion of the Medes underwent several changes. In its most ancient form it was a belief in a single great intelligence, Ahurô-Mazdâo, the creator, preserver, and governor of the universe. "It sets before the soul a single being as the source of all good, and the proper object of the highest worship. Ahurô-Mazdâo is 'the creator of life, the earthly and the spiritual;' he has made 'the celestial bodies,' 'earth, water, and trees,' 'all good creatures,' and 'all good, true things.' He is 'good, holy, pure, true,' 'the Holy God,' 'the Holiest, 'the essence of truth,' 'the father of all truth,' 'the best being of all,' 'the master of purity.' He is supremely 'happy,' possessing every blessing, 'health, wealth, virtue, wisdom, immortality.' From him comes all good to man; on the pious and the righteous he bestows not only earthly advantages, but precious spiritual gifts, truth, devotion, 'the good mind,' and everlasting happiness; and as he rewards the good so he punishes the bad, though this is an aspect in which he is but seldom represented." Thus it will be seen that Ahurô-Mazdâo, or Ahura-mazda, or Ormazd, approached more nearly to the Hebrew ideal of the True God, than any of the heathen deities. The Median religion was in no sense idolatrous. Its god was invisible, dwelling in the unseen realms

of the future, and no idol or image of him polluted his temples. Under this great being were a number of angels, some of which can scarcely be distinguished from the attributes of the divinity. These executed the purposes of Ormazd, and formed the channels of communication between him and men. In the older Median system but little importance is given to the evil spirits or intelligences, which in the Zoroastrian system were the constant antagonists of the good ones. In this form the Median religion was identical with that of the Persians.

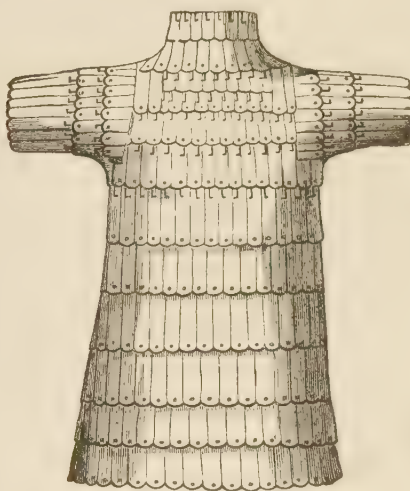
At a later period a change took place, and there was added to the old faith a belief "in two uncreated and independent principles, one a principle of good and the other a principle of evil," which constitutes dualism proper. These principles were constantly at war with each other. "It was natural," says Rawlinson, "that, as time went on, dualism should develop itself out of the primitive Zoroastrianism. Language exercises a tyranny over thought, and abstractions in the ancient world were ever becoming persons. The Iranian mind, moreover, had been struck, when it first turned to contemplate the world, with a certain antagonism; and, having once entered this track, it would be compelled to go on, and seek to discover the origin of the antagonism, the cause (or causes) to which it was to be ascribed. Evil seemed most easily accounted for by the supposition of an evil person; and the continuance of an equal struggle, without advantage to either side, which was what the Iranians thought they beheld in the world that lay around them, appeared to them to imply the equality of that evil person with the being whom they rightly regarded as the author of all good. Thus dualism had its birth. The Iranians came to believe in the existence of two co-eternal and co-equal persons, one good and the other evil, between whom there had been from all eternity a perpetual and never-ceasing conflict, and between whom the same conflict would continue to rage through all coming time." The good principle was represented by Ahura-mazda, or Ormazd; the evil by Angrô-mainyus. Whatever good work Ahura-mazda sought to do, Angrô-mainyus endeavored to blast. The latter introduced war, sickness, famine, poverty, and evil and suffering of all kinds into regions which the good being sought to render happy. The world was regarded as the battle-ground between the two pow-

ers. Each of the contending persons was believed to have his council, which was in each case composed of six members. The council of Ahura-mazda comprised the "Immortal Saints." The two principles of good and evil had also their respective armies. Ahura-mazda created thousands of blessed angels to do his will and fight against the evil one; and Angrô-mainyus, on his part, called into existence thousands of evil spirits to aid him in his attacks upon the blessed.

The Medians believed in the immortality of the soul, and held that after death the souls of good and bad proceeded along a designated path to "the bridge of the gatherer," a narrow road leading to heaven, or the abode of the blessed. The wicked fell from this bridge to the gulf below, where they were consigned to punishment; they were doomed to dwell forever in the kingdom of Angrô-mainyus, and feed upon poisoned banquets. The just were assisted over the bridge by the angel Serosh, who conducted them to the abode of the blessed and the presence of Ahura-mazda.

Later on, when the Iranian nations began to extend themselves beyond their own countries, which lay east and south of the Caspian Sea, they came in contact with various Scythic tribes inhabiting the mountain regions of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kurdistan, and Luristan. The religion of these people is believed to have been Magism, which "was, essentially, the worship of the elements, the recognition of fire, air, earth, and water as the only proper objects of human reverence. The Magi held no personal gods, and therefore naturally rejected temples, shrines, and images, as tending to encourage the notion that gods existed of a like nature with man, *i. e.*, possessing personality—living and intelligent beings—Theirs was a nature worship, but a nature worship of a very peculiar kind. They did not place gods over the different parts of nature, like the Greeks; they did not even personify the powers of nature, like the Hindoos; they paid their devotions to the actual, material things themselves. Fire, as the most subtle and ethereal principle, and again as the most powerful agent, attracted their highest regards; and on their fire-altars the sacred flame, generally said to have been kindled from heaven, was kept burning uninterruptedly from year to year and from age to age by bands of priests, whose special duty it was to see

that the sacred spark was never extinguished. To defile the altar by blowing the flame with one's breath was a capital offence; and to burn a corpse was regarded as an act equally odious. When victims were offered to fire, nothing but a small portion of the fat was consumed in the flame. Next to fire, water was revered. Sacrifice was offered to rivers, lakes, and fountains, the victim being brought near to them, and then slain. While great care was taken that no drop of their blood should touch the water and pollute it. No refuse was allowed to be cast into a river, nor was it even lawful to wash one's hands in one. Reverence for earth was shown by sacrifice, and by abstention from the usual mode of burying the dead."



LEATHER CUIRASS.

The Magian religion was strictly sacerdotal. The worshipper was required in all things to accept the services of a Magus, or priest, who stood between him and the divinity as a mediator. The Magi held their offices by succession, were richly clad, haughty in bearing, mysterious in manner, and claimed supernatural and prophetic powers. They explained omens, interpreted dreams, and predicted future events. These pretensions, supported by their mystical incantations, not only imposed upon the credulous multitude, but won for them the reverence and willing homage of kings and chiefs. It seems certain that the first union between the Zoroastrian system, which we have described, and Magism took place in Media. From the time of this

union the priestly caste of the Magi was recognized as one of the six Median tribes. "It is not necessary," says Rawlinson, from whose account of the Median religion this summary is drawn, "to suppose that the Medes ever apostatized altogether from the worship of Ormazd, or formally surrendered their dualistic faith. But, practically, the Magian doctrines and the Magian usages—elementary worship, divination with the sacred rods, dream-expounding, incantations at the fire altars, sacrifices whereat a *Magus* officiated—seem to have prevailed;

mote antiquity; the ever-burning flame, believed to have been kindled from on high; the worship in the open air under the blue canopy of heaven; the long troops of Magians in their white robes, with their strange caps, and their mystic wands; the frequent prayers; the abundant sacrifices; the long incantations; the supposed prophetic powers of the priest-caste—all this together constituted an imposing whole at once to the eye and to the mind, and was calculated to give additional grandeur to the civil system that should be allied with



SCENE IN THE MOUNTAINS OF MEDIA.

the new predominated over the old; backed by the power of an organized hierarchy, Magism overlaid the primitive Arian creed, and, as time went on, tended more and more to become the real religion of the nation. . . . Upon the whole, Magism, though less elevated and less pure than the old Zoroastrian creed, must be pronounced to have possessed a certain loftiness and picturesqueness which suited it to become the religion of a great and splendid monarchy. The mysterious fire altars on the mountain tops, with their prestige of a re-

it. Pure Zoroastrianism was too spiritual to coalesce readily with oriental luxury and magnificence, or to lend strength to a government based on the ordinary principles of Asiatic despotism. Magism furnished a hierarchy to support the throne and add splendor and dignity to the court, while they overawed the subject-class by their supposed possession of supernatural powers; and of the right of mediating between heaven and man. It supplied a picturesque worship which at once gratified the senses and excited the fancy. It gave scope to

man's passion for the marvellous by its incantations, its divining rods, its omen-reading, and its dream-expounding. It gratified the religious scrupulosity which finds a pleasure in making to itself difficulties by the disallowance of a thousand natural acts, and the imposition of numberless rules for external purity. At the same time it gave no offence to the anti-idolatrous spirit in which the Arians had hitherto gloried, but rather encouraged the iconoclasm which they always upheld and practised. It thus blended easily with the

been an important tribe in very ancient times, from the fact that they are mentioned, under the name of Madai, in the Book of Genesis, and the statement of Berosus that they furnished an early dynasty to Babylon. About B. C. 830 the Assyrians invaded Media Magna, the proper country of the Medes, and with this invasion our definite knowledge of them begins. They were then divided into a number of tribes governed by petty chieftains. Though they offered but a feeble resistance to Shalmaneser II. on this occasion, no part of their



CYAXERES CALLS THE MEDES TO FREE THEIR COUNTRY FROM THE SCYTHIANS.

previous creed of the people, awaking no prejudices, clashing with no interests; winning its way by an apparent meekness and unassumingness, while it was quite prepared, when the fitting time came, to be as fierce and exclusive as if it had never worn the mask of humility and moderation." This last phase of the Median faith was the one that distinguished it at the time when the nation appeared in history as a compact and well-organized monarchy.

We know but little of the primitive history of the Medes. They appear to have

country was really subdued until its invasion by Sargon, about B. C. 710, who conquered a portion of it and planted it with cities, in which he settled his Israelite captives. The successors of Sargon made other conquests in Media. As late as B. C. 671, Esarhaddon invaded and conquered its distant parts, and found it still divided among small chieftains.

About B. C. 660, however, a sudden change occurred in the organization and government of Media. The population of the country was largely increased by an

extensive Aryan emigration from the region east of the Zagros mountains, led by Phraortes, the father of Cyaxeres. This leader, having settled with his followers in Media, and appreciating the evils of the rule of a number of petty chiefs, set himself to work to organize a strong central kingdom, capable of resisting the Assyrians. He succeeded so well that, about B. C. 634, he conceived the design of attacking Assyria, now ruled by the aged Asshur-bani-pal. The Median army was promptly met by the Assyrians upon its entrance into their country. A great battle was fought, probably somewhere in Adiabêné. The Median



ANCIENT CROWNS.

army was utterly destroyed, and Phraortes himself was among the slain.

Cyaxeres succeeded his father as King of Media, and devoted the first years of his reign to a total reorganization of the military system of the country. He raised and equipped a large and powerful army, consisting of his Persian subjects as well as of Medes, and in B. C. 632 renewed the war by invading Assyria a second time. He defeated the Assyrian army in the field, and laid siege to Nineveh, which he pressed so hard that it must have fallen that year, had not he been summoned home in hot haste to resist the invasion of the Scythians, who had poured into his country from the north. He met the barbarians in a great battle almost immediately after returning to his

country, and was defeated by them and obliged to make peace. He retained his crown by acknowledging the supremacy of the Scythians and agreeing to pay them an annual tribute. Media does not appear to have suffered as much from the ravages of the Scythians as the other countries, but the presence and dominion of the barbarians were galling to the Medians, who were naturally a brave and high-spirited race.

As the time passed on, and the force of the invasion became weakened by the spreading out of the Scythians over the vast territory of western Asia, the Medians began to take heart. At length Cyaxeres, feeling that the time had come to strike for the independence of his country, resolved to destroy the Scythian leaders by treachery, which he regarded as justifiable under the circumstances. Inviting a number of Scythian chiefs to a banquet, he plied them with wine; and when they were rendered helpless by intoxication, caused them to be put to death. This was the signal for a general uprising of the Median nation. The people turned upon their oppressors with relentless fury, and a war of several years ensued, which resulted in the expulsion of the Scythians from Media and the adjacent countries, and their flight across the Caucasus to their own land.

Having freed his country, Cyaxeres devoted himself to the task of restoring to it the power and prosperity of which it had been stripped by the Scythians. He succeeded so well that in a few years he found himself in a condition to renew his designs upon his old enemy, Assyria, which was now fatally weakened by its losses at the hands of the barbarians. As a prelude to a new war, Cyaxeres endeavored to excite the Susianians and Chaldeans to throw off their allegiance to Assyria, and join him. He was successful, and it was agreed that the Susianians should invade Assyria from the south, while the Median army attacked it from the east. Saracus, the Assyrian monarch, being informed of this plan of campaign, sent Nabopolassar to Babylon to meet the danger in that quarter while he prepared to encounter the Medes in person. As has been related, Nabopolassar, seeing the advantages certain to accrue to himself from a betrayal of his sovereign, sent an embassy to Cyaxeres, offering to become the ally of the Mede, if the latter would guarantee to him the independent crown of Babylon, and bestow his daughter,

Amuhia, or Amyitis, upon Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabopolassar, as a wife. Cyaxeres readily accepted the offer; the young people were married; Nabopolassar joined his forces to those of the Medes; and siege was laid to Nineveh, which was finally taken and destroyed. The conquerors divided the fallen empire between them. The share of Nabopolassar has been described. Cyaxeres received Assyria proper and the dependent countries north and northwest of it. Thus Media became, like Babylon, a considerable empire. The two powers which thus arose upon the ruins of the Assyrian empire were friendly, their rulers being allied by ties of affinity as well as by treaties. Each was satisfied with its acquisitions, and seems to have been ready, at important periods, to assist the other.

After the conquest of Nineveh, Media, unlike Babylon, which enjoyed some years of peace, became involved in wars with the states of western Asia which had been tributary to Assyria, and which endeavored to make the downfall of that empire the occasion of recovering their independence. Cyaxeres conquered all of this part of Asia from the Caspian Sea to the river Halys. Armenia and Cappadocia, countries never really subject to Assyria, were included in these conquests. These wars involved Cyaxeres in a struggle with Lydia, which endeavored to turn back his conquests. In this war he was assisted by the Babylonians, commanded sometimes by the prince royal Nebuchadnezzar, and sometimes by Nabopolassar in person. At the close of five years, when the two armies were about to engage in battle, they were both terrified by an eclipse of the sun. Nabopolassar took advantage of this to mediate between Cyaxeres and Alyattes, the Lydian king. The result was the arrangement of a peace

between the two monarchs, the river Halys becoming the boundary between their dominions. The two kings swore an oath of friendship which was cemented by the marriage of Astyages, the son of Cyaxeres and Aryënis, the daughter of Alyattes. A peace of fifty years in western Asia was the fruit of these negotiations. The three kingdoms of Media, Lydia, and Babylonia remained fast friends during this period, pursuing their separate courses without quarrel or collision. The remainder of the century was passed by Cyaxeres in peacefully governing his extensive dominions.

Cyaxeres was succeeded by his son Astyages, B. C. 593. Astyages reigned thirty-five years. This period, though peaceful, and in one sense prosperous, was in reality an era of decline, owing to the luxurious habits which the Medians had adopted since the downfall of the Assyrian empire. The court of Ecbatana was one of the most elaborate and splendid in the East, and Astyages was fonder of the pleasures of his harem than of the dangers of the field. His chief pastime was hunting in a paradise or park near the capital. The courtiers, clad in "soft raiment," forgot their old warlike habits and became weak and effeminate. The priestly caste of the Magi also acquired great influence at the Median court.

This was the state of affairs when the Persian revolt—the events of which will be related in the history of that country—broke out. Though at first successful, the Medians, weakened by a long course of luxury, proved no match in the end for the hardy mountaineers, and the war resulted in the complete overthrow of the Median monarchy, B. C. 558. Media became the first and most important of the Persian provinces, and long maintained that position.



BOOK IX.

THE HISTORY OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE DEATH OF CYRUS THE GREAT.

Description of Persia—Geographical Position—The Mountain Region—Climate—Products—Minerals—Character of the Persian People—Their Loyalty to their Sovereigns—Religion of the Persians—The Persian Monarchy Founded—Persia Tributary to Media—Residence of Cyrus at the Median Court—His Escape—Raises the Standard of Revolt—Overthrows the Median Kingdom—Establishes the Persian Empire—His Conquests—Captures Babylon—Median Civilization Adopted—Death of Cyrus the Great.

PERSIA proper corresponded very nearly to the modern Persian province of Iran. It lay upon the gulf which bears its name, extending from the mouth of the Tab (Oroatis) to the point where the gulf joins the Indian Ocean. It was bounded on the north by Media Magna, on the east by Mycia, on the south by the sea, and on the west by Susiania. Its length was about 450 miles, and its width averaged about 250 miles, giving it an area of over 100,000 square miles.

Persia was divided into two distinct regions, which modern geographers term the "warm district" and the "cold region." The "warm district" occupied about one-eighth of the country, and was a tract of sandy plain, often impregnated with salt, extending between the mountains and the sea the whole length of the kingdom. The soil is poor and badly watered. The rest of the country was embraced in the "cold region." It was a mountainous region, "consisting of alternate mountain, plain, and narrow valley, curiously intermixed, and as yet very incompletely mapped." It has on the whole an aspect of sternness and sterility, but nevertheless abounds in spots of rare beauty and fertility. The water supply is scanty; scarcely any of the streams reach the sea. A number of lakes, some of them salt, are found in Persia, and receive the waters of most of the streams.

"The most remarkable feature of the country consists in the extraordinary gorges which pierce the great mountain chain, and render possible the establishment of routes across that tremendous barrier. Scarped rocks rise almost perpendicularly on either side of the mountain streams, which descend rapidly, with frequent cascades and falls. Along the slight irregularities of these rocks the roads are carried in zigzags, often crossing the streams from side to side by bridges of a single arch, which are thrown over profound chasms where the waters chafe and roar many hundred feet below. The roads have for the most part been artificially cut in the sides of the precipices, which rise from the streams sometimes to the height of 2,000 feet. In order to cross from the Persian Gulf to the high plateau of Iran, no fewer than three or four of these *kotuls*, or strange gorge passes, have to be traversed successively. Thus the country towards the edge of the plateau is peculiarly safe from attack, being defended on the north and east by vast deserts, and on the south by a mountain barrier of unusual strength and difficulty."

The climate of Persia proper was twofold: in the low country it was hot and enervating; in the mountain region it was cold in winter, but pleasant during the rest of the year. The vegetable products were neither numerous nor remarkable. The low country yielded dates in moderate quantities, and in a few places corn, the vine, and different kinds of fruit trees were cultivated. The mountain region furnished an abundance of rich pasture; grapes of an admirable quality grew there, and nearly all the fruits except the olive were abundant. The peach is believed to be a native of Persia, as is also the citron. Of the grains, wheat, barley, millet and rice were the principal products. In modern times Indian corn, introduced from America, has been successfully grown here. Pulse, beans, sesame, madder, henna, and cotton were cultivated by the ancients.

The wild animals of the country were the lion, the bear, the wild ass, the stag, the antelope, the ibex or wild goat, the wild boar, the hyæna, the jackal, the wolf, the fox, the hare, the porcupine, the otter, the jerboa, the ichneumon, and the marmot. The domestic animals were identical with those of Media, and need not be described here.

The minerals of Persia proper were numerous and valuable. They consisted of gold, silver, copper, iron, red lead, orpiment, salt, bitumen, naphtha, sulphur, and, as is supposed by some, common lead. Sulphur and salt abounded. Excellent building stone was also found.

The Persians were an Iranian race, sprung from the same stock as their neighbors, the Medes; the two nations being in reality one people. The Persians were quick and lively, very intelligent, and more far-sighted than most Oriental nations. They were brave, hardy, possessed of many manly virtues, and, in the earlier days, were noted for their regard for truth. *Æschylus* calls them a "valiant-minded people." They possessed a boldness, a dash, and a stubbornness which made them irresistible in battle. No nation could stand before them until they met the Greeks, and then they yielded only to the superior armor and discipline of the Hellenic troops. *Herodotus* says that the instructors of the Persian youth were required to teach them three main things, namely: "To ride, to draw the bow, and to speak the truth." In all ages, in fine, the Persians have been noted as an active, vigorous race, raised by these qualities far above the indolent people of the neighboring countries. They were an essentially military people, and among their most striking traits was devotion to their sovereign, which led them to submit absolutely to his will, and to endure any hardship or privation for his sake. This excessive loyalty on the part of the people paved the way for the grossest tyranny on the part of the kings, and in the end sapped the self-respect of the people and corrupted the entire nation. The Persian armies were composed of infantry and cavalry; chariots were regarded with disfavor and were not often used. The bow and the spear were the chief weapons. The bow was of unusual size, and was wielded with terrible effect by the Persian troops. The infantry bore shields, but the cavalry were without them. Unlike the Medes, the Persians readily

gave quarter when asked, and treated their prisoners of war with kindness. They were fond of luxury and display, and the Persian court during the flourishing period of the empire was one of the most magnificent known to history.

The religion of the Persians in the earlier periods of their history was identical with the Median belief in Dualism, consisting mainly in the worship of *Ahuramazda*, or *Ormazd*; the acknowledgment of the principle of evil—*Angro-mainyus*—and obedience to the teachings of *Zoroaster*. When the Medians adopted *Magism*, the Persians held sternly to their purer and simpler faith; but when the empire became great and powerful, *Magism* gradually overshadowed the earlier faith until it became the religion of the court and the nation. Perhaps it would be more correct to speak of the Persian religion at that period as a strange combination of *Magism* and *Zoroastrianism*. This union was so apparent to the later Greeks that they termed the Persian religion "the *Magism* of *Zoroaster*." As the two systems have been described in our account of Media, it is unnecessary to repeat the description here.

At the period of the establishment of the empire by *Cyrus*, *Zoroastrianism* was the national creed. That monarch found a strong bond of union between the captive Jews in *Babylonia* and his own people. He found them worshippers of one God, whom he evidently identified with *Ormazd*, his own deity; "and accepting as a divine command the prophecy of *Isaiah* (xliv. 28), undertook to rebuild their Temple for a people who, like his own, allowed no image of God to defile the sanctuary. *Darius*, similarly, encouraged the completion of the work after it had been interrupted by the troubles which followed the death of *Cambyses*. The foundation was thus laid for that friendly intimacy between the two peoples, of which we have abundant evidence in the books of *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, and *Esther*; a friendly intimacy which caused the Jews to continue faithful to Persia to the last, and to brave the conqueror of *Issus* rather than desert masters who had shown them kindness and sympathy."

The region we have described as Persia proper was conquered about the middle of the seventh century before the Christian era by a brave, hardy, warlike people from the upland region east of the *Caspian Sea*. These were the founders of the Persian nation.

The nation was from the first divided into ten tribes. Four of these were nomadic, three cultivated the soil, and three bore arms for the common defence. The warrior tribes constituted the nobility of the country. The most illustrious of these tribes were the Pasargadæ, who held almost all

dom of Media acquired an ascendancy over Persia, whose kings, until the accession of Cyrus the Great, held their crowns as feudatories of Media. Cambysses, the father of Cyrus, was king of Persia, but was the vassal of Astyages of Media, to whom he paid an annual tribute. He was also



CAMEL EQUIPPED FOR A JOURNEY.

the high offices, both civil and military. The reigning family of the Achæmenidæ belonged to this tribe. They derived their name from Achæmenes, the first chief who set up an Aryan monarchy in this region, and who is regarded as the founder of the Persian kingdom.

At an early period the neighboring king-

obliged to send his son and heir, Cyrus, to reside at the Median court as a hostage for his loyalty. The prince royal was held there in a sort of honorable captivity; he was treated with the respect befitting his rank, and with kindness, but was not allowed to leave the court without the permission of his sovereign.

During his residence at the Median court, Cyrus observed that the vigor of the Medes was being destroyed by their luxurious habits, and that they were physically as well as mentally inferior to his own vigorous countrymen. Influenced by this knowledge, he conceived the bold plan of throwing off the Median yoke and establishing his country's independence. It may be that his indignation at the encroachments of Magism upon the pure religion of his fathers furnished another incentive to this step. He resolved to put his plan into execution during the reign of the effeminate Astyages; and he therefore asked leave of the Median monarch to return home for a short time, pleading that his father was in weak health and needed his care; but Astyages, fearing to lose his hold upon Persia, returned to Cyrus the flattering answer that he loved him too well to lose sight of him even for a day. Cyrus appeared to be contented with the answer, and awaited a more favorable opportunity. After a considerable interval, he renewed his request, making it this time through a favorite of the king. The effort was successful, and Cyrus received leave of absence for five months. He at once left Ecbatana, the Median capital, by night, with a few chosen attendants, and took the road to Persia.

The next evening Astyages, while enjoying himself in his harem, was aroused to a sense of the imprudence of his act by the words of a song sung by one of his dancing girls. He at once summoned an officer into his presence, bade him take a body of horsemen, pursue the Persian prince, and bring him back either dead or alive. The Mede at once set out on his mission, overtook Cyrus, and informed him of the king's orders. Cyrus professed to be willing to obey, but proposed that, as it was late, they should encamp for the night, and start on their return the next day. The Medes consented to this, and were entertained at a feast by Cyrus, who succeeded in making all of them drunk. He then mounted his horse, and, with his attendants, rode with speed until they reached a Persian outpost, where, in accordance with a plan which he had concerted with his father, he found a strong force of Persian cavalry awaiting him. When the Medes recovered from their drunkenness, they set out in pursuit of Cyrus, and coming up with him at the head of his cavalry attacked him. They were defeated with great loss, and Cyrus

made his way rapidly to his father's court.

Persia now raised the standard of revolt, and Astyages collected a large army to reduce his rebellious vassal to submission. A bloody war ensued. In the first battle the Persians were defeated, and Cambysses, their king, was slain. Cyrus was now made King of Persia. Astyages won a second great victory near Pasargadæ, the Persian capital; but in the third battle Cyrus inflicted a stinging defeat upon him. In a fifth battle, fought in the neighborhood of Pasargadæ, the Medians were utterly routed. The Persian troops, elated by their victory, hailed Cyrus with deafening cheers as "King of Media and Persia." Cyrus followed up his victory by a vigorous pursuit of the Medes, in which he broke up their army, and took Astyages prisoner. This success made him master of Media, which quietly submitted to his rule, B. C. 558. Thus were laid the foundations of the Medo-Persian empire. The conquest of Media was followed by that of Lydia, which was incorporated into the Persian empire, B. C. 554. Harpagus, the lieutenant of Cyrus, reduced the Greek cities of Asia Minor to submission, B. C. 553.

Cyrus now entered upon an extensive career of conquest in the far east. In the thirteen years intervening between B. C. 553 and B. C. 540, he subdued Hyrcania, Parthia, Bactria, Sacia, Chorasmia, Sogdiana, Aria, Drangiana, Arachosia, Sattagydia, and Gandaria, the vast region lying between the Jaxartes, and the Caspian and Erythræan Seas, with the Indus for its eastern boundary.

Having accomplished this great undertaking, Cyrus next turned his arms against Babylon, captured that city, as has already been related, and added the Babylonian empire to his dominions. Egypt was now the only remaining great power that had not felt the weight of the vengeance of the Persian king. He intended to conquer that country, but never put this design into execution. The reason of this is unknown.

Upon the conquest of Babylon, Cyrus made it the second capital of his empire, Ecbatana being the principal capital. Pasargadæ, the old Persian metropolis, was made a sacred city, and reserved for coronations and burials. The civilization of the Medes and their arts, architecture, dress, manners, and, to a certain extent, their luxurious habits, were adopted by the Persians. Cy-

rus did little towards consolidating his empire or establishing a definite system of

sians, but all creeds were tolerated. Cyrus, a Monotheist, was naturally drawn to the Jewish captives in Babylon, whose religion so closely resembled his own. He took them into especial favor, and restored them to their own country, where they were treated with equal kindness by his successors.

The close of his reign is involved in uncertainty. The traditional account received from Herodotus is, that his last campaign was against the Massagete, who dwelt on the north of his empire, to the east of the Sea of Aral. He so thoroughly subdued these barbarian hordes and struck such terror into them that they did not venture to attack the Persian empire during its subsequent existence. He was slain in a battle with these people. His body was conveyed to Persia and buried at Pasargade.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE DEATH OF CYRUS THE GREAT TO THE FALL OF THE EMPIRE.

Accession of Cambysses—His Character—Conquers Egypt—Cruel Treatment of that Country—His Failures—The False Smerdis—Death of Cambysses—Darius I. Becomes King of Persia—He Reorganizes the Empire—His System—Conquers a Part of India—His Scythian Expedition—Beginning of the War with Greece—Failure of the Expedition of Mardonius—Defeat of the Persians at Marathon—Xerxes I. King of Persia—His Expedition into Greece—Battles of Thermopylæ and Salamis—Failure of the Expedition—Return of Xerxes to Persia—Gives himself up to Luxury—Defeat of Mardonius at Plataea—Artaxerxes I. King of Persia—Revolt of Egypt—The Peace of Calias—Xerxes II.—His Murder—Darius II. King—His Weak Reign—Rapid Decline of Persia—Artaxerxes II.—Revolt of Cyrus—Battle of Cunaxa—Retreat of the Ten Thousand—Wars with the Greek States—Rapid Disintegration of the Empire—Plans of Artaxerxes for the Conquest of Greece—Internal Troubles of the Empire—Ochus—His Vigorous Reign—Is Assassinated—Darius III.—The Macedonian War—Alexander the Great Enters Asia—Battle of the Granicus—Loss of Asia Minor—Battle of Issus—Capture of the Royal Family—Alexander Conquers the Mediterranean Provinces of Persia—Battle of Arbela—Flight and Death of Darius—Fall of the Persian Empire.



THE THRONE OF CYRUS.

government for it. That task was left to his successors.

The religion of the empire was the purer form of Zoroastrianism professed by the Per-

CYRUS was succeeded, B. C. 529, by his eldest son Cambysses. He left also another son named Bardius, or, as he was called by the Greeks, Smerdis, to whom he bequeathed the government of some large and important provinces. This arrangement aroused the jealousy of Cambysses, who, at an early period of his reign, caused Smerdis to be put to death secretly.

Cambysses inherited his father's ambition and love of war, but not his genius. He ranks in history as one of the greatest *destroyers* of the ancient or modern world. He compelled the submission of Phœnicia and Cyprus, the great naval powers of western Asia, which had not been tributary to Cyrus. In B. C. 525, he invaded Egypt with an enormous army, defeated Psammetus in a pitched battle, took Memphis, and conquered Egypt, and received the submission of the Libyan tribes bordering upon Egypt and of the Greek towns of the Cyrenaica. Greatly elated by his success, Cambysses formed vast schemes of conquest which he had not the ability to carry out. He planned the reduction of Carthage, intending to attack it by sea and land, but the Phœnicians, who formed the bulk of his naval strength, refused to take part in the subjugation of the Carthaginians, who were their own countrymen; so the project miscarried. The king then despatched a force of 50,000 men to capture and plunder the famous temple of Amon, situated in an oasis in the Libyan desert, twenty days journey from Thebes. The expedition never reached the temple, but perished to a man amid the sands of the desert. With a stronger force he attempted the invasion of Ethiopia. While still toiling across the Nubian desert his supplies gave out, and his army found itself without water. Cambysses insanely endeavored to continue his march, but after suffering frightful privations—his troops were even reduced to the horrible necessity of eating each other—he was obliged to return to Memphis with the shattered wreck of his army. His own forces were now thoroughly disheartened, and convinced of the lack of ability in their leader, and Egypt was on the brink of rebellion. Symptoms of revolt manifesting themselves under the encouragement of the priests, Cambysses applied himself mercilessly to the intimidation of the country. His cruelties were very great and he punished all opposition to him with death. The Egyptians could have forgiven him these acts, had he not aroused their bitter and undying hatred by making war upon their gods, with the avowed purpose of bringing them into contempt. He stabbed the sacred calf believed to be the incarnation of the god Apis, and scourged the priests in charge of it; suspended the festival of Apis on pain of death; opened the tombs, and examined the mummies; entered the chief

sanctuary at Memphis; publicly insulted the image of Phtha; and caused the destruction of all the images of the gods. From one end of Egypt to the other he was viewed with feelings of horror and hatred, and the impression he left upon the country lasted for centuries. The Egyptians were thoroughly cowed, however, and Cambysses, finding the country sufficiently intimidated, set out on his return to his capital, from which he had already been absent too long. Upon reaching Syria, he was met by the news of the usurpation of his throne by the false Smerdis, and despairing of overcoming the conspiracy he committed suicide, B. C. 522, after a reign of eight years.

The prolonged absence of Cambysses from his own dominions had resulted in a revolution of the Magians at the Medo-Persian capital. Gomates, a Magian, supported by his order, in what would seem an effort to make Magianism the religion of the state, seized the throne, passing himself off as Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, whose death, by order of Cambysses, was known to him, but not to the people. His claims were submitted to, and in order to conciliate his subjects he released them from taxation, and the conquered nations from military service, for a period of three years. At the same time he carefully secluded himself from the public, admitting no one to his presence but his wives (the widows of Cambysses, whom he married), whom he prevented from communicating with each other or with their friends, and his fellow-conspirators. His religious reforms by which he proceeded to supplant Zoroastrianism with Magianism aroused the suspicions of the people, which were increased by his studied seclusion. The truth at length became known, and an insurrection, headed by Darius, the son of Hystaspes, and probably heir presumptive to the crown, hurled the impostor from the throne after a reign of eight months, and re-established the Persian religion in its original purity.

Darius I. ascended the throne B. C. 521. He reigned nearly thirty-six years, and was the greatest monarch of the Persian empire. He found his dominions in a general state of revolt. No less than eleven Satrapies—the principal provinces of his realm—took arms against him, and it seemed that the empire of Cyrus was doomed to destruction. For six years Darius was engaged in the conquest of

CAMBYSES ENTERING MEMPHIS.



these revolted provinces. His great military and executive genius carried him safely through his trials. Order was restored throughout his dominions, the rebel leaders were executed, and his authority was generally acknowledged.

These troubles revealed to Darius the necessity of a fixed and definite organization of the empire. He began this task by removing all the tributary kings of the conquered countries. The empire was divided into twenty provinces called Satrapies. Over each province a Persian satrap, or civil governor, was placed, who was directly responsible to the king. A standing army was established and divided among the Satrapies, as a means of restraining rebellion and resisting foreign aggression. The military commanders also acted as a check upon the satraps. A fixed rate of tribute was established for each province. Royal roads from the capital to the various provinces were constructed, and a system of posts put into operation by which the court could rapidly and regularly communicate with the provinces. A body of royal secretaries, called the "king's eyes and ears," was distributed among the provinces. Their duties were to watch the satraps and keep the king informed of the events transpiring in each government. Royal inspectors, and frequently the king himself, made sudden and unexpected official visits to the satraps, and thus kept them faithful to their duties. In course of time these inspections were practically discontinued, and an important check upon corruption was thus removed. The offices of satrap and military commander were finally consolidated, and the power of the satraps was thus materially increased, a circumstance which encouraged them to revolt. Darius also reorganized the army, confining the standing force to the dominant Medo-Persian race, but drawing men from the whole empire in time of war. Great prominence was given to the cavalry. The navy was drawn entirely from the conquered nations, chiefly from Phœnicia, Egypt, Cyprus, Cilicia, and Asiatic Greece.

Having established his empire, Darius undertook an expedition into India, and conquered the Punjaub and Scinde, at some period between B. c. 515 and B. c. 509. He thus acquired an important gold region, and increased the revenue of the empire by one-third. An active commerce also sprang up between Persia and India.

The next expedition of Darius was

against the Scythians, dwellers in the vast plains between the Don and the Danube, the region now called the Ukraine. He did not expect to conquer this country, but his object was to strike terror to the Scythians and prevent them from attempting the invasion of his dominions. He crossed the Bosphorus by a bridge of boats, about B. c. 508, and marched through Thrace, while his fleet proceeded through the Euxine to the Danube, and bridged that river. The maritime Thracians submitted without resistance, but the Getæ endeavored to oppose his march, and were conquered. Darius crossed the Danube, ravaged the Scythian country, and returned to Asia in triumph by the way he had come. As a result of the expedition, Thrace became tributary, including those parts bordering on the



TOMB OF CYRUS.

Ægean, and even Macedonia submitted. The Persian empire thus extended from the Indian Desert to the borders of Thessaly, and from the Caucasus to Ethiopia, B. c. 506.

The closing years of the sixth century before the Christian era were marked by a revolt of the Asiatic Greeks, who were angered by the support given by Darius to their tyrants. Under the leadership of Aristagoras of Miletus, they drove out or killed their tyrants, and took arms against Persia. They were joined by Athens and Eretria, in European Greece. Deeming boldness the best policy, they attacked and captured Sardis, the capital of the Satrapy. The city was destroyed by an accidental conflagration, and the invaders were overtaken and defeated by the Persian forces in

a battle near Ephesus, B. C. 500. Athens and Eretria immediately abandoned the alliance. Numerous states, however, came to the assistance of the Greeks, and a general revolt against Persia spread along the entire Asiatic coast from the Sea of Marmora to the Gulf of Issus. The Ionian, Æolian, and Hellespontine Greeks, the Carians and Caumians, and the Cyprians all united in the effort against Persia. Darius, appreciating the importance of checking this outbreak promptly, put forth the most strenuous exertions to crush it. A number of battles were fought with varying success, but at length the superior power of Persia began to prevail. The Ionian fleet was decisively defeated in the battle of Lade, and Miletus was carried by storm, B. C. 494. The rebellious states were made to feel the full weight of the vengeance of Darius, and the Persian authority was re-established firmly in all the countries that had borne a part in the rebellion.

Having quieted his own dominions, Darius now began to take measures to punish the Greek states which had dared to assist his rebellious subjects. He had long meditated the conquest of Greece, and the interference of Athens and Eretria in the Ionian revolt gave him an excellent ground of quarrel with them. In the spring of B. C. 492 an expedition was fitted out and despatched against Greece under Mardonius. Mardonius proceeded along the coast, and when off Mount Athos lost the greater part of his fleet by a storm, and his land army was defeated and almost destroyed by a night attack of the Brygians, a Thracian tribe. Although these disasters made it impossible to attempt the invasion of Greece, the expedition was not without results. Thasos was captured, and Macedonia was made subject to Persia.

A second expedition was collected, and two years later, B. C. 490, was sent against Greece under the command of Datis, one of the ablest Persian generals. Crossing through the Cyclades, Datis proceeded first to Eretria, which fell into his hands through treachery. He burned its temples and bound its inhabitants in chains for transportation to Asia. Having taken Eretria, the Persians crossed the Euripus and landed at Marathon with the intention of advancing upon Athens. They were met at Marathon by the Athenian army, under Miltiades, and decisively defeated. Retiring to

their ships, they sailed around the Athenian foreland in the hope of surprising Athens; but Miltiades, by a forced march from Marathon, reached Athens in time to make it evident to the Persian commander that an attempt upon the city would be useless. Datis, therefore, sailed for the Asiatic coast, taking with him his Eretrian prisoners. The victory of the Greeks at Marathon was the first great check the Persians had yet received, and it proved the incontestible superiority of the disciplined bravery of the European Greeks over the vast masses of the Orientals. Undismayed by his reverse, Darius prepared to invade Greece with a still greater force, which he intended to lead in person; but troubles in Egypt delayed him, and his death, in B. C. 486, put an end to his schemes, and gave the Greeks an opportunity of completing their preparations for resistance.

Darius was succeeded by his son Xerxes I., the Ahasuerus of the Bible. He began his reign by stamping out with great severity the revolt of the Egyptians, and made his brother Achæmenes viceroy of Egypt. The Babylonians about this time attempted a revolt, which was put down by the Persians, and Xerxes punished them by confiscating the vast treasures of their temples, B. C. 485.

Xerxes now took up his father's project of the invasion of Greece. He aroused the enthusiasm of his satraps and military commanders by detailing to them in a general council, which he summoned at Susa, the advantages of the conquest of Greece, and preparations for the expedition were immediately begun. For four years the entire Persian empire was busily engaged in preparing for the approaching contest. The largest fleet that had ever been assembled in the Mediterranean was collected from the maritime dependencies of Persia, and an immense army assembled from every part of the Persian dominions. The navy is said to have consisted of over 1,200 triremes and 3,000 vessels of an inferior description. Depots of supplies were formed at various points along the route the monarch intended to pursue. He had wisely concluded from the experience of Datis that an expedition strong enough to conquer Greece could not be conveyed by sea, but must cross the Hellespont and march by the north coast of the Ægean. For this purpose the Egyptians and Phœnicians were charged with the construction of a



bridge of boats across the Hellespont. It was built successfully, but was broken to pieces by a violent storm. Xerxes at once caused the engineers who had constructed the bridge to be beheaded, and the sea to be scourged. A pair of fetters was thrown into the waves as a hint that they had found a master in the Persian king. A double bridge was now constructed with greater care, and made so solid and secure that it constituted a high road "along which men, horses, and vehicles might pass with as much comfort and facility as they

king. The same authority places the strength of the army at 1,800,000 men, of which 80,000 were cavalry and 20,000 charioteers or riders of camels. Making all due allowance for exaggerations, it can hardly be doubted that the force with which Xerxes invaded Europe exceeded a million and a half of fighting men.

From Sardis the army marched to Abydos, where the troops and the fleet were reviewed by the king, who beheld his vast navy for the first time. The next morning the passage of the Hellespont was begun,



CYRUS LISTENING TO THE EXPLANATION OF THE JEWISH FAITH.

could move on shore." In order to enable the fleet to avoid the dangers of doubling Mount Athos, the king employed a body of men for three years, under Persian overseers, in cutting a canal in the rear of the mountain from the Strymonic to the Singitic Gulf.

All things being in readiness, Xerxes repaired to Sardis in the winter of B. C. 481, to superintend the final arrangements in person. In the spring of B. C. 480 the Persian army assembled in Lydia. Forty-nine nations are said by Herodotus to have marched under the banner of the great

and was continued for seven days, the troops using one bridge and the baggage-train and attendants the other, the movements of all being hastened by a liberal use of the lash. The march was continued through Europe into Thessaly, across that country, and through Achæa and Phthiotis into the Malian plain. A halt was made near the small town of Trachis, before the Pass of Thermopylæ, the entrance to central Greece. On the way large reinforcements from the Macedonians, Thracians, and other European nations, had materially increased the strength of the army of

Xerxes, which now numbered at least two millions of fighting men. Estimating the personnel of the fleet at 500,000 men, and allowing for camp followers and attendants, at least three millions of men must have followed Xerxes into Greece.

The Greeks had collected a small detachment, under the Spartan King Leonidas, at Thermopylæ, to hold the pass until they could arrive in force for its defence. This little band resisted the efforts of the Persians to force a passage, but were betrayed by a traitor who revealed to Xerxes a mountain path by which the pass might be turned. The little band of Leonidas was overwhelmed, and the Persians poured into central Greece. They advanced upon Athens, which had been deserted by its inhabitants, and reduced it to ashes. At the same time the Persian fleet sailed around the promontory of Sunium, and came to anchor in the bay of Phalerum. The Greeks were sorely disheartened, and were on the point of breaking up their fleet, when Xerxes, having caused a throne to be erected on the slopes of Mount Ægaleos, from which he could view the contest, gave orders to his naval commanders to attack them. The battle took place in the Saronic Gulf, off Salamis, and lasted all day. It resulted in the total defeat of the Persian fleet, notwithstanding its immense superiority of force.

The defeat of his fleet utterly destroyed the plans of Xerxes. Seeing that his ships could not hope to cope successfully with the Greeks, and knowing that he must be superior to them at sea as well as on land in order to accomplish the conquest of their country, he resolved to abandon the expedition and to return to Persia. He made no effort to retrieve his ill fortune, but began a forced retreat by the way he had come. The fleet was ordered to proceed direct to the Hellespont to guard the bridges. Upon reaching Thessaly, Mardonius was left behind with 260,000 picked men to prevent pursuit and to renew the effort to conquer Greece the next year, while the king pressed on with the rest of the army towards the Hellespont. His stores were exhausted, and vast numbers of the troops died from famine and fatigue on the way. Reaching the Hellespont, he found his bridges shattered by a storm, and his army was obliged to cross the strait in ships. At Abydos food was obtained. The march was resumed to Sardis, but many

died on the way from the effects of over-eating after their long privation, and it was only a wreck of his magnificent host that



THE COURT OF XERXES I.

the king led into the Lydian capital, just eight months after he had set out from it in the flush of his power and hopes.

The operations of Mardonius in Greece

will be related in the Grecian history of this period. They resulted in the defeat of his army at Plataea, and the destruction of his fleet at Mycale, disasters which utterly annihilated the Persian power in Europe. The Greeks followed up their successes by freeing the islands of the Ægean from the Persians, and ravaging the coasts of Asia. For twelve years no Persian sail dared show itself in the Mediterranean.

Xerxes, utterly disheartened by his failure to subdue Greece, gave himself up to luxury and pleasure, and during the rest of his reign attempted no more military enterprises. It is quite probable that his immense losses had too seriously crippled his empire to allow any important attempt at conquest for a while, and that the country needed rest. The natural temperament of Xerxes, however, inclined him to yield to his disgrace, without caring to wipe it out. He gave himself up to the pleasures of his harem, and, submitting himself to the government of women and eunuchs, ceased to take any interest in matters of State. The remainder of his reign was a period of licentiousness and corruption. Its end was fitting. The king was murdered, B. C. 465, by Artabanus, the captain of his guard, and Aspamitres, his chamberlain.

Artabanus placed on the throne the youngest son of Xerxes, Artaxerxes I., called Longimanus, or the "Long-handed." He had removed the eldest son, Darius, by putting him to death. Artabanus was soon after executed by order of the king, who discovered that the satrap was the real murderer of Xerxes.

In B. C. 460 Libya and Egypt revolted from Persia, and called in the assistance of Athens, which had instigated the revolt, and which responded by sending a fleet of 200 ships to the aid of the Egyptians. A Persian army, under the Satrap Megabazus, succeeded in putting down the revolt. The Libyan King Inarus was taken prisoner, and was crucified by order of Artaxerxes. The Greek fleet was defeated and destroyed. The Egyptian King Amyrtæus fled to the marshy districts of the Delta, where he maintained himself for nearly six years. Athens, smarting under the loss of her fleet, renewed her exertions with such vigor in B. C. 449, that Persia found herself in danger of losing both Egypt and Cyprus, and Artaxerxes consented to a most hu-

miliating treaty, known as the "Peace of Calias." Persia recognized the independence of the Asiatic Greeks, and bound herself not to molest the coast of western Asia Minor with her fleet or army. Athens, on her part, engaged to respect the Persian supremacy in Cyprus and Egypt. Thus all the Greek cities, from the mouth of the Hellespont to Phaselis in Lycia, were ceded to the Athenian Confederacy. Those on the shores of the Euxine remained in the hands of Persia.

Two years later (B. C. 447) Megabazus, the Satrap of Syria, incensed at the execution of Inarus, in violation of the pledge of safety he had made to the Libyan king, threw off his allegiance. He was allowed to return to obedience on his own terms—a most dangerous precedent. Artaxerxes died in B. C. 425, and was succeeded by his only legitimate son, Xerxes II., who reigned forty-five days, when he was murdered by his illegitimate brother, Secydianus, or Sogdianus, who seized the throne, only to be slain six months later by Ochus, another illegitimate son of Artaxerxes, who ascended the throne as Darius II., B. C. 424.

Darius II., or Ochus, was married to his aunt Parysatis, a daughter of Xerxes I., and the nineteen years of his reign were passed under her control. Her natural wickedness and cruelty had free scope during this period. The empire had been sorely shaken by numerous successful revolts. Darius undertook to defeat them by the most infamous means. He lured the satraps into his power by promises he never meant to keep, and put them to death. Treachery and corruption were introduced into every branch of the public service, and a series of weak concessions to the remaining satraps fatally damaged the power of the empire in other respects. A formidable revolt of the Medes in B. C. 408 was quelled, but an outbreak in Egypt in B. C. 405 was more successful. The Egyptian King Nephertites drove the Persians out of Egypt, and re-established the independence of his country.

The only compensation for all these losses of power and prestige was the re-establishment of the Persian authority over the Greeks of Asia Minor. Taking advantage of the Peloponnesian war, which required all the efforts of Athens and Sparta for its prosecution, Darius succeeded in bringing the Greek cities of Asia Minor once more

under his authority. He also interfered in the quarrels of the European Greeks, and began the policy of playing off one Greek state against another for the purpose of weakening both. His power lay in his gold, of which he made a lavish use, and which was found to possess attractions which the Greeks were quite unable to resist. Henceforth, until the liberties of Greece were lost, Persia played an influential part in Grecian affairs.

About this time, Cyrus, the younger son of the Persian king, was made satrap of

the state of a king in his province, and won the regard of his courtiers by his amiable qualities, while he commanded their respect by his undoubted ability. Darius was alarmed by the evidences of his son's ambition, and recalled him to Persia. He reached the capital just in time to witness the death of his father and the accession of his elder brother.

Darius was succeeded by his eldest son, Artaxerxes II. (called Mnemon by the Greeks, because of his remarkable memory), B. C. 405. The first act of the new king



CYRUS THE YOUNGER APPOINTED SATRAP OF ASIA MINOR.

Phrygia, Lydia and Cappadocia. He devoted himself enthusiastically to the Spartan alliance, and declared to Lysander, the Spartan admiral, that he would sell his very throne to raise money to carry on the war against Athens. Cyrus was at this time meditating an attempt to raise himself to the throne of Persia, and his zeal in behalf of the Spartans was caused by his wish to secure their aid in his undertaking. He was the favorite of his mother, Parysatis, who vainly sought to induce Darius to name him as his successor. He assumed

was to imprison Cyrus and condemn him to death. Parysatis succeeded, however, in procuring not only his release, but his restoration to his satrapy, and he went back to his province determined to lose no time in putting his ambitious plans into execution. He raised an army, the flower of which was a force of Greek mercenaries, and upon the pretext of engaging in an expedition against the bandits of Pisidia, marched from Sardis in the spring of B. C. 401.

Artaxerxes, informed of his movements,

prepared to meet Cyrus, and advanced for that purpose at the head of a strong army. Cyrus moved rapidly through Phrygia, Cilicia and Syria, and crossed the Euphrates at Thapsacus. His Greek mercenaries had now learned the true object of the expedition, but it was too late to withdraw from it. Reaching the plain of Cunaxa, about fifty-seven miles from Babylon, Cyrus found his progress barred by the royal army under the command of the king in person. It was four times as strong as his own force, but the Greeks inflicted a sharp defeat on the royal forces opposed to them. In the moment of victory, Cyrus rashly dashed into the Persian centre, where the king commanded, and had assailed and wounded his brother, when he was cut down by one of the royal guard. Artaxerxes at once caused his head and right hand to be cut off. His death put an end to the battle.

The position of the Greek troops, whom Cyrus had entrapped into the expedition, was now dangerous and difficult in the extreme. They were deserted by their Persian allies, who made their peace with the great king. Tissaphernes, who had been given the dominions of Cyrus by Artaxerxes, detained them for a month on pretence of treating with them. Having enticed them as far as the upper waters of the Tigris, he entrapped their officers and put them to death. At this juncture an Athenian named Xenophon, who had accompanied the army of Cyrus, though not in a military capacity, assembled the Greek leaders at midnight, and showing them the necessity of instant action, urged them to choose new leaders and attempt to regain their own country, a thousand miles distant. Five generals were chosen, of whom Xenophon was one, and the retreat began the next morning at daybreak.

It was the winter season, and the Greeks were without guides and ignorant of the country. Their route was across the bleak table lands of Armenia, where many succumbed to the cold. The Persian army, under Tissaphernes, hung constantly upon their rear, but so admirable were the valor and discipline of the Greeks, that their enemy was not able at any time to stop their march, or to gain a decisive success over them in any of the numerous conflicts which marked the Retreat of the Ten Thousand. The efforts of the heroic band were successful. Pressing on, they beheld

at last, from a mountain to the south of Trapezus, the wide expanse of the Euxine in the distance. Instantly there burst from those in the advance the glad cry, "The sea! the sea!" which was caught up by the rest of the column, which pressed forward eagerly to behold the joyful sight, the assurance of speedy deliverance from the perils of their march.

The participation of the Ten Thousand in the revolt of Cyrus gave mortal offence to Persia, although the Spartans were not actually responsible for it. Still it had the effect of breaking off the alliance between the two states, and it was no secret that Persia would take vengeance upon Sparta for the insult that had been offered her. The Spartans therefore resolved to strike the first blow. They enlisted the survivors of the Ten Thousand in their army, and carried on a war against the satraps of Lydia and Phrygia for the space of six years, from B. C. 399 to 394, with such success that Persia seemed on the point of losing all her possessions in Asia Minor. Had Sparta been able to continue the war for a few years longer, this would most probably have been its result. So far had the Persian empire advanced in its progress of disintegration that the satraps of Lydia and Phrygia thought more of defeating each other than of beating the Greeks, and one at least went so far as to bribe the Spartans to spare his territory and attack that of his rival. To add to the troubles of Persia, the Mysians and Pisidians had become independent of her rule, and to these were soon added the Paphlagonians, whose monarchs boldly asserted their independence; and the Bithynians gave signs of rebellion.

Persia met these troubles with more wisdom than her rulers had exhibited since the time of Darius I. By a liberal use of her gold she brought about an alliance between Argos, Corinth, Athens, and Thebes, with herself, against Sparta, and this combination proved so formidable that the Spartan forces were recalled from Asia Minor to defend their own territory. In the battle of Cnidus the Persian fleet bore a part, and by its result Sparta was compelled to yield the command of the sea to the allies. In B. C. 387, in order to save herself, Sparta succeeded in bringing about the disgraceful peace of Antalcidas, by which Persia regained her supremacy over the Greek territories of Asia Minor, and

established a controlling influence in the affairs of European Greece.

Artaxerxes II. was anxious to attempt the conquest of European Greece, and to realize the ambitious dreams of Darius I. and Xerxes I., but he was prevented by the revolt of Cyprus, which was aided by Egypt, which country had been practically free since the commencement of the century. The Cyprian revolt was put down with great difficulty after a long and doubtful struggle, but the leader of the revolt, Evagoras, the tyrant of Salamis, was allowed to retain his sovereignty upon the payment of an increased tribute, B. C. 379. About B. C. 384 a serious revolt broke out among the Cadusians, on the shores of the Caspian Sea. The king attempted to quell it in person, but was only saved from total defeat by the skill of one of his generals, Tiribazus, who also procured the submission to the revolted province. In B. C. 375 the Persian forces occupied Samos. Artaxerxes intended this step as a prelude to a general reduction of the Greek islands, but he was obliged to delay his project by renewed trouble with the Egyptians, against whom he sent a large army commanded by Iphicrates, an Athenian, and Pharnabazus, a Persian general. The expedition failed in consequence of the quarrels of its commanders. The knowledge of its failure encouraged the already disaffected satraps of the western provinces, but this danger was removed by bribes and the treacherous murder of those who could not be bought. In B. C. 361 Egypt, encouraged by Sparta, attempted the conquest of Phœnicia and Syria, but without success. Artaxerxes died soon afterwards, in B. C. 359.

During the reign of this king the Persian court had become a scene of incessant cruelty. The infamous Parysatis, the mother of the king, was the ruling spirit, and her cruel and bloody deeds have scarcely a parallel in Oriental history. The result was that the members of the royal family were divided by irreconcilable hatreds which gave rise to murders, executions, and suicides which were so numerous as to thin out the reigning race very rapidly.

Ochus, the youngest son of Artaxerxes, seized the throne after having caused the execution of his eldest and the suicide of his second brother, and assumed the name of Artaxerxes III. He possessed more vigor of character than any Persian monarch had

displayed since Darius I. In order to strengthen himself on the throne he destroyed all the branches of the royal family except those which seemed to him too remote to give trouble. He formed grand designs, and might have succeeded in restoring to Persia her former greatness and strength had he lived long enough. His plans were delayed by the revolt of Artabazus, in Asia Minor, which had been encouraged by Athens and Thebes. Ochus sent a force against him, defeated him, and compelled him to fly for his life. He took refuge at the court of Philip, King of Macedon, by whom he was protected. This led to complications between Macedon and Persia which opened the way for the conquests of Alexander the Great.

Ochus had conceived the design of conquering Egypt, which had now been independent for more than half a century. In B. C. 351 he invaded that country, but was utterly defeated and obliged to relinquish his attempt. He returned to Persia to collect a new army, and immediately all the western provinces rose in revolt. Phœnicia asserted her independence under the leadership of Sidon; nine native kingdoms were set up in Cyprus, and in Asia Minor a dozen petty chiefs endeavored to establish as many independent monarchies. Ochus was not disheartened by these dangers. He assigned to his satraps the task of quelling the minor revolts, while at the head of a large army, commanded by Greek generals and containing a band of 10,000 Greek mercenaries, he marched in B. C. 346 to punish Phœnicia and conquer Egypt. Sidon was besieged, and taken partly by force and partly by treachery—4,000 of its Greek defenders, under Mentor, deserting to the Persians, with whom they took service. The rest of Phœnicia then submitted, and Ochus invaded Egypt, conquered it, and placed it once more under a Persian satrap. Notwithstanding the fact that these successes were due chiefly to the skill of the Greek generals and the courage of the Greek mercenaries employed by Ochus, it seemed that he was about to raise Persia once more to a position of real strength and glory. His savage cruelties, however, had made him implacable enemies in his own court, and in B. C. 338 he was assassinated by his prime minister, the eunuch Bagoas.

Bagoas destroyed all the children of Ochus but Arses, a mere boy, and him he placed on the throne, retaining the govern-

ment in his own hands. In B. C. 336 he became alarmed by some threats which Arses had uttered, and put him to death. He did not dare to assume the crown himself, as such a step would have been resented by the whole empire, but conferred it upon Codomannus, who is said to have been a grandson of Darius II., and who ascended the throne as Darius III. The first act of the new king was to cause the execution of Bagoas, B. C. 334.

Darius III. was personally the best sovereign that ever sat on the Persian throne, but he did not possess the ability requisite to the task of preserving his empire against the dangers which burst upon it with the commencement of his reign. Before he mounted the throne the Macedonian war had begun. Since the battle of Marathon this final struggle between Greece and Persia had been inevitable; but Persian gold had been able until now to postpone it. Darius did not properly estimate the danger which threatened him, and seems to have despised the young and inexperienced King of Macedon. Had he been sufficiently impressed with the gravity of the crisis, it is likely that Alexander's genius would have conquered him in the end; but, as it was, his carelessness greatly simplified the task of the conqueror. He gathered a large force in Mysia to oppose the Macedonians, and sent a powerful fleet to the Hellespont, which should have prevented the passage of that strait by the Greeks. This plain duty was not performed, however. Alexander was suffered to cross unopposed in the spring of B. C. 334, and to plant his army of 35,000 men on the shore of Asia. Memnon, a Rhodian general in the Persian service, advised Darius to decline battle in Asia, to cross the Ægean with his whole force and invade Macedonia, and thus compel the withdrawal of Alexander. The plan was rejected, however, and the Persians decided to dispute the advance of the Greeks in Asia Minor. A battle was fought on the Granicus, in which the Persians were defeated and thrown on the defensive, and Asia Minor passed into the hands of the conqueror. Darius now assembled two new armies, and in the spring of B. C. 333

made another attempt to stay the progress of Alexander. He attacked the Greeks at Issus, and met with a crushing defeat. His army was routed, and he himself was obliged to fly for his life. His wife, mother, and children were made prisoners, and were treated with the greatest kindness by the conqueror.

Having driven Darius out of Asia Minor, Alexander in the next two years conquered and annexed to his empire Phœnicia, Egypt, and Syria, and then marched to the Euphrates to complete his conquest of the Persian dominions. Darius had collected the entire force of his empire, and now prepared to stake everything upon the issue of a single conflict. The two armies encountered each other near Arbela, in the great Assyrian plain east of the Tigris. The Persians were defeated and put to flight, and Darius fled to the city of Arbela, about twenty miles distant from the battle-field. Here he was seized by his generals, who formed the plan of delivering him to Alexander and thereby advancing their own fortunes. They loaded him with chains, and compelled him to accompany them in their retreat beyond Arbela. They were pursued so hotly by the Macedonians that their escape was prevented. Thus hemmed in, they basely turned upon the king, wounded him mortally, and left him by the roadside to die. A Macedonian soldier discovered the dying king, and in response to his appeal, brought him a cup of water. Darius thanked his generous enemy, and told him that his inability to reward him for his kindness added bitterness to his dying hour. He commended him to the notice of Alexander, who he said was magnanimous enough to grant his dying request, and expired. Alexander arrived shortly after his death, and, deeply moved, covered the body of Darius with his own mantle, and ordered it to be buried at Pasargadæ with royal honors. He also provided for the fitting education of the children of Darius.

The battle of Arbela sealed the fate of the Persian empire. The provinces were speedily reduced by Alexander and added to his own dominions.

BOOK X.

THE HISTORY OF CARTHAGE.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE FOUNDATION OF CARTHAGE TO THE WARS WITH ROME.

Carthage Founded by Dido—Situation of the City—Early History Uncertain—Gradual Growth of Carthage—Extent of its Territory—Its Authority Extended Over the African Tribes—Defects in the Carthaginian System—Carthaginian Colonies—The Military and Naval Forces of the Republic—The Revenue—Commerce—Character of the Republic—The System of Government—Religion—Efforts to Conquer Sicily—Wars in Africa—Renewed Attempt to Conquer Sicily—Wars with Syracuse—The Syracusans Invade the Carthaginian Home Territory—Appearance of Rome in Carthaginian Affairs.

THE story of the flight of Dido and the aristocratic party from Tyre has been told in our account of the history of Phœnicia. The course of the fugitives was directed to the African coast, upon which several Phœnician colonies had already been founded, such as Utica, Hadrumetum, etc. The site chosen for the new colony was the head of a peninsula projecting eastward into the Gulf of Tunis, on the tenth meridian of longitude, and connected with the mainland by an isthmus or neck about three miles in breadth. The spot offered two excellent landlocked harbors, and the narrow neck could be easily defended against attack from the mainland. The good-will of the natives, who understood the benefits of commerce, was easily won, and the colonists agreed to pay a fixed annual rent for the land on which their city was to be erected. Thus Carthage was founded, B. C. 869.

The growth of the colony was at first slow, but by degrees it became a place of importance. For two centuries its history is vague and uncertain. The ninth, eighth, and seventh centuries before the Christian era were passed in this gradual growth, and in extending its power over the mainland. When the definite history of Carthage commences in the sixth century before Christ, the city emerges from the gloom that enshrouds it until then, a strong, handsome and flourishing metropolis, exercising an

acknowledged supremacy over the northern coast of Africa from the Pillars of Hercules to the territory of Cyréné, and from the sea to Lake Triton on the south.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to trace the successive steps by which this growth and power were accomplished. It seems that from the very period of its foundation, Carthage aimed at establishing an empire on land as well as over the sea. Its first efforts were to win over the nomadic tribes on the neighboring mainland to agricultural pursuits; and this accomplished, Carthaginian colonies were scattered thickly among them, and intermarriages between the colonists and the natives were encouraged. Thus a mixed race sprang up along the coast to the south and southwest, which yielded a ready and hearty submission to Carthage, and adopted the language and habits of the people of that city. Beyond the line of these settlements were a number of native African tribes, some of which were induced to adopt agricultural pursuits. The majority, however, clung to their old nomadic life. These tribes occupied a position similar to that of the Arabs in modern Algeria—they were held in a subjection so loose as to be merely nominal, but still were regarded as, in a certain sense, Carthaginian subjects, and it is believed that they contributed to the resources of the state. The territory of Carthage proper was regarded as extending as far to the south as Lake Triton, and to the west as far as the river Tusca, which separated Zeugitana from Numidia. It was almost identical with the modern province of Tunis.

These limits did not satisfy the Carthaginians, however, and as soon as they were able, they proceeded to establish their supremacy over the regions to the eastward and westward of it, and, as has been stated, succeeded in making their authority recognized between the Tusca and the Pillars of Hercules, and between Lake Triton and Cyréné.

At the time of the founding of Carthage, several Phœnician colonies were in existence along the coast of the region which after-

wards became Carthaginian territory. The most difficult task of the new city was to establish her supremacy over these. In strict truth these cities never entirely surrendered their independence, and as concerns them Carthage must be regarded as occupying much the position originally held by Tyre with respect to the Phœnician cities—that of the chief of a confederacy. She was stronger from the first than either Utica, Hadrumetum, Leptis Magna, or the other Phœnician colonies, and when her power was fairly established none of them were able to resist it, or to exercise any check upon her policy. Still, the fact that she did not possess absolute sovereignty over so many places, all within her limits, was an element of weakness, which, in the end, weighed terribly against her.

This lack of complete unity at home did not prevent Carthage from seeking to extend her authority and influence beyond her own limits. She succeeded in establishing her influence over the western part of Sicily at a very early day. Sardinia next claimed her attention, and was conquered after several bloody wars, near the close of the sixth century B. C. About the same time, or perhaps earlier, the Balearic islands, Majorca, Minorca, and Ivica were occupied by Carthaginian colonies. Somewhat later colonies were established in Corsica and Spain, and the islands of Madeira, and the Canaries, Malta, Gaulos (Gozo), and Cercina were conquered. "By the close of the sixth century B. C., Carthaginian power extended from the greater Syrtis to the Fortunate Islands, and from Corsica to the flanks of Atlas." Between each of the colonies thus established and the parent state an enterprising trade sprang up, and was carefully fostered by the home government, which was thus enriched from every quarter.

The conquests of Carthage were effected in a great degree by the employment of mercenary troops. A large, disciplined force of native troops was maintained as the nucleus of the Carthaginian army, but foreign troops in great numbers were hired from the Numidians and Mauritanians and other independent African nations, and from the Iberians of Spain, the Celts of Gaul, and the Ligurians of northern Italy. The exact time at which the employment of mercenaries became the policy of the state is not known; but it seems to have been well established as early as B. C. 480.

Carthage also maintained a powerful

navy. This was a necessity, as the republic was compelled from the first to protect its commerce from the pirates who swarmed in the Mediterranean. The rowers of the fleet were mainly slaves, bought or bred for the purpose by the state; but the officers were native Carthaginians. Both the army and navy were carefully fostered, as upon them the power of the republic depended. Their support required, on the part of the state, a large, steady, and assured revenue. This revenue was derived partly from the state property—especially the mines in Spain and other colonies; partly from tribute paid by the subordinate cities (such as Utica, Hadrumetum, etc.), by the Liby-Phœnices, by the dependent African nomads, and by the colonies (such as Sardinia, Sicily, etc.); and partly from the customs which were rigorously enforced in all parts of the Carthaginian dominions. The tribute varied according to the needs of the state; sometimes amounting to one-half of the income of those from whom it was exacted.

Although ambitious of extending her limits, the conquests of Carthage were based upon the sound policy of acquiring no more territory than she could defend, and she kept within this wise moderation, although the whole African continent offered her a field for the exercise of her ambition. Even in Spain, at a later day, no extensive scheme of conquest was attempted until she was driven into it by the strategical necessities of her struggles with the Romans. "A commercial and maritime nation soon perceives the fact that there are no safer and more advantageous possessions than islands. The most striking historical examples prove that large continents cannot be guarded by fleets alone, as even if all the ports are closed or blockaded, ample supplies can be drawn from the inland districts. Carthage early adopted this policy; and, even at the period of its greatest prosperity, restricted its possessions beyond its natural territory almost exclusively to islands. There, they had no rivalry to fear, their own maritime superiority secured their dominion, and trade could be carried on almost unperceived and without risk, in an age when as yet there was no great rival maritime power. . . . The western part of the Mediterranean, filled with large and small islands, was an open field to them, and in harmony with both their position and resources."

The commerce of Carthage is known to have been large, but its extent is uncertain. "There can be little doubt," says Rawlinson, "that it reached, at any rate, to the following places: in the north, Cornwall and the Scilly islands; in the east, Phœnicia; towards the west, Madeira, the Canaries, and the coast of Guinea; towards the south, Fezzan." By means of this traffic Carthage obtained the commodities she most needed, such as wine, oil, dates, salt, fish, silphium, gold, tin, lead, ivory, precious stones, and slaves. In exchange for these she exported her own manufactures—textile fabrics, hardware, pottery, ornaments for the person, harness for horses, tools, etc. This commerce "was also, to a considerable extent, a carrying trade, whereby Carthage enabled the nations of western Europe, western Asia, and the interior of Africa, to obtain respectively each other's products. It was in part a land, in part a sea, traffic. While the Carthaginian merchants scoured the sea in all directions in their trading vessels, caravans directed by Carthaginian enterprise penetrated the Great Desert, and brought to Carthage from the south and southeast the products of those far-off regions. Egypt, upper Cyrêné, the Oases of the Sahara, Fezzan, perhaps Ethiopia and Bornou, carried on in this way a traffic with the great commercial emporium. By the sea her commerce was especially with Tyre, with her own colonies, with the nations of the western Mediterranean, with the tribes of the African coast from the Pillars of Hercules to the Bight of Benin, and with the remote barbarians of southwestern Albion."

The government of Carthage was always an aristocratic republic. The supreme power was lodged in the hands of the native Carthaginians residing in or about the city of Carthage, and unqualified obedience to all the orders of the home government was exacted of the provinces. The chief distinction which divided class from class in Carthage was wealth. All Carthaginians were eligible to office, but as none of the offices were salaried, it followed that no poor man could afford to be an officeholder. Consequently the political power fell entirely into the hands of the rich, who alone had the time and the money to devote themselves to public affairs. Public opinion was strongly against the elevation of a poor man to office.

At the head of the state were two suffetes,

or judges, who, in the earlier times, were the military leaders of the nation; but whose office gradually came to be regarded as exclusively civil, and in no sense military. The suffetes were chosen by the citizens from certain families, which had an exclusive claim to the dignity, and are believed to have held office for life. Next followed the Council, which consisted of several hundred members. From this body almost all the officers of the government were taken, such as the Senate of One Hundred, a select committee of the Council, which directed all its proceedings; and the Pentarchies, or commissions of five members each, which were charged with the management of the various departments of state, and which appointed the members of the Senate. "The Council of One Hundred (or, with the two suffetes and the two high priests, 104) Judges, a high court of judicature elected by the people, was the most popular element in the constitution; but even its members were practically chosen from the upper classes, and their power was used rather to check the excessive ambition of individual members of the aristocracy than to augment the civil rights or improve the social condition of the people. The people, however, were contented. They generally elected the suffetes under certain restrictions, and the generals freely; they probably filled up vacancies in the Great Council; and in cases where the suffetes and the council differed, they discussed and determined political measures. Questions of peace and war, treaties and the like, were frequently, though not necessarily, brought before them; and the aristocratical character of the constitution was maintained by the weight of popular opinion, which was in favor of power resting with the rich. Through the openings which trade gave to enterprise any one might become rich; and extreme poverty was almost unknown, since no sooner did it appear than it was relieved by the planting of colonies and the allotment of waste lands to all who applied for them."

The religion of the Carthaginians was the same as that of the Phœnicians. All the worst features of the Phœnician faith were adopted, and after the Roman conquest stern measures were necessary to compel their discontinuance, particularly to repress the practice of human sacrifices to Baal.

The first object of the ambition of Carthage, after she had become strong enough

to attempt a foreign policy, was to obtain possession of the island of Sicily. Settlements were made in the western corner of the island, and though the Carthaginians must have cherished, at a very early day, the design of expelling the Greek settlers from Sicily when they became strong enough to do so, they made no effort in that direction until the fifth century B. C. When the invasion of Greece by Xerxes had occupied the attention of the entire Hellenic race, Carthage believed that the hour had come to attempt the conquest of the Greek cities of Sicily, which could not hope for aid from the mother country at such a time. A large army, under Hamilcar, the son of Mago, was sent to attempt the conquest, but was defeated by Gelo at Himera, and Carthage was obliged to abandon the undertaking and consent to an ignominious peace, B. C. 480.

Carthage now turned her arms against the native Libyan tribes, reduced them to a state of dependence upon her, and put a stop to the tribute she had until now paid them as an acknowledgment that the ground on which the city stood was Libyan territory. Some advantages were gained in a war with the Greek city of Cyréné. The commanders in these successful expeditions were Hannibal, Hasdrubal, and Sappho, grandsons of Mago and nephews of Hamilcar. Fearful that the successes of this family might be used to the disadvantage of the state, the Carthaginians established the Council of One Hundred, before whom every general was obliged to appear on his return from an expedition, and render an account of his acts.

In B. C. 409, seventy years after their first failure in Sicily, the Carthaginians again invaded that island, invited this time by the city of Eggesta to assist her in her contest with Selinus. A large fleet and army, under Hannibal, the grandson of Hamilcar, comprised the expedition. The Greeks were defeated in several battles, Selinus and Himera were destroyed, and the Carthaginians returned home in triumph.

These successes induced the Carthaginians to put forth all their strength in the effort to conquer Sicily. Their wars for this purpose occupied the whole of the fourth century before the Christian era. In B. C. 405 Hannibal and Himilco invaded Sicily with a strong force, and captured Agrigentum, Gela, and Camarina. Diony-

sus, King of Syracuse, alarmed at the progress of the Carthaginians, made peace with the invaders, and so checked their advance for a time. Feeling himself strong enough to cope with them, Dionysius, in B. C. 397, broke the treaty, and, by a series of rapid movements, recovered his lost cities and took the town of Moyta. The next year Himilco was sent to Sicily by the Carthaginian government, and regained Moyta and captured Messene. In the same year (B. C. 396) Mago, the commander of the Carthaginian fleet, gained a great victory over the Sicilians off Catana. The combined Carthaginian forces now laid siege to Syracuse. In B. C. 395 a frightful pestilence scourged the Carthaginian army. Himilco, disheartened by this affliction and by his failure to take the city, abandoned his army and committed suicide; and the Syracusans, sallying out, destroyed the wreck of the Carthaginian force. Himilco was succeeded by Mago, but the war lagged, and in B. C. 393 peace was made with Syracuse. In B. C. 383 and 368, Dionysius endeavored to expel the Carthaginians from the island, but was each time defeated and compelled to sue for peace.

The war was renewed in B. C. 346, when Carthage, taking advantage of the internal troubles of Syracuse which followed the death of Dionysius I., endeavored to extend her power over all Sicily. The effort was defeated, and Carthage was compelled to make peace in B. C. 340.

In B. C. 311, Agathocles, King of Syracuse, began a war upon the Carthaginians in Sicily. He was defeated by Hamilcar at the Himera, B. C. 310, and the successful general at once laid siege to Syracuse. Agathocles endeavored to relieve his capital by suddenly transferring the war to Africa. He sailed for that continent with the larger part of his army, leaving his kingdom in charge of his son; and, landing near Carthage, attacked the home territory of the republic. For a while he was successful, through the treachery of the Carthaginian general, Bomilcar, but was at length compelled to withdraw from Africa and return to Syracuse, where his son had already sustained two defeats. The king himself was badly beaten in an engagement after his return, and was obliged to make peace B. C. 304.

These wars cost Carthage large numbers of men and immense sums of money, and accomplished nothing for her. The repub-

tic barely held its original possessions in Sicily, about one-third of that island. Whenever the Carthaginians had met the Greeks on anything like equal terms they had been defeated. This was a valuable lesson to Carthage, which was taught also that her own territory was liable to invasion, and that her African subjects were as likely to aid the invaders as to remain faithful to her.

Carthage, in spite of these lessons, held to her designs upon Sicily. Agathocles died in B. C. 289, and from that time the Hellenic power in Sicily began to wane. Carthage renewed the war, seized Agrigentum, occupied all the southern part of the

island, and threatened Syracuse. The Syracusans now summoned Pyrrhus to their aid. That king at once sailed for Syracuse, relieved the city, and compelled the Carthaginians to retire southward, B. C. 279. He had reduced them to great straits, when his sudden return to Italy changed the fortune of the war. Peace was made upon favorable terms between Carthage and Hiero, the Syracusan king.

A new power—Rome—now appeared upon the scene. From this time the history of Carthage is so closely connected with that of Rome, that we shall suspend the narrative here, and resume it in our account of the history of Rome.

BOOK XI.

THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

CHAPTER I.

THE HEROIC AGE.

ituation of Greece—Description of the Country—Its Physical Characteristics—Mountainous Character—Influence of this upon the Greeks—The Political Divisions of Greece—The Greek Islands—Early History of Greece Uncertain—The Primitive Inhabitants—The Pelasgi—The Heroic Age—The Three Greatest Heroes of this Period—The Cities—Introduction of Letters into Greece—The Trojan War—Dr. Schlieman's Discoveries—Social and Political Constitution of Greece during the Heroic Age—Migrations of the Greek Tribes—The Return of the Heraclidæ—Colonization of the Islands of the Ægean and the Shores of Asia Minor—Religion of the Greeks—A Brief Account of their System—The Eleusinian Mysteries—The Oracles—Gradual Growth of the New Civilization of Greece—Growth and Political Character of the City—The Greek Love of Independence—Its Consequences—Common Ties of the Greek States.

GREECE, or, as it was anciently called, Hellas, occupied the southern part of the eastern peninsula of the continent of Europe. Its greatest length, from Mount Olympus, on the north, to Cape Tænarum, on the south, is about 250 miles, and its greatest breadth from east to west about 180 miles. Its superficial extent has been estimated at 35,000 square miles. Continental Greece is bounded on the north by the Cambunian range, on the east by the Ægean Sea, on the south by the Mediterranean, and on the west by the Ionian Gulf or Adriatic Sea.

The most distinctive geographical features of Greece are the number of its mountains and the great extent of its sea-coast, which is broken by numerous deep bays. The sea is tideless and is studded with beautiful and fertile littoral islands. Communication between the various parts of the country is thus rendered easy by water. The climate of Greece is mild, the soil fertile, and the country is admirably adapted to the maintenance of a large and active population. The numerous islands of the Mediterranean render the navigation of that sea easy, and lie like so many stepping-stones between Greece and the coast of Asia Minor and the Black Sea. The peninsula of Italy is only thirty miles distant from the west coast of Greece. The Grecian peninsula is divided into three distinct portions by the long gulfs which indent its shores. The Ambracian and Malian Gulfs separate northern from central Greece, and central Greece is separated from southern Greece or the Peloponnesus by the Corinthian and Saronic Gulfs.

The peninsula is deeply ridged by ranges of mountains which divide it into a number of distinct regions admirably adapted to the existence of independent communities or states. This mountainous character not only preserved the country from successful invasion by foreigners, but made it very hard for one Grecian state to subdue an-

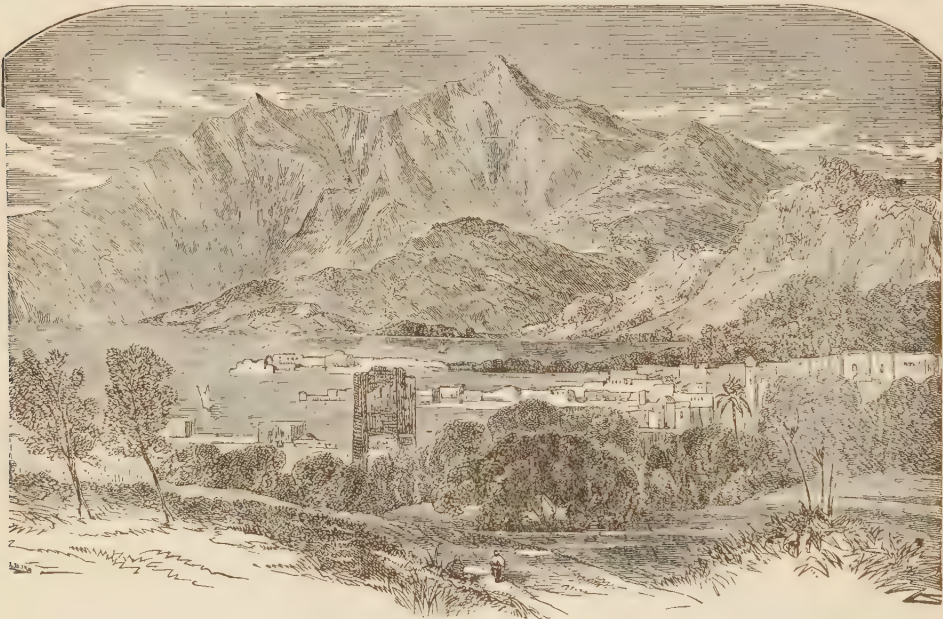
other. The mountains rendered the internal communications difficult, and the few mountain passes could be held by a handful of men against an army. At the same time the sea afforded unusual facilities for peaceful and friendly intercourse. Thus the Greeks united the two usually opposite characters of mountaineers and mariners; exhibiting the sturdy love of freedom of the one and the hardy daring of the other.

The chief products of ancient Greece were wheat, barley, flax, wine, and oil. Cattle and flocks were raised in large numbers, the hills furnishing excellent pasturage. In ancient times the hills were thickly wooded; they are now bare.

of Greece. Attica, which occupied the eastern foreland of the peninsula, was the principal state. Its chief town, Athens, was the most important of all the Greek cities.

The Peloponnesus, or southern Greece, contained eleven states, viz.: Corinth, Sicyon, Achaia, Elis, Arcadia, Messenia, Laconia, Argolis, Epidauria, Trœzenia, and Hermionis. Of these Laconia, sometimes called Lacedæmon, was the most important. Its capital was the famous city of Sparta.

Besides continental Greece, ancient Hellas included a number of islands lying close to the shore and in the Mediterranean. The largest of the littoral islands was Eubœa,



SCENE ON THE GREEK COAST.

Although only about the size of the State of Maine, continental Greece contained twenty-four different states or countries, each of which was independent of the other. Northern Greece contained two principal countries, Thessaly and Epirus. To the north of these lay Macedonia, whose kings claimed to be of Hellenic descent, but which was not regarded as a part of Greece until a very late period.

Central Greece contained eleven countries, viz.: Acarnania, Ætolia, western Locris, Æniana, Doris, Malis, eastern Locris, Phocis, Boeotia, Attica, and Megaris. The general character of the region was mountainous, and it was less fertile than the rest

of the eastern coast. It was 100 miles in length. Corcyra, off the western coast, was an important island, about forty miles in length; and Crete, off the southern coast, was 150 miles in length. Besides these were the Cyclades and Sporades, lying in the Ægean, like stepping-stones between Greece and Asia Minor. The name of Hellas was also applied to the Greek settlements on the neighboring shores of Europe and Asia; in short, to all places where the Greeks obtained a foothold.

The early history of Greece is so completely enshrouded in fable as to be actually unknown. The Greeks themselves believed they were descended from Hellen, the son

of Deucalion and Pyrrha. Hence they called themselves Hellenes and their country Hellas. The names Greece and Greeks were not known to them, but originated with the Romans, who applied them to the eastern peninsula of Europe and its inhabitants. The Greeks of historical times had no knowledge of a migration of their ancestors from Asia, but believed them to have always been in the country, though they were not always called Hellenes.

It is certain that the original inhabitants of the country were a branch of the great Indo-European race, all the branches of which were, as has been stated elsewhere, originally one people, inhabiting the high table land of central Asia. At some remote period the ancestors of the historic Greeks moved westward, entered Europe, and settled in the peninsula. In the earliest times Greece was occupied by a race known as the Pelasgi, which was divided into several branches, known as the Hellenes, Leleges, Caucones and others. The Pelasgi are represented as having attained a certain degree of civilization. They dwelt in walled towns, and cultivated the ground. Their worship consisted of the adoration of Jove, the national god of the later Greeks. His principal altar was at Dodona in Epirus, and the oracle at this place was always considered the most ancient in Greece. In process of time the other tribes were either driven out or absorbed by the Hellenes. The Hellenic dialect of the Pelasgic tongue became the language of Greece, and the worship of the Dodonæan Jove gave place to that of the Olympian Jove, who was substantially the same as the more ancient god.

This period is known as the *Heroic Age*. In later times it formed the theme of the poets. Its people were believed to be a race midway between the gods and men, and, though not divine, superior to the men of later times in greatness of soul and physical strength. The exploits and adventures of

these heroes belong to mythology, and we must necessarily pass them by in this narrative. The three which possessed the strongest hold on the popular imagination were Hercules, the great national hero; Theseus, whom the Greeks regarded as the civilizer and first monarch of Attica, and the founder of constitutional government; and Minos, King of Crete, the first great lawgiver.

The Greeks acknowledged themselves indebted to some extent to foreigners for their civilization, but there can be no doubt that, with the exception of the introduction of the use of letters, Greek civilization was a product of the soil, the result of the peculiar genius of the people. The ancient Greeks believed that Athens was founded and its religious rites established by Cecrops, a na-



SITE OF TROY.

tive of Sais in Egypt. Modern authorities regard Cecrops as a Pelasgian hero. Argos was believed to have been founded by Danaus, an Egyptian, who was said to have fled to Greece with his fifty daughters to escape the persecution of their suitors. This is evidently a fable. Cadmus, a Phœnician, was regarded as the founder of Thebes, in Bœotia, and as the first to introduce the use of letters into Greece. Modern historians accept this belief as true in the main. Whether there was such a person as the Phœnician Cadmus, and whether he built the town of Cadmea, which afterwards became the citadel of Thebes, cannot now be determined; but it is certain that the Phœnicians established colonies in the Greek islands at a very early period, and there is reason to believe that they also

made settlements on the mainland. Above all, it is certain that the Greek letters were derived from the Phœnician, both in name and in form; a fact which proves incontestably a very ancient intercourse between Greece and Phœnicia.

To the mythical period of Greece belong the stories of the war of the seven against Thebes, the Epigoni, and the siege of Troy, the last of which was the final and greatest undertaking of the Heroic Age, and is related in the poems of Homer, the great national poet of Greece. According to the legend, Paris, the son of Priam, King of Troy, in Asia Minor, having been entertained by Menelaus, King of Sparta, betrayed his hospitality by eloping with his wife, the beautiful Helen. The Greek princes, resenting the insult offered to Menelaus, assembled their forces, crossed the Ægean with nearly 1,200 ships, and laid siege to Troy. The expedition was commanded by Agamemnon, King of Mycenæ. All the heroes of Hellas were represented in the expedition, and a siege of ten years followed, which resulted in the capture and destruction of Troy. In the narrative of Homer the gods take part in the war, espousing the sides of their respective favorites. Modern historians have doubted even the existence of such a city as Troy, and the story of a war against it receives little favor from them. Of late years, however, some remarkable discoveries have been made, which may perhaps do something towards settling this much disputed question. Dr. Schlieman has conducted a series of extensive explorations upon the alleged site of ancient Troy, and has laid bare the foundations of a city dating evidently about 1,400 or 1,500 years before the Christian era. These ruins lie from twenty-three to thirty-three feet below the surface of the country, and bear marks of a severe conflagration. Many articles of household use, arms, ornaments, etc., have been recovered by Dr. Schlieman. It seems certain that the fact of the existence of an ancient city on the site assigned by Homer to Troy has been thus proved beyond question; and that the ancient city to which the ruins belonged was destroyed by fire seems equally sure; but it has not yet been conclusively shown that this city was Troy.

The social and political state of Greece during the Heroic Age is described by Homer with great exactness. The country was divided into a number of independent

states, each governed by its own king. The authority of the monarch was patriarchal rather than regal. He was responsible only to Jove for the exercise of his power, since he claimed descent from the gods themselves, and received his authority from them. In war he was the sole commander of his people; in peace he was their judge and priest, administering justice among them and offering prayers and sacrifices for them to the gods. Though his authority was acknowledged, the people required of him a personal superiority over them as the condition of his rule. He must exhibit personal courage in war, wisdom in council, and eloquence in debate. As long as he manifested these high qualities, his right to rule was conceded, and he was obeyed by all; even his caprices and violence were submitted to. His authority began to decline when he showed weakness of body or mind.

The Greeks of this period were divided into three classes—nobles, common freemen, and slaves. The nobles, like the king, traced their descent from the gods. They were very powerful and wealthy, possessing large estates and many slaves. They were the leaders of the people in war. Indeed, judging from the pictures given us by Homer, these chiefs really did the fighting, the common soldiers being often mere spectators in the crisis of many a battle. The freemen seem to have possessed lands of their own, which they cultivated themselves. A poorer class, who were not land-owners, appear to have worked on the lands of others for hire. The seer, the bard, and the herald belonged to the class of common freemen, but their attainments raised them above their fellows, and secured them the respect of the nobles. To this list may be added the carpenter and the smith, for as a knowledge of the mechanical arts was possessed by but few, these naturally became men of note. The slaves were the property of the nobles alone. They were not so numerous as in later times, nor were they as badly treated. Indeed a very kindly relation seems to have existed between master and slave during this period.

The family relations occupied a prominent place in the social system of primitive Greece. The paternal authority was highly revered, and nothing was so much dreaded as a father's curse. All the members of a family or clan were united by the closest ties, and were bound to avenge with their united strength an injury offered to any individual of the race. Women held a

higher position and were allowed greater liberty than in historic Greece. The station of the wife and mother was one of great dignity and influence, in spite of the fact that wives were purchased by their husbands. Hospitality was a solemn duty enjoined upon all classes. A stranger was welcomed, and given the best the house afforded before his name or his business was asked; if he came seeking protection his claim upon the host was even stronger, although to grant it might bring the latter into trouble, for Jove was believed to punish without mercy the man who turned a deaf ear to the prayer of a suppliant.

The manners of this early age were simple. Labor was honorable, and kings did not deem it beneath their dignity to engage in it. Ulysses is represented as building his own bed-chamber, and constructing his raft, and boasts of his skill in ploughing and mowing. The food of the people was simple, consisting of beef, mutton, and goat's flesh, cheese, flour bread, and sometimes fruits. Wine was used, but intemperance was unknown. The chiefs prided themselves upon being excellent cooks. The wives and daughters of the kings and nobles were employed in spinning and weaving. They also brought water from the well, and assisted their slaves in washing garments in the river.

On the other hand these ancient heroes were fierce and unrelenting in war. The stronger chief plundered and maltreated his less powerful neighbor; piracy was a reputable calling; bloodshed was common; quarter was rarely given to a fallen foe; the arms of the vanquished warrior became the spoil of the conqueror; and the naked corpse of an adversary was thrown out to the birds of prey. Homer describes Achilles as sacrificing twelve human victims on the tomb of Patroclus.

As has been said, the Greeks of this period dwelt in fortified towns which were surrounded by strong walls and adorned with palaces and temples. The houses of the nobles were magnificent and costly. They were ornamented with gold, silver, and bronze. The dress of the nobles in peace was very rich and elegant. In war they wore highly wrought armor. The Phœnicians supplied them with everything they did not produce themselves. The massive ruins of Mycenæ and Tiryns belong to this period, and afford positive evidence of the strength and splendor of the cities of

the Heroic Age. The arts of sculpture and design had made considerable progress; poetry was cultivated; but whether writing was yet known is doubtful.

The Heroic Age was brought to a close by a general movement to the southward of the tribes which constituted the immediate progenitors of the Greeks of historic times. It is possible that this movement was produced by the pressure upon north-western Greece of the Illyrian people. These entering Epirus (about B. C. 1200, as near as the date can be conjectured), brought about a general movement of the populations of northern and central Greece. The Thessalians left Thesprotia in Epirus, crossed the Pindus mountains and drove the Bœotians out of the fertile valley of the Peneus, and occupied it, giving to the country thus acquired the name of Thessaly. The Bœotians, in their turn, crossed Mounts Othrys and Cæta, and seized the plain of the Cephissus, driving out the Cadmeians and Minyæ. This region was subsequently known as Bœotia. The Cadmeians and Minyæ dispersed themselves over Attica, Lacedæmon, and the neighboring states. About the same time, the Dorians, moving from their old home in the north, conquered Dryopis, the narrow valley between Cæta and Parnassus, which was subsequently known as Doris. The Dryopians fled by sea, and settled in Eubœa, Cythnus, and the Peloponnesus.

Not many years later, another, and apparently a distinct, movement took place. The Dorians found the narrow valley in which they had settled too small for them, and formed an alliance with the Ætolians. These tribes crossed the Corinthian Gulf at its narrowest point, between Rhium and Antirrhium, and effected a lodgment in the Peloponnesus, from which they successively conquered Elis, Messenia, Laconia, and Argolis. The previous Achæan inhabitants in part submitted, and in part moved northward and conquered the north coast of the Peloponnesus, the Ionian inhabitants of which found a temporary refuge in Attica. Elis was assigned to the Ætolians, and the Dorians set up kingdoms of their own in the other countries. The conquest of the Peloponnesus by the Dorians is known as the return of the Heraclidæ, from the claim of the Dorians that they were regaining the possessions of their great ancestor Hercules, who had been expelled from the southern peninsula a century before

These migrations and conquests led to a still further movement of the Greeks. Finding their continental possessions too small for them, certain of the tribes moved into the islands of the Mediterranean and to the shores of Asia Minor. The conquest of the plain of the Cephissus by the Bœotians led to the colonization of the island of Lesbos, and to the first and most northern of the Greek settlements in Asia Minor, between the Hermus and the Hellespont. The Ionians, driven from the north coast of the Peloponnesus, after a brief sojourn in Attica, passed on to the Cyclades, and thence to Chios and Samos, and the Asiatic shores directly opposite, between the Hermus and the Meander. The Achæans, after their expulsion from the Peloponnesus by the Dorians, emigrated in part to Italy, but principally, under Doric leaders, to the islands of Cos and Rhodes and the southwest coast of Asia Minor. The Æolians had twelve cities on their islands and the Asiatic shore. Mitylene, or the island of Lesbos, was considered their metropolis. The Ionians had also twelve cities. These were independent of each other, but were bound by the ties of a common worship. Their chief sanctuary, dedicated to Poseidon, crowned the headland of Mycale. The Dorians had six cities, which were often called the Dorian Hexapolis. These had a common sanctuary—the temple of the Triopian Apollo.

The Greeks were essentially a religious people, and a knowledge of their religious belief is absolutely necessary to a proper understanding of their history. The following statement presents the leading features of their creed. According to the Greek mythology the world was originally a rude, chaotic mass, from which heaven, or Uranus, and earth, or Gæa, separated themselves as independent divinities. These two produced the first race of gods, known as the Uranids, or sons of heaven and earth. The powerful brood of the Titans belonged to them. The second race was ruled by Cronos. Zeus made war upon him, overthrew him, and established his own power after struggles with the Titans and giants which convulsed all nature. From the time of this victory Zeus was the supreme god, the head of the entire system, the king and father of gods and men. His throne was set up high on the summit of Mount Olympus, in Thessaly. Olympus was also the abode of the other gods. The summit

of the mountain is wrapped in clouds, and above these the Greeks placed the abode of their deities in a region of perpetual sunshine, far above and free from the storms of the lower world. A gate of clouds guarded by the goddesses of the seasons afforded communication with earth. Each god had his own dwelling, but was obliged to repair to the palace of Jove, or Zeus, when summoned. There they feasted on ambrosia and nectar, conversed upon the affairs of heaven and earth, and listened to the music of Apollo's lyre and the songs of the Muses. Zeus divided his dominions with Poseidon, to whom he yielded the command of the sea, and Pluto, to whom he confided the control of the under world, the abode of the spirits of the dead.

The Olympian council, presided over by Jove, was composed of eleven great deities, viz.: Poseidon, the god of the sea; Apollo, the sun-god, and patron of poetry, music, and eloquence; Ares, the god of war; Hephæstus, the god of fire and the useful arts; Hermes, the herald of the gods, and the patron of commerce and wealth; Hera, the great goddess of nature; Athené, the daughter of Zeus, the goddess of civilization, learning and art; Artemis, the goddess of the moon and hunting; Aphrodite, goddess of beauty and love; Hestia, goddess of domestic life; and Demeter, the goddess of bountiful harvests.

Besides these there were many other divinities, some of them of nearly equal power, as Pluto, the god of the under world; Helios, Hecate, Dionysus, Lato, Dione, Persephone, Selene, Themis, Eos, Æolus, Nemesis, the Graces, the Muses, the Moeræ or Fates, the Eumenides or Furies, the Oceanids, the Nereids, the Nymphs, and the Hours. There were other deities whose personality was more faintly conceived, such as Ate, the Litæ, Eris, Thanatos, Hypnos, Cratos, and Bia. There were also monsters, the offspring of the gods, as the Harpies, Gorgons, Grææ, Pegasus, Chrysaor, Echnida, Chimæra, Cerberus, Geryon, the Lernæan hydra, the Nemæan lion, the Centaurs, the Sirens, the Sphinx, Scylla and Charybdis. These divinities peopled the earth, the sea, and the infernal world. For an explanation of their characters and powers the reader is referred to any of the standard classical dictionaries.

Poseidon was surrounded by Amphitrite, Thetis, the Nereids, and the Tritons; the Eumenides pursued the guilty with the

pangs of remorse; Persephone ruled in Hades with Pluto; the entrance to the infernal regions was guarded by Cerberus; Minos, Æacus, and Rhadamanthus were the judges of the souls of the dead; Pan and the Fauns ruled in the fields; the Nymphs in the mountains and fountains; the Dryads and the Hama-dryads in the forests; the Muses and Graces were the inspirers of poetry and beauty; Eos, the dawn, dwelt upon the banks of ocean in a golden-gated palace, from which she issued each morning to announce the approach of her great brother Apollo, or the sun; Æolus bound the winds in caves or sent them out upon their missions; Iris was the messenger of the gods, and the rainbow the bridge over which she passed when sent upon her journeys; Dionysus was the patron of the vine, and his rites were celebrated with the wildest frenzy; Nemesis was the divine justice acting in punishment of crime.

The great principle of the Greek religion was obedience to a moral ruler of the world, who was ever present, and who exercised an unceasing and active influence upon human affairs. This obedience and reverence extends to thoughts and words as well as deeds. In the Heroic Age sacrifices were offered as expressions of gratitude or to gain the favor of the gods. It was thought impossible for a guilty person to avert the torments of the Eumenides. At a later period the sacrifices assumed an expiatory character, and it was held that the divine anger could be averted and the stain of sin removed by sacrifices.

Among the most sacred rites were the Eleusinian mysteries, or ceremonies performed in secret at Eleusis in honor of Demeter and Persephone. They were attended only by those who had been regularly initiated into them. It was a crime to speak of them to the uninitiated. Those who engaged in them were regarded as being under the special protection of the gods.

The will of the gods was made known by means of oracles. The oldest of these was the oracle of Zeus, at Dodona, in Epirus. The god was believed to speak in the rustling of the leaves of the sacred oaks, and his utterances were interpreted by priests or priestesses. Apollo, however, was the chief spokesman of the gods. He had twenty-two oracles in Greece and the Greek colonies in Asia Minor. The most famous of these was located at Delphi, in Phocis.

Here there was a temple dedicated to Apollo, containing his golden statue and a perpetual fire of fir wood. A crevice in the centre of the floor was supposed to emit a peculiar gas, believed to be the breath of the god. In seeking to learn the will of the god, the priestess, or Pythia, seated herself over this crevice, and the fumes of the vapor were supposed to inspire her. When properly exalted, she gave utterance to the response of Apollo in hexameter verses. The words of the oracle were taken down by the attendant priests, and were frequently so confused or obscure that their meaning could not be understood. The Delphian oracle was consulted not only by the Greeks, but by the Lydians, Phrygians, and even the Romans.

From the close of the Heroic Age to the period of the First Olympiad the chronological history of Greece is very uncertain, and at the best we have but a general idea of the course of events during this long interval. The first thing to which our atten-



SILVER COIN OF MITYLENE.

tion is directed is the effect upon the country of the migrations which have been described. The immediate result was to check the progress of civilization in Greece. The races which took possession of the country were stronger and rougher than the weak and polished people who were driven out, and for a time physical qualities were supreme over refinement and culture. But the new settlers of the Greek states did not rest satisfied with merely destroying the old order of affairs. In its place they laid the foundations of the hardy and adventurous nation which afterwards eclipsed the glories of the Heroic Age. "War and movement, bringing out the personal qualities of each individual man, favored the growth of self-respect and self-assertion. Amid toils and dangers which were shared alike by all, the idea of political equality took its rise. A novel and unsettled state of things stimulated political inventiveness; and, various expedients being tried, the stock of political ideas increased rapidly. The simple hereditary monarchy of the heroic times was

succeeded everywhere, except in Epirus, by some more complicated system of government—some system far more favorable to freedom and to the political education of the individual.”

To the new order of things was due also the change by which the CITY acquired its special dignity and importance. The conquerors naturally remained together in some stronghold for their mutual protection. This stronghold thus became an independent state, ruling over a certain tract of the country immediately around it. It should be borne in mind in the study of the history of Greece, that the fundamental article of the political system of the Greeks was the supreme and complete independence of each city. To his city the allegiance of the Greek was due, and to it his patriotism was confined. Hence the slight degree of national feeling which marks the history of these people. So completely was this independence recognized that a citizen of one city was an alien and a stranger in the others. The Greek cities constantly repelled each other, their object being to centre the feelings of each citizen in his own community. This exclusiveness made it difficult for them to combine in times of danger against a common foe. They were ever ready to turn their arms against each other, and, being divided, were easily overcome by the Macedonian monarchs. The exercise of authority by one city over another was repugnant to the Greeks at all periods of their known history. The dominion held by Thebes over the Bœotian cities, and by Athens over her subject allies, was submitted to with reluctance, and thrown off at the first opportunity. “Careless readers of history are tempted to suppose that the territory of Greece was divided among a comparatively small number of independent states, such as Attica, Arcadia, Bœotia, Phocis, Locris, and the like; but this is a most serious mistake, and leads to a total misapprehension of Greek history. Every city was usually an independent state, and consequently each of the territories described under the names of Arcadia,

Bœotia, Phocis, and Locris, contained numerous political communities independent of one another. Attica, it is true, formed a single state, and its different towns recognized Athens as their capital and the source of supreme power; but this is an exception to the general rule.”

Still there were ties which bound the Greeks together. These were community of blood and language, community of religious faith and festivals, and community of manners and character. They regarded themselves as the descendants of Hellen, and called the other nations of the world barbarians, applying the term equally to the civilized Egyptians and the rude Scythians.

Their common religion and the observance of the same festivals led to the formation of associations of neighboring tribes or cities, who were accustomed to meet at certain fixed times to offer sacrifices to the god of a particular temple which was supposed to be the common property and under the common protection of all. The most celebrated of these was the Amphietyonic Council. This assembly, originally insignificant, acquired its importance because of its guardianship of the Delphian temple, the great national shrine of Greece. The date of its establishment is unknown, but it would appear to be one of the institutions which survived the Heroic Age. It met twice in the year—in the spring at the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and in the autumn at the temple of Demeter at Thermopylæ. Its members consisted of sacred delegates from twelve tribes, each of which contained several independent states or cities. The deputies of each tribe consisted of a chief called Hieromnemon and subordinates called Pylagoræ. The main duties of the council were to restrain acts of aggression against its members, and to maintain the rights and dignity of the god and his temple. They were not a national congress whose duty was to protect and defend the common interests of Greece, and their powers were employed for political purposes only when they could be made to serve the ends of some of the more ambitious Grecian states.





GEORGE I, King of Greece.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY HISTORY—TO THE FIRST OLYMPIAD.

Growth of Argos—The Dorian Colonization—Rise of Sparta—War with Amyclæ—Early History of Athens—The Death of Codrus—Royalty Abolished—The Rule of Archons Established—The Annual Archons—The First Certain Date in Athenian History—Steady Growth of Sparta—Division of the People into Classes—The Helots—The Laws of Lycurgus—Training of a Spartan Citizen—Voluntary Exile of Lycurgus—The Poet Homer—His Influence upon Grecian History—Prosperity of Argos—The First Messenian War—The Olympic Games Revived—Their Character—The First Olympiad.

THE first state which attained to political importance after the close of the Heroic Period was Argos. Tradition asserts that it was from Argos that the Dorian colonists went out to settle Epidaurus, Trœzen, Phlius, Sicyon, and Corinth. From Epidaurus the Dorians, according to the tradition, colonized Ægina and Epidaurus Limera; and Megara from Corinth. Over these colonies Argos held a protectorate. For several centuries she was the leading state of the Peloponnesus. She never forgot this fact, and it never ceased to exercise a powerful influence upon her history.

The early history of Sparta is marked by the efforts of the Dorian conquerors to extend their power. They were confined at first to the upper part of the valley between the Taygetus and Parnon ranges, a tract about twenty-five miles long by about twenty broad. The Achæans held the lower valley, having their capital, Amyclæ, on the Eurotas, about two miles south of Sparta. For three centuries there was perpetual war between Sparta and Amyclæ, but the former made no progress to the southward. The powerful fortifications of Amyclæa held the Spartans in check, and baffled all their efforts to extend their territory. Sparta then endeavored to reduce Arcadia, but without success. She even went so far as to pick quarrels with Messenia and Argos, which led to unimportant wars.

The early history of Athens commences with a kingly period. From about B. C. 1300 to B. C. 1050, Attica was governed by absolute monarchs. The last of these was Codrus, who, according to the tradition, fell in resisting an invasion of the Dorians, who attacked Attica from the newly-conquered Peloponnesus. During this period

the people were divided into four tribes: Teleontes (or Geleontes), Hopletes, Ægico-reis, and Argadeis. These were subdivided into two branches: 1st. Brotherhoods and clans. 2d. Thirdlings and Naucraries. The former division was based upon consanguinity; the latter was an artificial arrangement of the state for purposes of taxation and military service. Three classes of citizens were recognized: nobles, farmers, and artisans. The first possessed all the political power, and enjoyed the sole right of filling the public offices. The senate, or Council of Areopagus, which held its sittings on Mars Hill, was drawn from this class. It is possible that the farmers and artisans may have had the right to attend and express dissent in the agora.

The history of Greece during the eleventh century before Christ is uncertain. The period of certain chronology is still several centuries distant.

This century was passed by the Dorians in thoroughly establishing themselves in their conquests in the Peloponnesus. Sparta maintained her struggle against Amyclæ for the possession of the valley of the Eurotas, and was confined by the Achæans to the upper part of the valley.

Argos was the supreme power of the Peloponnesus, and her colonies were scattered through the north of this peninsula. The government of Argos was a monarchy of the heroic type. The crown was hereditary in the house of the Temenidæ, who traced their descent from Temenus, the eldest son of Aristomachus, and one of the Heraclidæ.

In Athenian history this century is believed to have witnessed the change of the form of government from royalty to the rule of archons for life. The legendary account of this change informs us that the Dorians invaded Attica soon after their settlement in the Peloponnesus. An oracle declared to them that they would conquer that country if they spared the life of the King of Athens. Codrus, the Athenian king, being informed of this, resolved to sacrifice himself for his country's safety. He entered the Dorian camp in disguise, provoked a quarrel with a soldier, and was slain. Upon learning of the death of the king, the Dorians retreated from Attica without striking a blow. The Athenians, out of respect for the memory of the royal martyr, abolished the office of king, and substituted for it that of archon for life.

This occurred about B. C. 1085. The first archon for life was Medon, the son of Codrus. He was followed by twelve of the descendants of Codrus, the dignity being confined to this family. On the death of Alcæmon, the thirteenth archon, and the last one for life, the eupatrids, or Athenian nobles, limited the archon's term of office to ten years (about B. C. 752). The dignity was still confined to the descendants of Codrus and Medon; but about B. C. 714 the office was thrown open to all the nobles in the state. In B. C. 683 the archonship was made annual, and its duties were distributed among nine persons, all of whom bore the title, but one of whom was *the* archon, and gave his name to the year. Thus the government was changed, according to the legendary account, from a royalty into an oligarchy. The political power of the state was vested exclusively in the nobles; the nine annual archons were chosen from and were directly

rents received from their tenants. 2. The *Periæci*, or free inhabitants of the country towns and villages. These were citizens in a certain sense, but had no political power. They were of mixed Doric and Achæan blood. They were spread throughout the whole country; were the possessors of the poorest lands, and were the only class engaged in trade, commerce, and handicrafts. They fought in the Spartan armies as heavy armed troops, but were not subject to the discipline by which the Spartans were trained to war. 3. The *Helots*, or slave population. They were originally of Achæan blood, but after the Messenian wars their number was increased by captives taken in battle, and they became a mixed race. They were employed in cultivating the lands of their Spartan masters, to whom they paid a fixed rent of one-half the produce. This class was slight at first, and a very kindly feeling seems to have prevailed



GRECIAN DIDRACHM.

responsible to them alone. The people had no share in the government.

The history of Athens really commences with the institution of the nine annual archons in B. C. 683. This is its first certain date.

During this period Sparta had been growing rapidly in power and importance. The Spartan government was a royalty. Two kings ruled the country together, and the monarchy was of the heroic type. The two kings acted as checks upon each other, and the result was that the royal power was so weakened that by the middle of the ninth century it had become almost insignificant.

The nation was divided into three classes. 1. The *Spartans*, about 9,000 in number, the inhabitants of the capital. These were the descendants of the Dorian conquerors, and were the nobles of the kingdom. The political power was vested exclusively in them. They were the owners of the greater part of the soil, and lived in Sparta on the

between the Helots and the Spartans. After the Messenian wars, however, the Helots became the most numerous class in the state. From this time they were regarded with fear and suspicion by their masters. They were obliged to wear a peculiar dress, and every means was adopted to degrade and weaken them. Sparta was always in dread of a revolt of the Helots. From time to time, for the purpose of reducing this class, a select number of

Spartan youths were armed by the state with daggers, and sent out to range the country in all directions, with orders to secretly assassinate such of the Helots as were considered formidable. Sometimes, on the other hand, the Helots who had distinguished themselves in war, in which they were obliged to participate as light-armed troops, were given their freedom by the state. These constituted a distinct class known as the *Neodamodes*, or "the newly enfranchised."

The growing weakness of the crown so alarmed the Spartans that they became convinced of the necessity of a change in their political system. About B. C. 850, Lycurgus, a member of the royal family, but not in the direct line of succession, who had spent many years in travelling in foreign lands and observing their institutions, prepared a code of laws which provided for the government of the state and the proper training of the citizens. His reforms extended to every branch of the political and

social life of the Spartans, and were carried out only after a severe opposition.

The main object of Lycurgus was to retain the control of the state in the hands of the Spartans. This class, but 9,000 in number, could maintain its authority only by force, and the supreme effort of the legislator was to bind them into a compact and harmonious body by the closest ties, and to train them in such habits of bravery, endurance, and military subordination, that they should always be prepared to maintain their ascendancy as they had won it, by the sword. He subjected them to a discipline which for sternness and rigor has no parallel in any age.

The constitution which he established for the state provided that the monarchy should still be double, but limited the power of the two kings to presiding over the senate, voting by proxy, and delivering the casting vote where the senate was equally divided. The senate consisted of thirty members, including the two kings. It was called the *Gerúsia*, or "Council of Elders." Its members were not less than sixty years old, and were elected for life. They had some slight share in the general administration of the state, and discussed and prepared all the measures which were to be brought before the popular assembly. They were judges in all criminal cases affecting the life of a Spartan citizen, and were bound in their proceedings by no written law. The popular assembly had the power of electing the senate, of passing laws, and determining upon war and peace. It would seem that these powers were merely nominal, and that this assembly was summoned simply to ratify the measures already decided upon. No such open discussion and criticism of public measures as prevailed in Athens was known in Sparta. Certain officers, called *ephors*, were appointed annually from the general body of Spartan citizens, whose business it was to watch over the Lycurgean constitution and punish violations of it. In course of time the political power was centred in their hands, they became the real rulers of the state, and their orders were submissively obeyed by all classes of Spartans. They exercised their despotic powers in the most arbitrary manner, and without restraint. Thus the Spartan government was really a close oligarchy, in which the kings and senate, as well as the people, were subject to the unrestrained and irresponsible authority of the five *ephors*.

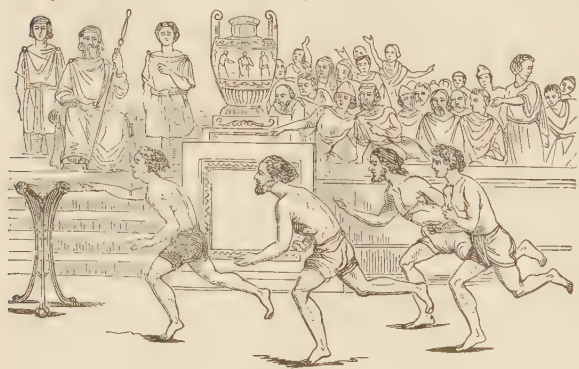
But while providing for the state, the legislation of Lycurgus looked principally to the discipline of the citizen. Every child born in Sparta was examined in public, and if found weakly or deformed, was exposed to perish on Mount Taygetus. At the age of seven he was taken from his mother's care, and his education and training were begun under the supervision of officers appointed by the state. He was trained in all the gymnastic exercises, for the purpose of giving strength and activity to his body, and was drilled in all the manœuvres required of the Spartan troops in the field. He was also required to engage in hunting, and to endure fatigue and hardship without repining. His fortitude was further tested by a cruel scourging in presence of the whole city at the altar of Artemis (*Diana*), and many youths died under the lash without complaining. He was required to wear the same garment winter and summer, and to bear hunger, thirst, heat and cold. He took his meals at the *syssitia*, or public table, was allowed only the plainest and scantiest fare, and slept with his comrades in the public dormitories. After a certain age, he was allowed no food save what he could steal without detection. If caught in the theft, he was severely punished. Letters and music also constituted a part of the boy's education, but they were made subordinate to his physical training. He was taught to play on the lyre and to sing, but his songs were either martial lyrics or hymns to the gods. Literature and philosophy were despised in Sparta. The Spartans were taught to express themselves with a sententious brevity; long speeches were their abhorrence.

Upon arriving at man's estate, the Spartan enjoyed but a slight release from his severe discipline. The men ate at the public messes, and slept in the public barracks. At the age of thirty they were permitted to marry, and were punished if they remained unmarried. They had no private life, however. No man under the age of sixty was permitted to reside or take his meals with his wife. The greater part of his time was spent in military and gymnastic exercises, and in hunting. At the age of sixty the state relaxed its hold upon the Spartan, who was thenceforth permitted to enjoy the pleasures of his own home.

Girls were also rigorously trained in athletic exercises. They were viewed as a part of the state whose duty it was to give

to Sparta vigorous sons. At the age of twenty the Spartan women usually married, and the wife, although enjoying but little of her husband's society, was treated by him with great respect, and was allowed greater freedom than was permitted in the other Grecian states. She was trained to take a deep and abiding interest in the honor and welfare of her country, and the high spirit of the Spartan women constituted one of the chief incentives of the men to heroic actions. Cowardice met the certain contempt of the women, and gallant conduct was rewarded with their warmest praise. "Return either with your shield, or upon it," was their exhortation to their sons when going to battle. The death of a husband or son in battle was an occasion of thanks to the gods.

Lycurgus is credited by some writers



THE RACE.

with a redivision of the lands of the country; but the most reliable authorities doubt this. He is said to have banished all gold and silver money from Sparta, and to have substituted for it an unwieldy iron currency, to prevent the love of gain from acquiring too great an influence upon the Spartans. This may also be doubted, as silver money was not coined in Greece until the time of Pheidon of Argos, in the next century. Gold money was first coined in Asia, but was scarcely known in Greece even as late as the Peloponnesian war. All luxury was forbidden by Lycurgus, and the plainest and severest mode of life was required of all. Strangers were not allowed to reside in Sparta without the leave of the magistrates, nor were its citizens allowed to go abroad without a similar permission.

The legislation of Lycurgus having been finally adopted by the Spartans, the law-giver resolved to sacrifice himself for the

welfare of his country. Having obtained from the people of Sparta a solemn oath to make no changes in his laws until his return, he quitted Sparta forever. He went first to Delphi, where he obtained an oracle from the god, sanctioning all he had done and promising prosperity to Sparta as long as his laws were obeyed. He then departed to some unknown region and was never heard of again. The Spartans, true to their oath, remained faithful to his laws. The results of this system were soon apparent. The Spartans became a body of well-trained and well-disciplined professional soldiers, at a time when scarcely a Grecian state understood the value of, or practised military discipline or training of any kind. Hence they were irresistible in war, and Sparta rapidly conquered the neighboring states, and made herself supreme in the Peloponnesus. Towards the close of the century Amyclæ fell, and the Spartans became masters of the entire valley of the Eurotas. The Achæans submitted or fled to Italy.

The ninth century before Christ is illustrious in Grecian history as the age of the poet Homer. Various dates are assigned to him, but it would seem that he flourished about B. C. 850. No less than seven cities claim the honor of being his birth-place. Modern authorities regard him as a native of Smyrna, in Asia Minor. He was thus

an Asiatic Greek. His *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were the great national poems of Greece, and were sung or recited at the festivals and in the public assemblies of every Grecian state, and related by every Grecian fireside. They brought into especial prominence the unity of the Hellenic race, and constituted one of the strongest bonds that united its various members.

Argos continued to be the principal state of the Peloponnesus during the eighth century before the Christian era. About B. C. 780, Pheidon, the greatest of its monarchs, came to the throne. In the preceding reigns the royal authority had been considerably weakened, and the government had become in reality a republic, though a monarchy in form. Pheidon was "a great man in every way;" under him the lost powers of the crown were re-established, and Argos became more powerful than ever in the Peloponnesus. In his reign Crete, Rhodes,

Cos, Chidus, and Halicarnassus were colonized by the Argives. He died about B. c. 744, and Argos rapidly declined in power. The government relapsed into the state in which Pheidon had found it, and the history of the country soon became insignificant.

In Sparta the effects of the Lycurgean system were even more manifest than in the past century. Sparta, now a compact and organized state, spreading over the whole of Laconia, and possessing the only thoroughly disciplined army in Greece, began to quarrel with her neighbors for the deliberate purpose, it would seem, of extending her domain. The conquest of the valley of the Eurotas was followed by wars with Arcadia and Argos, in each of which Sparta gained some advantage. Argos lost all her territory south of Cynuria. Encouraged by these successes, Sparta began a series of aggressions upon the adjoining state of Messenia, prompted evidently in part by a desire for more territory, and in part by a dislike of the liberal policy which the Dorian conquerors of Messenia had adopted towards their Achæan subjects. Hostilities soon followed, and the struggle known as the *First Messenian War* began, B. c. 743. Sparta had but a single ally in this war, Corinth; while on the side of Messenia were ranged Argos, Arcadia and Sicyon. The war lasted upwards of nineteen years, being prolonged by the long defence of the city of Ithomé. In the struggle the resources and spirits of the Messenians were gradually exhausted, and in the twentieth year Sparta compelled the evacuation of Ithomé, and completed the conquest of the country. Many of the inhabitants sought refuge in Argolis and Arcadia. Those who remained were reduced by the Spartans to the condition of Helots. Ithomé was razed to the ground. Sparta ruled her conquest with a strong hand, and for thirty-nine years the Messenians endured a severe oppression.

The eighth century before Christ is noted in Grecian history as the era of the Olympiads, or the revival of the Olympian games, which had been instituted in Greece during the Heroic Age. These games were celebrated in the sacred territory of Elis, at Olympia, on the banks of the Alphaus, and were in honor of the Olympian Jove and of Hercules. They had been much neglected during the period of change and conquest which succeeded the Heroic Age, but were revived, B. c. 776, by Iphitus, King of Elis, it is said; though some writers place the

date of Iphitus a century earlier. At a later period the Greeks began to reckon time from these games, and regarded those of 776 as the first Olympiad. The games were celebrated at the end of every four years, and the interval which elapsed between each celebration was called an Olympiad. The celebration of these games was continued as late as A. D. 394, when they were abolished by the Emperor Theodosius. The management of the festival was confided to the Eleans, who chose several of their own number to preside over the sports as judges. These judges were called Hellanodicæ. At first the festival was confined to a single day, but at length the sports became so numerous that it was extended through five days. The original sports consisted of foot-races in the stadium; but to these were subsequently added various trials of strength and skill, such as boxing, wrestling, the Pancratiun, or boxing and wrestling combined, and the Pentathlum, or a peculiar combination of jumping; running, pitching the quoit, hurling the javelin, and wrestling. Horse races and chariot races were also included in the sports, but no combats with weapons were allowed under any circumstances. During the month in which the games were celebrated, war was discontinued throughout Greece, except against a foreign invader. No armed troops were allowed to enter the limits of Elis, as such an act was sacrilege. The only prize given to the victor was a garland of wild olive, but this was considered the proudest distinction in Greece. The conqueror was regarded as the most famous person of the Hellenic race for that Olympiad, and his statue was set up in the sacred grove of Jove at Olympia. On his return home he was received with the highest honors, and was conducted into his native city by a triumphal procession through a breach made in the wall for that purpose, in token that the honored city put its trust in such heroic sons rather than in stone walls. His praise was sung by the poets, and he had a right to the front seat in all the public assemblies. He was usually released from the payment of taxes. In Athens the winner of the Olympian crown received a prize of 500 drachmas, and a right to a place at the table of the magistrates in the Prytanæum, or town hall. In Sparta he had the right to fight by the side of the king in battle. The games were open to every Greek, without distinction of rank or wealth. All others

were rigidly excluded. They were attended by vast throngs from every part of Greece; for, besides those who were drawn by private interest, or by curiosity, the merchant had an opportunity of selling his wares, the poets of chaunting their lays, and the philosophers of explaining their theories to all Greece.

The First Olympiad was B. C. 776-772. From this the Greeks dated their chronology to the latest period of their existence.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE FIRST OLYMPIAD TO THE PERSIAN WARS.

The Second Messenian War—Exploits of Aristomenes—Destruction of the Messenian State—Character of the Athenian Government—The Power of the State in the Hands of the Nobles—Code of Draco—Cylon Attempts to Seize the Government—The Sacrilege of Megacles—Expulsion of the Alcæonidæ—Sparta Conquers Tegea—Becomes Supreme in the Peloponnesus—Assumes the Right to Interfere in the Affairs of the Greek States—The Plague at Athens—The Purification of Epimenides—Political Troubles at Athens—The Laws of Solon—The Seven Wise Men of Greece—Solon's Reforms not altogether Acceptable, but are Adopted by the Athenians—He Secures them a Trial—Quarrels of the Athenian Factions—Death of Solon—Pisistratus Dictator—Is Driven from Athens—Is Recalled—Quarrel with Megacles—Is Driven Away a Second Time and Regains his Throne—His Liberality—Causes Homer's Poems to be Collected—His Death—The Two Tyrants—Reign of Hippias—Is Expelled from Athens—Return of the Alcæonidæ—Clisthenes in Power—His Changes in the Athenian System—He Offends the Nobles—Is Expelled and Shortly Recalled—Quarrels between Athens and Sparta—Conquest of Eubœa—Athens Assists the Ionian Greeks in their Revolt against Persia.

THE thirty-nine years following the close of the first Messenian war were passed by the Messenians in a severe slavery. At the end of this time they rose against their Spartan oppressors under the leadership of Aristomenes of Andania. Thus began the *Second Messenian War*, in B. C. 685. The Argives, Arcadians, Sicyonians, and Pisatons came to the aid of the Messenians, while Sparta had, as in the first struggle, only Corinth for an ally. The first battle fought before the arrival of the allies was indecisive, but the exploits of Aristomenes so greatly disheartened the Spartans that they applied to the oracle for a leader, and were commanded to seek one at Athens. The Athenians, fearing to disobey the oracle, sought to evade its command by sending to the Spartans for a leader, a lame schoolmaster named Tyrtaeus. His stirring poems revived the drooping spirits of the Spar-

tans, and encouraged them to make another effort. A great battle was fought, in which the allies on both sides were engaged, at the Boar's Grave in the plain of Stenyclerus. The Spartans were defeated with great loss, and were obliged to withdraw to their own country. In the third year of the war another great battle was fought, in which the Messenians were defeated through the treachery of Aristocrates, the king of the Arcadian Orchomenus. In consequence of this defeat Aristomenes was not able to take the open field again; and threw himself into the mountain fortress of Ira, from which he continued the war for eleven years. The Spartans encamped at the foot of the mountain, but Aristomenes frequently sallied out from his stronghold and ravaged Laconia with fire and sword. His exploits were brilliant. He three times offered to Jove Ithomates, the sacrifice called Hecatompheusa, which could be offered only by a warrior who had slain a hundred enemies with his own hand. Once he was captured with a number of his companions, carried to Sparta, and thrown with them into a deep pit. His companions were all killed by the fall, but Aristomenes was unhurt. He expected to die of starvation, however, as he saw no means of escape. On the third day he perceived a fox groping about among the bodies in the pit. Seizing the animal by the tail he followed it in its struggle to escape, and was guided by it to an opening in the rock, through which he gained his liberty, and returned to Ira to the surprise of both friends and foes. But, in spite of his valor, the war closed in the triumph of the Spartans. Ira was surprised one night while Aristomenes was disabled by a wound. He cut his way through the enemy with the bravest of his followers, and thus escaped. He took refuge in Arcadia, where he formed a plan for surprising Sparta. This plan was betrayed by Aristocrates, who was stoned by his countrymen for his treachery. Aristomenes then withdrew to Rhodes, where he ended his days. Many of the Messenians abandoned their country and fled to Rheggium in Italy. The others were again reduced by the Spartans to the condition of Helots; the inhabitants of a few towns being admitted to the position of Pericæci. The war closed in B. C. 668, and until B. C. 369 Messenia disappears from history, its territory forming during this interval a part of Laconia. The memory of Aristomenes was long cherished by his countrymen, and the legends of later times de-

clared that in the great battle of Leuctra, in which the Lacedæmonian power was finally crushed, his spirit was seen, animating his countrymen and scattering ruin among their foes.

The Messenian war was followed by a war with Arcadia, which had been the ally of Messenia. The result appears to have been the conquest of the southern part of Arcadia. The efforts of the Spartans to reduce Tegea were not so successful. Tegea offered a stout resistance, and for three generations defied the Spartan power.

The true history of Athens begins in B. C. 683. In this year the term of the archons was changed from ten years to one year, and the number of archons increased for one to nine. The first of these was called

The Archon, and sometimes the *Archon Eponymus*, because he gave his name to the year. He presided over the body to which he belonged, and was the representative of the dignity of the state. He determined all disputes relating to the family, and was the protector of widows and orphans. The second archon was called *The Basileus*, or *The King*, since he represented the king in his quality of high priest of the nation. He was the judge in all cases respecting religion and homicide. The third archon

was called the *Polemarch*, or *Commander-in-chief*, and until the time of Clisthenes, commanded the army in war. Disputes between citizens and strangers were submitted to him for adjudication. The remaining six archons were called *Thesmothetæ*, or *Legislators*. Their duties appear to have been entirely judicial, and all matters not especially pertaining to the other three were decided by them. As there was no written code in existence, their decisions had the force of laws. In addition to the archons there was the Council of Areopagus, or Senate, which derived its name from its place of meeting on a rocky eminence, opposite the Acropolis, called the Hill of Ares, or Mars' Hill. It consisted of Eupatrids, or nobles alone, and all the archons became members of it at the close of their year of

office. It was originally called simply the Senate or Council. Later on, Solon instituted another Senate, and the original council took the name of Areopagus, to distinguish it.

The power of the state rested entirely with the nobles, and, as is usually the case with oligarchies, it was used for the oppression of the people. The archons were possessed of arbitrary powers, with no written laws to restrain them, and they naturally promoted the interests of their own order to the injury of the commons. Within sixty years after the establishment of the annual archons, the popular discontent had become so great and the demand for a written code of laws so vehement, that the nobles could no longer afford to resist it, and in B. C. 624



VIEW OF DELPHI AND MOUNT PARNASSUS.

Draco was appointed to prepare a code. It was a very simple one. He prescribed death for every offence, for petty theft as well as for murder. Hence his code was said to be written not in ink, but in blood. It placed the lives of the citizens entirely at the mercy of the nobles, and increased instead of quieting the popular discontent. One of the nobles, named Cylon, endeavored to take advantage of this state of feeling, and make himself tyrant of Athens, B. C. 612. He had won the crown at the Olympic games, and had married the daughter of Theagenes, who had made himself tyrant of Megara. Before making his attempt he consulted the oracle at Delphi, and was told to seize the Acropolis "at the greatest festival of Jove." Cylon, forgetting that the Diasia was the greatest festival

of Jove at Athens, supposed that the oracle referred to the Olympic games, and accordingly at the next celebration of these games, he seized the Acropolis, with a strong force composed partly of his partisans and partly of troops furnished by his father-in-law. He met with no support from the great mass of the people, however, and was blockaded in the Acropolis by the troops of the government. Cylon and his brother succeeded in escaping, but his followers, overcome by hunger, soon ceased their resistance to the attack of the government forces, and took refuge at the altar of Athené, or Minerva. The Archon Megacles, a member of the illustrious family of the Alcæonidæ, found them there, and fearing lest their death should pollute the sanctuary of the



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goddess, prevailed upon them to come forth, promising that their lives should be spared. They had no sooner left the temple, however, than they were set upon and killed; some who sought safety at the altar of the Eumenides or Furies were slain even at that sacred spot.

Thus the victory of the archons was stained with sacrilege, and this gave rise to fresh troubles in the state. The whole family of the Alcæonidæ were regarded as tainted with the sacrilege of Megacles, and the friends of the murdered men demanded vengeance upon the accursed race. The former were possessed of sufficient wealth and influence to maintain their cause against their enemies during the re-

mainder of the century, but at length were banished from Attica by the decree of a council of three hundred members of their own order, B. C. 597.

The war between Sparta and Arcadia was brought to a close about B. C. 554, by the submission of Tegea to the former state, a very insignificant ending to so long a struggle. The Thyreatis was about the same time wrested from Argos. The Spartan influence was now established over at least two-thirds of the Peloponnesus. Spartan policy had until now been confined to the internal affairs of Lacedæmon and to efforts to extend its territory. It now began to take a wider range. In B. C. 555 an embassy arrived at Sparta from Cræsus, King of Lydia, acknowledging Sparta as the leading state of Greece, and asking its alliance in the effort to defeat the Persians. The Spartans accepted the offers of Cræsus and prepared an expedition for his assistance, but before it could be despatched Cyrus had rendered it useless by the conquest of Lydia. This alliance marks the beginning of the foreign policy of Sparta. It was followed by other expeditions beyond her limits. In B. C. 525, Sparta and Corinth sent a combined expedition to the Asiatic coast for the purpose of deposing Polycrates of Samos. It was unsuccessful. Her ambition being aroused by these ventures, Sparta assumed the right (B. C. 510) to interfere in the affairs of the Greek states beyond the limits of the Peloponnesus, as the champion of the oligarchical cause. Her efforts against Attica aroused that remarkable fear and dislike with which the Athenians regarded her for nearly a century and a half.

The expulsion of the Alcæonidæ in B. C. 597 did not quiet the superstitious alarm which had been aroused at Athens by the sacrilege of Megacles, and while the people were agitated by these fears, a plague broke out in the city which was regarded as a divinely sent punishment for this crime. They consulted the Delphic oracle, which advised them to invite the celebrated Cretan prophet and sage Epimenides to visit Athens, and purify their city from pollution and sacrilege. Epimenides was highly esteemed for his knowledge of the healing powers of nature. He visited Athens, performed certain rites and sacrifices by which it was believed he succeeded in propitiating the offended deities. The plague ceased, and the grateful Athenians offered their

deliverer a talent of gold, but he refused it. The only payment he would accept was a branch of the sacred olive tree which grew on the Acropolis. The date of this purification is B. C. 596.

The archons now awoke to a true sense of the dangers which threatened the state. The sacrifices of Epimenides had stayed the plague but they did not touch the popular discontent. Three factions divided the people of Athens—the *Plain*, composed of the wealthy nobles, the *Shore*, consisting of the merchants, and the *Mountain*, in which were ranged the poorer peasantry of Attica. The hatred which arrayed these factions against each other was increased by the fact that many of the third class had been obliged by their necessities to borrow money from the nobles at an exorbitant rate of interest, and being unable to discharge these debts had become their slaves. In this emergency, the archons appealed to Solon, the wisest of their number, to prepare a code of laws for Athens in place of those of Draco.

Solon was a member of the noble order, but his fortune had been so greatly reduced in early life, that he had been obliged to engage in trade to repair it. In his commercial enterprises he had visited successively the principal countries of the ancient world, and had studied their laws and customs. He was thus the best qualified person in Athens for the task assigned him. He traced his descent from the heroic Codrus, and was a cousin of Pisistratus, of whom we shall speak further on. His reputation for learning and mature wisdom was so great that he was always reckoned as one of the Seven Sages or Wise Men of Greece. The other six were Periander, of Corinth, Cleobulus, of Lindus, Bias, of Priene, Pittacus, of Mitylene, Thales, of Miletus, and Chilo, of Sparta. About the year B. C. 600 he had aroused the Athenians to attempt the recovery of the island of Salamis, which had been taken from them by the Megarians, and had commanded the expedition which reconquered the island. In B. C. 594 he was chosen archon, and was invested with absolute powers to introduce a new code of laws. His appointment gave satisfaction to all parties.

The main object of Solon was to abolish the tyrannical oligarchy, and substitute for it a moderate government, in which all classes of citizens should have a voice, the controlling influence, however, being retained to the nobility. To accomplish this,

he divided the people into four classes, according to the amount of their incomes: 1. The Pentacosimedimni, or those who possessed an annual income of 500 medimni of corn. 2. The Hippeis or Knights, whose income was 300 medimni of corn. 3. The Zeugitæ, whose income was 150 medimni. 4. The Thetes, whose income was less than 150 medimni. The last-named class were given the right of suffrage, but were ineligible to any office. The highest office was the archonship, which was confined to the first or wealthiest class. A new council or senate of 400 members was established, 100 from each of the four old tribes of Athenians. The members were elected annually by the free vote of all the citizens. The especial duties of this body were the preparation of matters of legislation, and the carrying into effect of the resolutions of the public assembly. The public assembly consisted of the meeting of the whole body of citizens. It elected the archons and councillors or senators, and sat in judgment upon them at the expiration of their year of office. The assembly also voted or rejected all the decrees or laws proposed by the senate. Popular law courts for the hearing of appeals from other tribunals were instituted. This measure was really the introduction into Athens of trial by jury. The council of Areopagus was retained. It was charged with a general supervision of the laws, and had power to compel their observance and to prevent or punish any departure from them.

Having thus provided for the state, Solon endeavored to remedy the popular grievances arising mainly from the general poverty and pecuniary distress which prevailed in Athens. Under the rule of the oligarchy the rich had grown richer and the poor poorer. Solon abolished all contracts by which the land or person of a debtor had been given as security, and prohibited all future loans in which the person of the debtor was pledged as security. He thus set free all enslaved debtors, released the lands from the claims and burdens from which they had suffered, and prevented the recurrence of one form of the evil—that of slavery for debt. The arrangement entirely released the poorer classes from their difficulties, but many persons were still left unable to discharge their obligations. To aid these he lowered the standard of the coinage, by which the debtor saved one-fourth in every payment. By these arrangements,

the rich, of course, lost. Solon himself lost as much as five talents. The lawgiver wisely decided that in such an emergency the loss should fall upon the class best able to bear it. As a means of preventing poverty he required that each father should teach his son some useful trade. Where the father failed to do this, the son was freed from the obligation of supporting him in old age.

Solon established a system of rewards and punishments by which he hoped to stimulate the virtue of the citizens and to repress crime. He utterly swept away the bloody code of Draco. Among the rewards which he established for faithful citizenship were crowns conferred in public by the senate or people; public banquets in the town-hall or Prytaneum; places of honor in the theatre and public assembly; and statues in the Agora or in the streets. Foreigners were encouraged to settle in Athens, but were obliged to practise some useful avocation. The council of Areopagus punished severely idleness and profligacy. Theft was punished by compelling the culprit to restore double the value of the property stolen. People were forbidden to speak ill of either the living or the dead.

Solon met the fate of most moderate statesmen. His own order accused him of having yielded too much, and the other classes complained that he had not granted them enough. He admitted frankly that his laws were not the best that could be devised, but were the best the people would accept. The high esteem in which all parties held him prevented any outbreak for a while. At length, worn out by perpetual complaints and questions, he obtained from the Athenians an oath to respect his constitution for ten years, and then departed into foreign lands, B. C. 570.

Returning to Athens in B. C. 560, he found the state once more torn by contending factions. The *Plain*, led by Lycurgus, the *Shore*, by Megacles, and the *Mountain*, by Pisistratus, a cousin of Solon, had resumed their old hostility. Of the three leaders the last was the favorite, because of his personal beauty, his military prowess, and his generosity and eloquence. He was, however, as Solon clearly saw, a man of unbounded ambition, and was resolved upon becoming master of Athens. In this he succeeded, and having secured the triumph of the Mountain over the other factions, he used this success to make himself

Dictator, or, as the Greeks called it, Tyrant. He seized the supreme power B. C. 560. Soon after this, Solon, who had vainly opposed this action of his kinsman, died. According to his will, his ashes were scattered around the island of Salamis, which he had saved to Athens.

For the first six years after his accession Pisistratus faithfully observed the laws of Solon. In B. C. 554 he was driven from the city by a combination of the two factions of the Plain and the Shore. These factions quarrelled a few years later, and Megacles, the leader of the Shore, invited Pisistratus back to his sovereignty on condition that the latter should marry his daughter. The offer was accepted, and Pisistratus regained his throne B. C. 548. He married the daughter of Megacles, according to the agreement, but as he had grown children by a former marriage, and did not care to connect his blood with a family which was regarded as accursed on account of Cylon's sacrilege, he did not treat her as his wife. Megacles, incensed at this, renewed his alliance with Lycurgus, the leader of the Plain, and Pisistratus was again driven from Athens, B. C. 547. He now passed ten years in exile, occupying this time in raising troops and money in different parts of Greece. In B. C. 537 he landed at Marathon with a strong army, and, being joined by many of his friends, advanced upon Athens, defeated his enemies, and made himself once more master of the city. He reigned for ten years more, administering the laws of Solon with impartial justice, and the people forgot their lost liberties in the fairness with which he treated them. He threw open his library and beautiful gardens on the Ilissus to the people. He caused the poems of Homer, which had existed until now in a fragmentary form, to be collected and arranged in proper order, that they might be chanted by the rhapsodists at the Greater Panathenæa, or the twelve days' festival in honor of Athené, the guardian of Athens. His reign fully justified the opinion of Solon that he was the best of tyrants, whose sole vice was ambition. He died in B. C. 527.

Pisistratus was succeeded by his sons, Hippias and Hipparchus, who are usually known as the Two Tyrants. They reigned peaceably for fourteen years, pursuing the plan of government followed by their father. Although they reduced the land tax from one-tenth to one-twentieth, Athens

grew so rapidly in prosperity that their reign was regarded as one of the happiest periods of Athenian history.

In B. C. 514 a change took place. A citizen of Athens, named Harmodius, having given offence to Hippias, the tyrant avenged himself by putting a public affront upon his sister. Harmodius, aided by his intimate friend, Aristogiton, organized a conspiracy to kill the two tyrants. The conspiracy resulted in the murder of Hipparchus. Hippias saved himself by his presence of mind, but from that time his character changed. Suspecting every one of being an enemy, he put to death large numbers of citizens, and raised enormous sums by excessive taxation. The people became so bitterly hostile to him that he himself felt that his downfall was but a question of time. In order to secure a place of refuge in such an event, he began to cultivate friendly relations with the Persians.

The Alcæonidæ, who had lived in exile ever since the third and final restoration of Pisistratus, now invaded Attica in the hope of driving out the tyrant; but were defeated by Hippias. Clisthenes, the leader of the family, by bribing the Delphians by the gift of a magnificent temple in place of the ancient edifice, which had been previously destroyed by fire, obtained an oracle commanding the Spartans to assist in the deliverance of Athens. The result was the invasion of Attica by the Spartans. It was unsuccessful. A second invasion resulted in the capture of Athens and the perpetual banishment of Hippias and all his kin, B. C. 510.

Clisthenes, now the head of the state, allied himself with the popular party. He divided the people into ten tribes, which he subdivided into demes or districts, each of which was given its own magistrate and popular assembly. All the free inhabitants of Attica were admitted to the privileges of citizens, and the senate was increased to 500 members, or fifty from each tribe. As a precaution against the usurpation of power by one man, Clisthenes introduced the custom of *ostracism*. By this measure any citizen could be banished without being brought to trial or allowed a defence. If the senate and assembly decided that such a measure was necessary, each citizen wrote upon a tile or oyster shell the name of the person whom he wished banished. If this name was found upon six thousand ballots,

the person was compelled to leave Athens within ten days. The term of banishment was fixed at ten years, but was subsequently reduced to five.

The measures of Clisthenes gave great offence to the nobles, and their leader, Isagoras, called upon the Spartans to intervene once more in the affairs of Athens and drive out the Alcæonidæ, which was done. Isagoras then proceeded, with the aid of the Spartan King Cleomenes, to banish seven hundred families, to dissolve the senate, and to inaugurate other revolutionary changes. The people rose in arms, besieged Isagoras and the Spartans in the citadel, and allowed them to surrender only on condition of quitting the country. They withdrew, and Clisthenes was recalled and his institutions restored.

Meanwhile Cleomenes, the Spartan king, had been collecting a great army in the Peloponnesus, and had formed an alliance with the Thebans and the Chalcidians of Eubœa, for the purpose of reducing Athens and compelling her to submit to Isagoras as tyrant. The Athenians, alarmed by the power of their enemies, sought aid from Persia. The Persians agreed to assist them on condition of their becoming tributary, but the condition was rejected with indignation, and Athens prepared to meet the storm alone. Meanwhile the allied army had entered Attica. Until now, Cleomenes had concealed from his Peloponnesian allies the real object of the invasion. Becoming aware of it, they refused to take part in crushing the liberties of Athens, and obliged the Spartan king to abandon the attempt and return home. Freed from this danger, the Athenians advanced against the Thebans, defeated them, and then, crossing over to Eubœa, inflicted a severe chastisement upon the Chalcidians. They took formal possession of the island and distributed the estates of the wealthy Chalcidian land-owners among 4,000 of their own citizens, who settled in Eubœa under the name of Cleruchi, or "lot-holders."

Sparta now endeavored to inaugurate another war against Athens, this time for the purpose of forcing her to accept the rule of Hippias once more. The Peloponnesian states refused to take part in the attempt, and Sparta was obliged to relinquish her design. Hippias, now an aged man, had lent himself to the Spartan scheme. Upon its failure he returned to the Persian court, where he busied himself

in seeking to induce Darius to replace him on his throne.

Athens now entered upon a great career. Proud of her successes, and conscious of her strength at home, she ventured to assist the Ionian Greeks in their revolt against Persia. She did not support them very heartily, however, but withdrew from the league upon the first reverses of the Ionians. At home her policy was more successful. The institutions of Clisthenes developed among the citizens a personal interest in public affairs and an ardent patriotism which sustained them in the ordeal of the wars with Persia which marked the following century.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PERSIAN WARS.

Greece Incurs the Wrath of Persia—Efforts to Bring About a Union of the Greek States for their Common Defence—Expedition of Mardonius—Its Failure—Darius Demands the Submission of the Greek States—Datis Invades Greece—Eretria Taken by the Persians—The Persians Land at Marathon—Miltiades in Command of the Greeks—The Battle of Marathon—Importance of the Victory—Datis Attempts to Surprise Athens—Fails—Sails for Asia—Subsequent Career of Miltiades—Banishment of Aristides—Themistocles Supreme at Athens—War with Ægina—Foresight of Themistocles—He Induces the Athenians to Provide a Navy—Character of Themistocles—Xerxes Invades Greece—Battle of Thermopylæ—Athens Deserted by its Citizens—Occupied by the Persians—They Burn the City—Battle of Salamis—Victory of the Greeks—Xerxes Abandons the Attempt to Conquer Greece—Returns to Asia—Mardonius Renews the Attempt to Conquer Greece—Battle of Platea—Destruction of the Persian Army—Naval Victory of Mycalé—Other Successes of the Greeks.

THE interference of the European Greeks in the Ionian revolt drew upon them the wrath of Darius, King of Persia, and made it evident to the Greek leaders that their country would be the next object of the great king's enterprise and vengeance. It was clearly understood by them that the Persians would not rest satisfied with the conquest of the offending states of Athens and Eretria, but would seek to bring all Greece under their sway. The danger was common to the whole of Hellas, and efforts were made to bring about a union of all the Greek states for the common defence. Sparta being the most important military state, the leadership was conceded to her. This union was not accomplished, however, until the war had actually broken out. We shall see in the course of this narrative

that the tendency to confederacies under the leadership of a certain state continued to exist among the Greeks long after the danger which gave rise to it had passed by. From this time we shall find a certain degree of unity in the affairs of Greece, which the earlier history of that country does not possess.

Darius had not forgotten his vow to take vengeance upon the Greeks, and in B. C. 492 despatched his son-in-law, Mardonius, with a powerful fleet and army to Greece, with orders to bring to Persia those Athenians and Eretrians who had dared to defy the great king. Mardonius crossed the Hellespont with his army and marched through Thrace. He encountered a serious resistance at the hands of the Brygians, a native tribe of that region, and although he reduced them to submission, his army was too greatly weakened to permit him to continue his march upon Greece. His fleet was overtaken about the same time by a fearful hurricane, and was dashed against the rocky promontory of Mount Athos. A number of vessels were destroyed, and 20,000 men perished in this storm. Mardonius, thoroughly disheartened, retreated into Asia, and the expedition ended in failure.

This failure, however, did not shake the resolution of Darius; it only made him the more determined. He sent heralds to most of the Grecian states, demanding of them earth and water as the symbols of submission. The majority of the Greek states, terrified by the power of the great king, complied with his demand; but at Athens the heralds were thrown into a deep pit by the indignant citizens, while the Spartans cast them into a well and bade them get earth and water from thence.

In B. C. 490 Darius despatched a strong army and a fleet of 600 galleys and many transports, under Datis, a Mede, to conquer Greece and especially to destroy Athens and Eretria, in the island Eubœa, and enslave their inhabitants. Datis sailed directly across the Ægean, reducing the Cyclades on the way, and reaching Eubœa, took Eretria after a siege of six days, through the treachery of two members of the aristocratic party. The city was sacked and burned, and its inhabitants placed in chains on board the Persian ships. Datis then crossed the Euripus, and landed at Marathon, in Attica, to take vengeance upon Athens.

The Athenians had by great exertions assembled a force under Miltiades, Themistocles, Aristides, and other generals. Of these Miltiades was the ablest commander, and had served under Darius while prince of the Chersonesus. A swift courier was sent to Sparta to announce the landing of the Persians. The Spartans promised aid, but with characteristic selfishness delayed it.

The Athenians assembled their forces on the heights overlooking the plain of Marathon, in which the immense host of the Persians was encamped. Their leaders were divided, some believing it best to give instant battle, others preferring to await the arrival of the promised aid from Sparta. The arguments of Miltiades at length prevailed, and it was resolved to attack the enemy immediately. In order that the army might have but a single leader, each of the generals gave up his day of command to Miltiades. The opportune arrival of 1,000 heavy-armed troops—the entire fighting population of the little town of Plataea, in Bœotia—who had come to share the fate of their Athenian friends through gratitude for a past kindness, contributed greatly to arouse the hopes of the Athenians. The odds were fearful, however. The Greeks numbered but 10,000 heavy-armed men and a few lightly-armed attendants and slaves. The Persians were 110,000 strong at the lowest estimate. Miltiades, undismayed by this disparity of numbers, made a furious attack upon the Persians, routed them, and drove them to their ships with a loss of 6,400 men. Only 192 Greeks fell. The tyrant Hippias is said to have been slain in the battle. Datis now stood out to sea, and by doubling the promontory of Sunium, sought to surprise Athens during the absence of its defenders. Miltiades, divining his intention, reached Athens by a forced night march in time to make it evident to Datis that his attempt was hopeless. The Persian fleet then sailed for Asia with its Eretrian prisoners.

The battle of Marathon was one of the most important ever won by the Greek arms. It was the first serious check ever received from any quarter by Persia, and taught the Greeks the value of their disciplined valor as opposed to the dense masses of Asia. It gave them a respite in which to prepare for the final struggle for the liberties of their country, and encouraged them to make the effort when the greater trial came upon them.

The victory was hailed with delight by the Athenians. Miltiades was received with the highest honors, and for a while he was the most eminent and beloved citizen of the republic. The Persians had brought with them a block of white marble which they meant to erect as a trophy upon the field of Marathon in honor of the victory they anticipated. It was carved by Phidias into a gigantic figure of Nemesis. The brazen weapons and shields of the Persians were cast into a colossal statue of Athené Promachos, which was set up in the Acropolis, and could be seen from the sea far beyond the promontory of Sunium. The 192 heroes who fell in the battle were buried in the field, and a mound or tumulus was raised over them.



GREEK SHIELD.

Miltiades would have been fortunate had he died on the field of his glory. He now tarnished his fairly-won fame by a gross abuse of the confidence of the citizens, with which his career came to a melancholy end. He asked for a fleet of seventy ships and a large supply of money, promising the Athenians to secure them important additions to their possessions, but without telling them the object of the expedition. So great was the public confidence in his integrity that his request was unhesitatingly granted. He used the expedition to wreak his private vengeance upon the island of Paros, which had offended him. Paros resisted his efforts, and he received a dangerous wound in his attempt to take the city. Disheartened, he raised the siege and returned to Athens in disgrace. He was accused by Xanthippus, the leader of the aristocracy, of having de-

ceived the people, and was brought to trial. Being unable to walk, he was borne into the presence of his judges on his couch. He disdained to make any defence but the story of his services. Though he had merited death according to the laws, the people refused to put to death the victor of Marathon. He was fined in the sum of fifty talents, probably the cost of the expedition. He was unable to raise the fine at once—it was subsequently paid by his son Cimon—and died soon afterwards from the effect of his wound.

The death of Miltiades left Aristides the leading citizen of Athens. Though an aristocrat by birth, he was ardently devoted to the interests of the people, and his stern integrity won him the surname of "the just." His chief rival was Themistocles, one of the ablest and most ambitious of the Greeks. He succeeded at length in procuring the ostracism of Aristides—a mere partisan measure, for the Athenians could not lay to the charge of Aristides any act which deserved such a punishment.

Themistocles was now supreme in Athens, without a rival. He was a man of vast abilities, and his acute mind conceived a plan for preparing Athens to meet the supreme effort which he believed Persia would yet make for the conquest of Greece. Since the victory at Marathon war had been going on between Athens and Ægina, the quarrel having grown out of the disputes connected with the Persian invasion and the hatred which had always existed between the two states. In the end this war proved the greatest blessing that could have befallen the republic. Ægina was at this time the strongest naval power of Greece. Athens, on the contrary, had no navy. Themistocles, appreciating the importance of a powerful fleet in the approaching conflict with Persia, determined to make the Æginetan war the occasion of providing such a fleet for Athens. Had he exposed his real design he would have been laughed at, for few of his countrymen comprehended the intentions of Persia. He therefore appealed to the Athenians to construct a fleet which should surpass that of Ægina, and to apply to this purpose the revenues arising from the silver mines at Laurium. His advice was acted upon and a fleet of 200 ships of war was ordered to be built, and a decree was passed for the construction of twenty new ships every year. Thus the foresight and statesmanship of Themistocles

made it possible for the great victory of Salamis to be won. Had the integrity of Themistocles been equal to his ability, his would have been one of the noblest names of Hellas. In the sagacity with which he divined the plans of his antagonists, the unerring genius with which he seized upon the proper course of action in the most difficult emergencies, and the rapid and tireless energy with which he put his plans into execution, Themistocles ranks with the greatest statesmen the world has ever known.

The wisdom of Themistocles was vindicated by the extensive preparations made by Xerxes for the invasion of Greece. These preparations soon became known in Greece, and efforts were begun by Athens and Sparta to unite all the Greek states for their common defence. The most important of these was the assembling of a congress of the Greek states at the Isthmus of Corinth, at the call of Athens and Sparta. Though a number of the states refused to take part in it through fear of Persia—preferring the loss of their liberties to the sacrifices demanded of them by the approaching war—the congress was, in the main, successful. Measures were taken for a vigorous defence, and the military leadership was conceded to Sparta.

The preparations of Xerxes, the son and successor of Darius, for the invasion of Greece, have already been related in our account of the history of Persia. In the spring of B. C. 480 he entered Greece at the head of a vast army, followed closely along the shore by his superb fleet. He advanced through Thrace and Macedonia into Thessaly. The Greeks made no attempt to hold Thessaly, but stationed a small force, under the Spartan King Leonidas, at the pass of Thermopylæ, the key to central Greece, to hold it until their main army could be assembled, while a strong detachment of the allied fleet was stationed at Artemesium to hold the narrow strait and prevent the enemy from landing troops at the southern end of the pass. The force of Leonidas consisted of about 7,000 men, of whom 300 were Spartans, 3,000 heavy armed troops from the other Peloponnesian states, 700 Thespians, 400 Thebans whom Leonidas had obliged Thebes to furnish, 1,000 Phocians, and a strong body of Opuntian Locrians. Upon reaching the Thermopylæ Leonidas learned for the first time that there was a path leading over the summit of the moun-

tain by which the pass could be turned. At their own request, he stationed the Phocians on the mountain to hold this pass.

Xerxes waited four days for the Grecian forces to retire from the pass, refusing to believe that they would venture to resist him. On the fifth day he moved forward a body of picked Median troops to storm the pass. They were repulsed, and the Immortals were sent to renew the effort, but with no better success. The attack was resumed the next day, with the same result. A Malian, named Ephialtes, now betrayed to the Persian king the secret of the path over the mountain. Waiting until night, Xerxes sent the Immortals across the mountain by this path, guided by the traitor, to turn the position of the Greeks, and assail their rear while he renewed the attack in front. They set off at nightfall, and by daybreak the next morning reached the position of the Phocians, who, instead of disputing the path, retreated to the summit of the mountain. The Persians paid no further attention to them, but began their descent of the southern side of the mountain.

Leonidas was promptly informed of the danger which threatened him, and summoned a council of war. The council decided that as the pass had been turned, the army should fall back before the Immortals cut off its retreat, as their lives were valuable for the future defence of Greece. Leonidas gave all who desired to retreat leave to do so. As for himself, he said, he was a Spartan, and the laws of his country required him to conquer or to die at his post. He should therefore remain; and he was the more ready to sell his life as the oracle had declared that either Sparta or its king must fall. The three hundred Spartans refused to abandon their heroic sovereign, and the seven hundred Thespians resolved to share their fate. Leonidas compelled the four hundred Theban hostages to remain.

About noon, feeling sure that the Immortals had reached the rear of the pass, Xerxes made another attempt to storm it. Leonidas had at the first fortified the pass by building a wall across it, but the Greeks now sallied out from behind the wall and attacked the Persians with desperate valor. They inflicted a heavy loss upon them, and so great was the terror which this handful of heroes inspired, that it was only by a vigorous use of the lash that the Persians could be driven to face them. As long as the Greeks kept their ranks unbroken they

were invincible. At last, however, their spears were broken, and they had only their swords. Then the Persians began to gain ground. Leonidas was slain, and the Persians made four distinct attempts to gain possession of his body. Each time they were beaten back by the Greeks with great loss. The Immortals now came up from the other end of the pass. The Thebans begged for quarter, declaring that they had been forced into the conflict against their will, and their lives were spared. The surviving Spartans and Thespians, scorning to yield, were slain. Only one man escaped to Sparta to tell the tale, and was there received with contempt, because he had not shared the fate of his comrades. When the freedom of Greece had been won, a marble lion was set up in the pass, in honor of Leonidas. Two monuments were erected to commemorate the heroism of his followers. On the first was an inscription stating that "four thousand Peloponnesians had there fought with three hundred myriads of their



COIN OF CYPRUS

foes." The second was in memory of the three hundred Spartans, and bore this inscription: "Go, stranger, and tell the Spartans that we obeyed the laws, and lie here!"

In the meantime the fleets had not been idle. Several engagements had taken place, in which the Greeks had been generally successful, and had displayed a boldness and skill which astounded the Persians. The latter were not a little disheartened by the loss of four hundred of their ships of war, and a large number of transports laden with stores and treasures, which were dashed ashore on the rocks by a hurricane, which raged furiously for three days and nights. A second tempest did considerable damage to the main body of the Persian fleet, and utterly destroyed a detachment of two hundred ships which had been sent around Eubœa to cut off the retreat of the Greek squadron from Artemesium. The loss of Thermopylæ now obliged the Greek vessels to retire to the southward. This was done at once, and,

doubling the promontory of Sunium, the fleet cast anchor in the bay of Salamis. The Persian army at once advanced into central Greece, and was followed by its fleet, which sailed down the Euripus.

But for the courage and resolution of Themistocles, Greece would now have been lost. The Spartans refused to send any land force to the assistance of Athens, and applied their army to the task of fortifying the Isthmus of Corinth for the protection of their own territories. It was with the greatest difficulty that Themistocles prevailed upon the Spartan admiral to remain at Salamis until measures could be taken for the safety of the Athenians. Seeing that Athens could not be held against Xerxes, he exerted himself to remove the inhabitants in order to save them from captivity. The Athenians were unwilling to leave their beloved city, and Themistocles was obliged to resort to a stratagem to secure their removal. The old men and the women and children were sent to Salamis, Ægina, and Trœzene; but all the able-bodied men went on board the fleet. The Persians, upon reaching Athens, found it a deserted city. A few fanatics, trusting in the protection of Athené, had thrown themselves into the citadel. These were overpowered and put to the sword, and Athens was laid in ashes. At the same time the Persian fleet anchored in the Bay of Phalerum.

A new danger to Greece now arose. The commanders of the fleet, with the exception of Themistocles, resolved to withdraw from Salamis and take position nearer the isthmus in order to coöperate with the land forces in the defence of the Peloponnesus. This movement would have left the wives and families of the Athenians at the mercy of the invaders. Themistocles opposed it with all his energy, both for this reason and because he was convinced that the true policy of the Greeks was to bring on the decisive battle in the narrow strait, where the advantages were all with them. Finding the other commanders bent upon their selfish policy, he resorted to a characteristic stratagem. He sent a message to Xerxes, informing him of the division in the Greek councils, and urged him to attack their fleet at once, and at the same time detained the allies at Salamis by his threats and arguments until the Persian king could act upon his information. He thus prevented the selfish and suicidal plan of the allies from being acted upon. Xerxes at once resolved

to accept the suggestion of Themistocles, and stationed his fleet on the Attic side of the Strait of Salamis, a movement which rendered the retreat of the Greeks impossible. The Persian ships outnumbered their antagonists three to one, but as soon as the news of their movement was communicated to the Greek commanders, preparations were made for battle. The news was brought by Aristides, who had returned from his exile to share the fate of his countrymen. The next morning the hostile fleets confronted each other, ready for the struggle which was to decide the fate of Greece and of the world.

In the morning a wind usually arose, and caused a heavy swell in the channel. Themistocles succeeded in delaying the attack until this swell had arisen to the great inconvenience of the cumbrous ships of the Persians. The lighter vessels of the Greeks were not affected by it. They dashed at their enemy with ease, drove their brazen prows through their sides, and sunk them. The Athenians were opposed to the Phœnicians, while the Peloponnesians confronted the Ionian allies of the Persians. The battle lasted all day, and towards evening the Persian fleet, defeated and disheartened, abandoned the Straits of Salamis. Two hundred of the enemy's ships were destroyed and sunk by the Greeks, and a large number captured with all their crews. Xerxes had stationed a body of troops on the little island of Psyttaleia to assist such Persian vessels, and destroy such Greek ships as might be driven upon the island. When the defeat of the Persian fleet was complete, Aristides with a body of Athenians crossed to the island and put the Persians to the sword. The Greeks lost forty ships in the naval battle.

The defeat of his fleet utterly disheartened Xerxes, and, as has been related, he at once passed from the lofty heights of self-confidence to the depths of despair. He instantly abandoned the invasion of Greece, and retreated towards the Hellespont, sending the fleet at the same time back to Asia. Mardonius was left to attempt the conquest of Greece the next year.

In the spring of B. C. 479, Mardonius endeavored to detach the Athenians from the Grecian league. Failing in this he invaded Attica. The Athenians a second time took refuge in Salamis, and their deserted city was occupied by the Persians. The Athenians demanded aid of Sparta,

An answer was delayed for ten days. The Athenian envoys, disgusted with the selfish policy of Sparta, now declared that unless aid were immediately forthcoming their countrymen would make terms with Persia, and leave Sparta to her fate. The Ephors now acted with vigor. They sent a force of 45,000 men, of whom 5,000 were Spartans, against the Persians, under their new regent Pausanias. Mardonius at once abandoned Athens, and retreated into Bœotia, where he took position near the city of Platæa. Pausanias, reinforced by the contingents from Athens and the other Greek states, followed him. A decisive battle was fought under the walls of Platæa, in which the Persians and their allies of northern Greece were routed with fearful loss. Mardonius was slain, and but 40,000 men of all his immense army escaped. His camp with all its treasures fell into the hands of the victors. The field of battle was made sacred by the Greeks, and its guardianship was intrusted to the Platæans, to attack whom it was solemnly declared was sacrilege.

On the same day another success crowned the Greek arms. The Persian fleet and a strong land force were defeated by the Greek fleet at Mycælé in Ionia, in Asia Minor.

Greece was now free from danger at the hands of the Persians. The victory of Salamis and the destruction of the army of Mardonius, had so disheartened Xerxes that he thought no more of military glory, but gave himself up to pleasure. His disasters might have been retrieved had he made the effort, but they changed his entire character, and from this time he ceased to be a formidable enemy of the Greeks. The power of the great king in the Mediterranean was so thoroughly destroyed that for twelve years no Persian sail ventured to show itself in those waters. The Greeks were thus at liberty to revenge the injuries their enemies had inflicted upon them. A fleet of fifty ships was fitted out for the purpose of rescuing every Greek city in Europe or Asia from the Persian dominion. Athens furnished the majority of the vessels, but the command was given to the Spartan Pausanias. He drove the Persians out of Cyprus, and then passing through the Hellespont, took Byzantium, and made it his residence for seven years. The Athenians, after a long siege, regained Sestos, the colony which had been founded in the Thracian Chersonese by Miltiades, the uncle of the hero of Marathon.

CHAPTER V.

THE SUPREMACY OF ATHENS.

The Persian War really Beneficial to Athens—The City Rebuilt upon a Better Plan—It is Fortified—Jealousy of Sparta—Themistocles Baffles the Spartans—Importance of Athens in Greek Affairs—Pausanias Removed from the Command of the Greek Fleet—An Athenian Admiral Appointed—Formation of the Confederacy of Delos, with Athens at its Head—Scyros made Tributary to Athens—Athens the Leading State of Greece—Treason of Pausanias—His Death—Downfall of Themistocles—Death of Aristides—Cimon—Changes in the Confederacy of Delos—Successes of Cimon—Revolt of the Helots—Sparta asks Aid of Athens—Insults the Athenian Army—Fall of Cimon—Rise of the Democratic Party at Athens—Pericles in Power—His Measures against Sparta—The War with Persia Continued—Victories of Athens over Corinth, Epidaurus, and Ægina—The Long Walls of Athens Constructed—Efforts of Sparta against Athens—Patriotism of Cimon—He is Recalled to Athens—Battle of Ænophyta—Sparta Humbled—Quarrel About the Delphian Oracle—War with Sparta Renewed—Athens Loses Bœotia—Greatness of Athens under Pericles—He Beautifies the City—The Parthenon Built—The Intellectual Supremacy of Athens Established—Disaffection of the Members of the Confederacy of Delos—Rebellion of Samos—It is Crushed.

THE Persian war, though apparently so disastrous to Athens, proved in the end the source of her greatness. The sacrifices which it demanded from them aroused in the Athenians a patriotism, and revealed to them the possession of a power of which they had not been conscious. Themistocles had saved the Athenian people by causing them to abandon their city to its fate and trust to their ships, and the great victory of Salamis and the subsequent successes against Persia had shown him the true policy to be pursued in the future. In order to be a great state Athens must become a great naval power. To this end all classes of the people now devoted themselves.

Returning home from their enforced exile in Salamis, Ægina, and Trœzene, the Athenians found their city a heap of ruins. Providing temporary shelter for their families, they began the rebuilding of the city upon a larger and more magnificent scale, and decided to fortify it with a wall. The construction of the wall gave great offence to the allies, who feared any increase in the strength of Athens, and the Æginetans appealed to the Spartans to put a stop to the work. Sparta could not decently undertake such a step by force, but, always jealous of Athens, endeavored to accomplish by craft what she did not venture to attempt

in a more open manner. She found her match in Themistocles, whose adroitness gained a delay for the Athenians which enabled them to carry their walls so far forward that it was no longer possible for Sparta to stop the work without open war. He then boldly defended the course of his countrymen, and Sparta was obliged to sanction the completion of the walls, and to acknowledge herself outwitted. Athens being safe, Themistocles enclosed Piræus and Munychia with a strong wall, and improved and enlarged the harbor that it might serve as a safe and ample shelter for the superb fleet he designed for his country. The work of rebuilding the city was rapidly prosecuted. Themistocles also secured important changes in the constitution by which the humblest citizens were made eligible to the highest honors in the state.

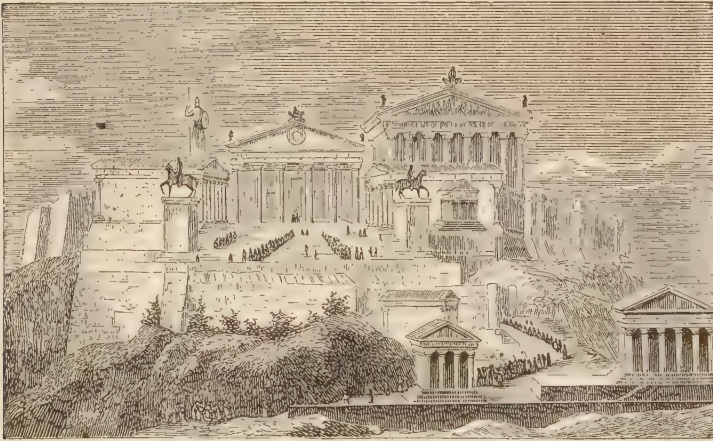
tan commander, the Ionian Greeks, distrusting Sparta, and feeling that the naval superiority of the Athenians entitled them to the first place in the expedition, requested Aristides and Cimon to assume the chief command of the allied fleet. Their request was at once granted, and when Dorcis, the new Spartan admiral, arrived, he did not venture to interfere with this arrangement.

Nor was this merely a measure which affected the fleet. It was a revolution of the entire Grecian system, and constituted a long step on the part of Athens to the supremacy in Greece. Under the wise guidance of Aristides, who was quick to secure the advantage thus offered, a league was formed in which the Athenians, Ionians, the islands of Rhodes, Cos, Lesbos, and Tenedos, Miletus, the Greek towns of the Chalcidian peninsula and Byzantium,

bound themselves to mutually assist each other in resisting the aggressions of Persia. The league was designed to embrace all who sought in the maritime power of Athens a protection against Persia. The details of the league were arranged by Aristides, who, while he secured the leadership to Athens, gave entire satisfaction to all the other members by his fairness. A tax, called *phoros*, was assessed upon

each member, and officers were appointed to levy and collect it. The treasury and place of meeting of the deputies charged with the direction of the league were located in the sacred island of Delos, from which the union was known as the Confederacy of Delos.

Soon after the formation of this league, Aristides returned to Athens, and was succeeded in the command of the fleet by Cimon. About B. C. 475, Cimon captured the city of Eion, on the Strymon, and about B. C. 470, expelled the inhabitants of the island of Scyros, who had been declared guilty of piracy by the Amphictyonic Council, and colonized it with Athenians, thus gaining an important naval station for Athens, and taking the first decisive step in the brief but brilliant career of



THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS, AS IT WAS.

Athens had now grown beyond the insignificant position in which the Persian war had found her, and had fairly entered upon her great career as the leading state of Greece. She had furnished thirty ships to the fleet sent out by the Greek cities to relieve their Asiatic brethren after Plataea and Mycalé. The command of the expedition had been assigned to Pausanias, as has been stated. Elated by his success at Plataea, Pausanias dreamed of becoming a still greater personage, and was willing to sacrifice his country to his ambition. He entered into secret negotiations with Xerxes, and his conduct towards his countrymen was so insolent and overbearing that the Greek commanders became alarmed, and suspecting his true intentions, demanded his recall. Before the arrival of the new Spar-

aggrandizement upon which the Athenians now entered.

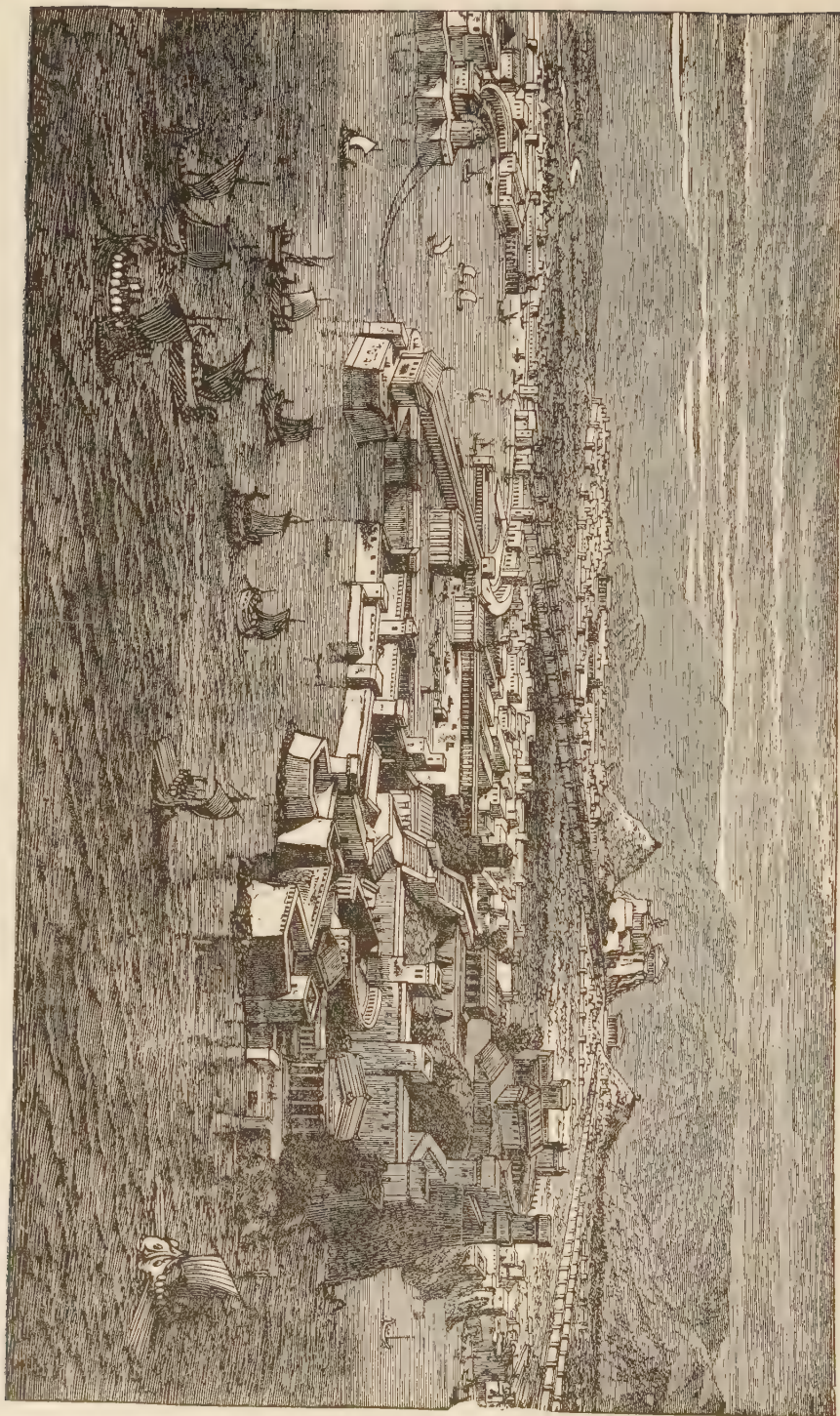
Sparta had bitterly resented the formation of the Confederacy of Delos, which she regarded as an encroachment upon her supremacy, but the dread that Persia might renew her efforts at conquest induced her to allow the Athenians to have their own way for the time. A little later the last vestige of supreme power was lost by the misconduct of her leaders, and was seized by the active and daring Athenians. The genius of Themistocles had raised Athens to a position which entitled her to the first place in Greece, and the wisdom and virtue of Aristides enabled her to gain it without offending her allies at a time when their friendship was all important to her. The influence of Aristides was now stronger in Athens than that of his rival. The utter lack of principle in the character of Themistocles, and the well-grounded belief of the Athenians that he had accepted bribes in his settlement of the affairs of the Greek islands, had greatly weakened their confidence in him. The aristocratic party, led by Cimon, opposed him because of his reforms, which increased the influence of the common people at their expense. When Pausanias was recalled from Byzantium, Themistocles was charged with complicity in his treason, but was triumphantly acquitted. His acquittal, however, gave rise to such intense bitterness of party spirit that he was ostracised. He retired to Argos, indignant at this treatment, which was a sorry return for his great services to the state. Five years later, Pausanias, being detected in his treasonable correspondence with the Persians, fled to the temple of Athené of the Brazen House for refuge. Unable to remove him without incurring the guilt of sacrilege, the ephors blocked up the entrances to the temple and removed the roof, and left him to die of starvation and exposure to the elements. When at the point of death, he was removed from the temple, lest his dead body should pollute the sanctuary. So died the victor of Platea.

After the death of Pausanias, proofs were discovered among his papers which made it clear that Themistocles, who was undoubtedly an innocent man when first charged with the crime, had become a party to the plot with Persia. A council of the allies, assembled at Sparta, ordered his arrest. He sought safety in flight, and suc-

ceeded, after a series of remarkable adventures, in reaching the Persian court, where he was kindly received. He was assigned a residence at Magnesia, where he died, B. C. 449.

The death of Aristides, in B. C. 468, left Cimon, the leader of the aristocratic party, the most influential man in Athens. He was immensely wealthy, and he used his money freely in beautifying his native city, and in contributing to the expenses of the state. Naxos, the largest of the Cyclades, alarmed by the fact that Athens was using the power and wealth of the Confederacy of Delos for her own aggrandizement, withdrew from the league, and was reduced by Cimon at the head of a confederate fleet, and made tributary to Athens. About the same time the smaller states of the league asked and received permission to make an annual payment of money into the confederate treasury instead of furnishing their quota of ships. Thus they deprived themselves of their only means of resisting Athens, whose navy was maintained at its maximum strength. In the same year Cimon, with a fleet of 300 ships, 200 of which were Athenian, expelled the Persians from several towns in Caria, and Lycia, in Asia Minor, and defeated them by sea and land at the mouth of the Eurymedon, in Pamphylia. Returning home he encountered and destroyed a squadron of eighty ships coming to reinforce the Persian fleet, ignorant of its defeat. These successes entirely broke the Persian power, and drove them from the Mediterranean and the coast of Asia Minor, and were regarded as among the greatest ever won by the Greeks. Cimon, though a political opponent of Themistocles, pursued the domestic and foreign policy of that statesman with vigor. The Athenians now undertook to plant a line of colonies in Thrace. Being opposed by the people of Thasos, who had valuable possessions in Thrace, war ensued between Athens and that island. About B. C. 463, Thasos was subdued, and made tributary to Athens, into whose hands passed also the Thasian fleet and the possessions of that state in Thrace.

The Thasians in their extremity had asked aid of Sparta, which, though an ally of Athens, did not hesitate to prepare secretly to attack the latter. The execution of this design was prevented by the destruction of the city of Sparta and 20,000 of its citizens by a fearful earthquake, in



VIEW OF ATHENS, SHOWING PIRATES AND THE LONG WALLS.

B. C. 464. The Helots took advantage of the misfortunes of their masters to rise in rebellion, and being joined by the Messenians, they fortified themselves in Mount Ithomé, in Messenia, and pressed the Spartans so hard that they were obliged to ask aid of their allies, among others of Athens, whose destruction they were plotting at the moment of their misfortune. The earthquake was but the crowning event of a long series of disasters which had greatly weakened the power and influence of Sparta.

The Spartan appeal was warmly seconded by Cimon and the aristocratic party. The influence of that leader was already on the wane. His Thasian expedition had disappointed his countrymen, who had expected nothing less than the conquest of Thrace or Macedonia. Pericles indeed had charged him with being bribed by the Macedonian king to leave him in peace. His appeal in behalf of Sparta was successful, however, and he was despatched to her aid with a force of 4,000 heavy-armed troops. Conscious of their own treachery towards their ally, the Spartans suspected the fidelity of the Athenians, and took the first opportunity to dismiss them. This they did abruptly, saying they had no further need of their services. At the same time they retained the troops furnished by their other allies. The pretext was that the Athenians, who were noted for their skill in siege operations, had failed to take Ithomé. Cimon returned home not only unsuccessful, but under the cloud of this studied insult which had been put upon his country by the state he had so earnestly sought to serve. His political influence was for the time at an end.

The democratic party now rose into power under the leadership of Pericles. Pericles was of noble birth, his mother being descended from the princes of Sicyon and the Alcæonidæ, while through his father, Xanthippus, he was connected with Pisistratus, whom he is said to have resembled in person. He was grave and reserved in manner, of noble bearing and a strikingly handsome countenance. He kept himself secluded from society, and appeared in public only on occasions of note, wisely considering that such a course would increase, rather than diminish, the interest with which the people regarded him. As a military leader, he was inferior to either Themistocles or Cimon, but his

intellectual gifts were many, and had been carefully trained by constant intercourse with Anaxagoras, Protagoras, Zeno and other philosophers. He was a master of eloquence, which he had carefully studied, and is said to have been the first Athenian to commit his speeches to writing.

He promptly took advantage of the ill success of Cimon at Ithomé to strike a decisive blow at the aristocratic party. He made some important changes in the constitution, which weakened the influence of the aristocracy and increased the power of the commons. As a result of the controversy, Cimon was ostracised, and condemned to a ten years' banishment.

Pericles was thus without a rival at Athens. His policy aimed at securing to Athens the supremacy by land as well as sea, and was thus an advance upon that of Themistocles. Retaining her position as leader in the struggle against Persia, but treating this as a secondary matter, he directed her main efforts to acquiring such authority and influence in central and northern Greece as would make her superior to Sparta as a land power. To accomplish this he cultivated friendly relations and alliances with such of the Peloponnesian states as were jealous of Sparta, and took advantage of the bad feeling caused by the insult offered to Athens by the Lacedæmonians in dismissing her troops, to urge his countrymen to renounce the Spartan alliance. Argos had seized the occasion offered by the troubles of Sparta to conquer Mycenæ, Tiryns, and some neighboring towns, and with this state thus strengthened Athens made an alliance, and, a little later, with Megara. This last alliance gave Athens the control of the passes by which the Peloponnesian army must enter central Greece, and also the control of the Crissæan Gulf. Naturally this step gave serious offence to Sparta. In order to strengthen Megara the Athenians connected it with its port of Nisæa by two parallel lines of walls which they garrisoned with their own troops.

Meanwhile the contest with Persia was continued. The fleet of the Confederacy of Delos watched the Asiatic shore, and about B. C. 460 the revolt of Inarus, in Egypt, gave the Greeks an opportunity of weakening Persia in that quarter by aiding the rebellion of one of her most important provinces. Aid was sent to Egypt; with what result has already been related.

Corinth, Epidaurus, and Ægina, alarmed by the growth of the Athenian power, and the evident subordination of the confederacy to the purposes of Athens, endeavored to put a stop to what they considered a dangerous ambition. The allies were defeated in a naval battle near Ægina. The Æginetans lost the best part of their fleet. On land the Corinthians were decisively defeated, and the power of Athens was strengthened by these successes. Sparta was still engaged in the siege of Ithomé, and though anxiously desiring to see her rival crippled, was obliged to remain a spectator of the contest.

Foreseeing the troubles about to burst upon his country, Pericles now caused the construction of "the Long Walls" by which Athens was united to its ports of Piræus and Phalerum. The wall from Athens to Phalerum was four miles, and that to Piræus four and one-half miles in length. These gigantic works were the wonder of the time, and were the especial pride of the Athenians.

Sparta now resolved to strike a blow at Athens in spite of the Helot war. Under the pretext of assisting the Dorians, whose territory had been invaded by the Phocians, she sent a force of 1,500 heavy-armed Spartan troops and 10,000 allies into Doris. The Phocians at once retired, and the Spartan army began the execution of the real design of the expedition, which was the destruction of the Athenian power in Bœotia. Sparta herself had united in punishing Thebes for her alliance with Persia in the battle of Plataea. The Spartan army now sought to undo this work by rebuilding the walls of Thebes and reducing the Bœotian cities to obedience to her. The aristocratic party in Athens, which had vainly opposed the construction of the Long Walls, now invited the Spartans to invade Attica, put a stop to this work, and destroy the democratic rule. The Spartans accepted the invitation, and took position at Tanagra, on the border of Attica. The Athenian government, suspecting the design, rapidly collected such troops as could be spared from the siege of Ægina, which was still in progress, and marched against the Spartans, B. C. 457. A bloody battle ensued. The Thessalians deserted to the Lacedæmonians in the heat of the battle, and this defection gave them the victory. Their own losses, however, prevented them from invading Attica, and they retired into the Peloponnesus.

Previous to the battle, Cimon, who had been strongly suspected of being engaged in the treasonable plot of his party, hastened to the Athenian camp from his place of exile, and earnestly begged leave to fight against his country's enemies. His request was refused, and he withdrew, but first charged a large body of his most devoted friends, who were in the Athenian ranks, to spare no effort to relieve themselves from the foul suspicion of treachery. They bore themselves so gallantly in the battle that they entirely dispelled the suspicions which had attached to them and to their leader. Upon the return of the army to Athens, Pericles proposed and carried a decree revoking Cimon's banishment.

The next year, B. C. 456, the Athenians marched into Bœotia, and defeating the Bœotians at Enophyta, revoked all the Spartans had done and re-established their own power, together with a democratic form of government. Phocis and Locris were soon afterwards added to these acquisitions. In B. C. 455 Ægina was reduced and made a tributary ally, and the Long Walls were completed. An Athenian fleet sailed around the Peloponnesus and burned the Lacedæmonian ports of Methoné and Gythium. Ithomé had been evacuated by the Helots and Messenians in the same year, and these were settled by the Athenian admiral in Naupactus, a town of the Ozolian Locrians, near the mouth of the Corinthian Gulf. This expedition also compelled the islands of Zacynthus and Cephalenia to join the Athenian alliance. Athens was now the supreme power in central and northern Greece and in the Mediterranean.

Sparta made no further effort to resist the advance of Athens, but in B. C. 452 concluded a five years' truce with that city. In the same year Cimon sailed to Cyprus to wrest that island from the Persians. He formed the siege of Citium, after sending a part of his fleet to Egypt to assist the revolted King Amyrtæus, who still held out in the Delta; but he died shortly after the siege began. The command now devolved on Anaxicrates, who, being short of provisions, raised the siege of Citium and sailed for Salamis, in the same island, where he defeated and destroyed the Phœnician and Cilician fleet in the service of Persia. This success was followed by peace with Persia, as has been related in the history of that country.

Trouble again arose with Sparta. The

inhabitants of Delphi, of Dorian origin, asserted their right to manage the affairs of their sacred city without the interference of the Phocians, in whose territory their city stood. Sparta intervened in their favor, drove out the Phocians from the city, and restored to the Delphians their former privileges. Delphi declared itself an independent state, and rewarded the Spartans for their assistance by granting them the right of precedence in consulting the oracle. A brazen wolf was erected in the city and inscribed with this decree. The privilege of obtaining the first response from the oracle was of great value, as its moral effect upon the religious Greeks was all-powerful. Athens, which had hitherto enjoyed it, was unwilling to resign it. The Spartans had scarcely left Delphi when Pericles marched into it and restored the temple to the Phocians, who inscribed on the brazen wolf a decree confirming Athens in her ancient privilege.

Assured that Sparta would resent this action and take up their cause, a number of the exiles of Boeotia, who had been driven out upon the re-establishment of the Athenian supremacy in their country, seized Orchomenus, Chæronea, and several unimportant towns in Boeotia. The more hot-headed Athenians clamored for war, but Pericles advised his countrymen to remain quiet for the present, as the season was unfavorable. With a supreme contempt for their enemies, and in disregard of the counsels of Pericles, a thousand young Athenians, under Tolmides, marched into Boeotia. Chæronea was taken and garrisoned by the Athenians, but as the little army was leaving the place it was surprised and cut to pieces by the Boeotians, Tolmides himself being among the slain. The remaining Athenians were made prisoners. In order to secure the return of the captives Athens was obliged to restore the exiles, evacuate Boeotia, and consent to the re-establishment of the oligarchies she had overthrown. The rashness of the Athenians had cost them their supremacy in Boeotia, which, with the exception of Plataea, was now to be counted among their most determined enemies. Phocis and Locris were also lost to Athens, and Eubœa and Megara revolted from her. At the same time the five years' truce between Athens and Sparta expired, and the Spartans prepared to avenge the insult put upon them at Delphi. Pericles had set out upon

an expedition to reduce Eubœa, when he was recalled by the advance of the Spartans, who marched to the neighborhood of Eleusis and threatened Athens. Pericles is said to have saved the capital by bribing the Spartan King Pleistoanax, and Cleaudrides, his guardian and counsellor, to evacuate the country. Pericles then resumed his Eubœan expedition, and compelled the submission of the island. The Athenians gained no further successes, however, and, alarmed by the dangers which threatened them, they concluded (B. C. 445) a thirty years' truce with Sparta and her allies, by which they abandoned all their acquisitions in the Peloponnesus and consented that Megara should become an ally of Sparta. Pericles, whose wisdom had been vindicated by the results of the war, was now more than ever trusted by his countrymen.

Under Pericles Athens reached the height of her glory and power. The proudest period of her history may be stated as that which elapsed between the victory of Cænophyta, B. C. 456, and the defeat at Chæronea, B. C. 447. After the conclusion of the thirty years' truce, Pericles put into execution a policy which made Athens the most illustrious city of Greece. Party disputes almost ceased. The aristocratic party honored him as one of the most famous men their order had ever produced; he won the confidence of the mercantile class by his protection and encouragement of commerce; and the esteem of all classes by the interest which he took in, and the new life which he infused into, their respective callings. He sought to make Athens the most famous and beautiful city in the world, the centre of art and refinement, and the source from which democratic institutions should flow out to all nations. He was liberally aided by the wonderful genius and great liberality of his fellow-citizens, and by the enormous resources at his command. In the brief period which elapsed between the thirty years' truce and the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, Athens became the admiration of the ancient world and the wonder of modern times. The city was adorned with noble public buildings. The magnificent Parthenon, or Temple of Athené, was built on the Acropolis, from the plans of Ictinus and Callicrates. Phidias superintended its erection and adorned it with the most beautiful sculptures and with a colossal statue of Athené, in ivory,

forty-seven feet in height. The Odéum, a theatre designed for musical performances, was built on the southeastern foot of the Acropolis. The reconstruction of the Erechtheum, or the ancient temple of Athené Polias, was begun, but the Peloponnesian war put a stop to the work upon it. The Acropolis was adorned with a magnificent entrance on the western side, called the Propylæa. The city was beautified and the arts flourished. A third wall, parallel to the Long Walls, was built between Athens and Piræus, thus rendering the communication with the port more secure. Pir-

trammels, became more vigorous. This period is adorned with the names of Æschylus, the true father of the Greek tragedy; and Sophocles and Euripides, his worthy successors. Aristophanes made comedy famous at Athens; Thucydides and Xenophon raised history to its true dignity; and Socrates laid the foundations of the purest and loftiest philosophy of Greece. The great works of Phidias, those noble sculptures which are still the models of artists, belong to this period; and Polygnotas, Apollodorus, Zeuxis, and Parrhasius raised the art of painting to a high degree



RUINS OF THE PARTHENON, ATHENS.

æus itself was beautified and improved, and a new dock and arsenal were constructed.

In order to extend the influence and power of Athens a system of colonization was begun in the Thracian Chersonese, in Naxos, Andros, and even upon the shores of the Euxine. Lemnos, Imbros, Scyros, and the northern end of Eubœa were also planted with Athenian settlers.

Under Pericles Athens established her true empire, of which her reverses never deprived her, an empire of taste and genius, which has extended down to the present day. Literature, freed from its ancient

of excellence. The mental activity of this period is simply wonderful.

The members of the Confederacy of Delos had long regarded the course of Athens with dissatisfaction and alarm. That state had used the power and resources of the league to advance her own interests, and had made all its members, save the islands of Chios, Samos, and Lesbos, tributary to her. The revenue of the league was 600 talents annually, and this comprised more than one-half of the total revenue of Athens. The Athenians justified their use of the fund by arguing that whatever strengthened Athens carried out

the object of the league by enabling her to be in readiness to take the field in its defence at any moment. The treasury of the league had been removed from Delos to Athens, and the members felt that they were simply paying tribute to their mistress, although Pericles annually laid aside a reserve fund for the uses of the confederacy, which sum amounted to 6,000 talents, or over \$7,000,000, at the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war.

Samos having become involved in a dispute with the Milesians, the latter referred the matter to the arbitration of Athens. Samos was the largest and most important of the members of the confederacy which were still free, and refused to accept the arbitration. Athens resolved to compel it to do so by force. An expedition of forty ships was sent against the island under command of Pericles, who compelled its submission and established a democratic government in the island, in place of the oligarchical form which had previously existed. Upon his departure the Samnians expelled the government he had established, restored their own system, and, being joined by Byzantium, openly rebelled against Athens, B. C. 440. The revolt was put down after a struggle of nine months, and Samos and Byzantium were severely punished. The victory of Athens increased to a marked degree the hostility with which she was regarded by a large number of the Greek states, and it was clear that the most trifling circumstance would array against her the powerful coalition of which Sparta was the leading spirit.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

Coreyra Rebels against Corinth—Athens Assists Coreyra—Sparta's Demands—Athens Prepares for War—Commencement of the Peloponnesian War—The Ten Years' War—The Spartans Invade Attica—Athens Overcrowded—Wisdom of Pericles—Attacks upon him—Cleon the Tanner—The Plague at Athens—Pericles Vindicated—Death of Pericles—Grief of the Athenians—Destruction of Plataea—Revolt of Mitylene—Cleon Causes the Inhabitants to be Sentenced to Death—Reversal of the Decree—Progress of the War—Victory of the Athenian Fleet at Pylos—Sparta Sues for Peace—Cleon Prevents a Settlement—The Tanner's Good Luck—He Defeats the Spartans at Sphacteria—Reverses of Athens—Negotiations for Peace—Death of Cleon and Brasidas—The Peace of Nicias—Alcibiades—Argos Submits to Sparta—The Sicilian Expedition—The Siege of Syracuse—Loss of the Athenian Army and Fleet—Consternation at Athens—The Decelian War—Treachery of Alcibiades—The Athenians Rise Superior

to their Reverses—Fidelity of Samos—Successes of Athens in the East—Alcibiades Seeks to Return to Athens—Aids his Countrymen—Vigorous Efforts of Athens—Persian Policy towards the Greeks—Battle of Cynossema—Return of Alcibiades to Athens—Persia Gives more Active Aid to Sparta—Lyander—Downfall of Alcibiades—Battle of Arginusæ—Battle of Egospotamai—The Athenian Supremacy Destroyed—Athens Surrenders to the Spartans—The Thirty Tyrants—A Reign of Terror—Murder of Alcibiades—Reaction Against the Thirty—Return of the Exiles under Thrasybulus—Fall of the Thirty—Law and Order Restored at Athens.

THE apprehensions of the Athenian leaders were soon realized. A quarrel having broken out between Corinth and its colony of Coreyra, in B. C. 435, Athens interfered in behalf of the Coreyrans. Matters soon came to a crisis. A congress of the Peloponnesian states was held at Sparta, and this body resolved to make war upon Athens, under the leadership of Sparta, B. C. 431. Sparta, as the champion of the Dorian confederacy, demanded certain concessions of Athens; among others the banishment of Pericles and the abdication by Athens of her leadership of the Confederacy of Delos. As a matter of course these demands were refused. Athens, though resolved not to begin the war, prepared to meet it.

Hostilities were precipitated by the treacherous attack of the Thebans upon the little city of Plataea, which had remained friendly to Athens. The attack was defeated, and the Thebans made prisoners. The Plataeans, with equal treachery, massacred their prisoners, and so drew upon themselves the vengeance of the enemies of Athens.

All parties now prepared energetically for war. On the side of Sparta were all the Peloponnesian states (except Achaia and Argos) together with Megara, Boeotia, Phocis, Opuntian Locris, Ambracia, Leucadia, and Anactoria. Their army was strong and well prepared, but their navy was inferior to that of Athens. Still the allies hoped to be able to equip a fleet of 500 galleys, and to secure the assistance of the Phœnician fleet through an alliance with Persia. The allies of Athens were, on the main land, Thessaly and Acarnania, and the cities of Naupactus and Plataea. To these must be added her tributaries on the coasts of Thrace and Asia Minor and in the Cyclades, and her insular allies, Chios, Lesbos, Coreyra, Zacynthus, and, at a later period, Cephallenia.

The Spartans and their allies assembled an army estimated variously at from 60,000 to 100,000 men, at the isthmus of Corinth. The command was assigned to Archidamnus, King of Sparta, who advanced into Attica about the middle of June, B. C. 431.

The *Peloponnesian War*, which thus began, lasted twenty-seven years, and is usually divided into three distinct parts: 1. The Ten Years' War; 2. The Sicilian Expedition; 3. The Decelean War. It brought more misery to Greece than the peninsula had ever known.

I. *The Ten Years' War*, B. C. 431-421.

miles from, Athens. They laid waste the country in every direction, committing their ravages under the eyes of the Athenian army within the city, which clamored loudly to be let out against them. Pericles was not willing to risk an encounter in the field with his inferior force. His design was to draw the enemy out of Attica by assailing the Peloponnesus. He pursued this policy with firmness in the face of incessant attacks upon his courage and patriotism. Conspicuous among the leaders of these assaults upon the great statesman was Cleon, a noisy demagogue, who was



RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF VICTORY—ATHENS.

Upon the invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesians, the inhabitants of the open country and defenceless villages took refuge within the walls of Athens. The city was crowded, as was also Piræus. The marketplace, the public squares, the space between the Long Walls—every available foot of ground, was covered with huts and tents for the temporary accommodation of the rural population. Men even dwelt in casks placed against the Long Walls.

Meanwhile the Peloponnesian army, after ravaging the fertile Thriasian plain, advanced to Acharnæ and encamped on rising ground within sight of, and seven

destined to play an important part in the affairs of this period. Pericles promptly collected a fleet of 100 Athenian and fifty Corcyran ships, and sent it to ravage the Peloponnesus, while a smaller fleet of thirty ships was sent to attack Phocis and Locris. These expeditions were so successful that the Peloponnesians were obliged to abandon Attica after an indecisive campaign of three weeks, as they were needed for the protection of their own country.

In the spring of B. C. 430 the Peloponnesians, under Archidamnus, again invaded Attica, and at the same time the plague broke out in Athens, and committed fright

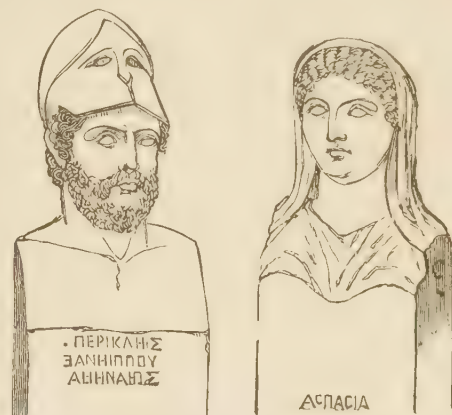
ful ravages among the over-crowded population. All classes turned against Pericles, whose prudent policy, while it was really their salvation, was denounced as the cause of their woes. Pericles, however, pursued his designs with unshaken firmness. He knew that on land Athens was no match for her enemies, and that to risk a battle would be to stake the fate of his country upon a single venture. To relieve Attica he fitted out another naval expedition, and led it in person to ravage the coasts of the Peloponnesus. Returning to Athens he found that the opposition had grown stronger and bolder in his absence, and that an embassy had even been sent to Sparta to sue for peace. The Spartans had contemptuously dismissed the envoys without a hearing, and this had actually increased the opposition to Pericles. The great statesman at once summoned a public assembly, and succeeded in persuading his countrymen to continue the war, but he did not quiet the feeling of distrust with which the people regarded him. Cleon openly charged him with embezzling the public funds. His enemies hoped by fastening this charge upon him to disqualify him for the office of strategus or general. He was tried before the dicastery on this charge, and sentenced to pay a considerable fine. It now became evident to the mass of the people that they were simply lending themselves to an unjust persecution of their great leader and a strong reaction set in in his favor. He was re-elected general, and appears to have regained the confidence and affection of his countrymen. This tardy justice came too late, however.

The plague had numbered among its victims many of his most devoted personal and political friends. It now swept away his sister and his two legitimate sons. During the funeral ceremonies of the younger son, the firmness of Pericles gave way, and he burst into tears in the presence of the people. His ancient house was now without an heir. His only remaining son, the child of Aspasia, was illegitimate. The Athenians, as a partial atonement for their unjust treatment of the father, legitimized this son, who bore the name of Pericles. A year later, the great leader himself lay upon his death-bed. As his weeping friends were recalling his exploits, he turned to them and said: "What you praise in me is partly the result of good fortune, and at all events common to me with many other command-

ers. What I chiefly pride myself upon, you have not noticed—no Athenian ever wore mourning through me." He died, B. C. 429, the greatest man of Greece.

Meanwhile the war went on. In the second campaign, B. C. 430, the Peloponnesians ravaged all Attica, and even plundered the silver-mines of Laurium. Their fleet destroyed the Athenian fisheries, and devastated the island of Zacynthus. The only success of the Athenians was the capture of Potidæa, which surrendered after a blockade of two years. It was occupied by an Athenian colony of one thousand persons.

In B. C. 429 the Spartans marched against Plataea, and laid siege to it. The Plataeans endeavored to hold them back by reminding them of the solemn oath of the Spartan regent Pausanias after the great victory of Plataea, that the little city should be sacred



PERICLES AND ASPASIA.

forever from invasion. The Spartans replied that they would respect this oath if Plataea would abandon the cause of Athens, and reminded the citizens that they had justly incurred the vengeance of the allies by their massacre of the Theban prisoners. The Plataeans refused to desert their Athenian allies, and their city was taken after a heroic defence of two years. All the inhabitants were put to death; the city was utterly destroyed, and its territory was assigned to the Thebans. In B. C. 427 an Athenian squadron of twenty ships defeated a Spartan fleet of forty-seven ships; and also won a second victory over a fresh Spartan fleet of seventy-seven vessels. Both engagements occurred in the Corinthian Gulf.

In the fourth year of the war Mitylene, the capital of the island of Lesbos, revolted from Athens, and, appealing to Sparta for

protection, was received into the Peloponnesian league. A Spartan fleet was sent to the assistance of the revolted city in the spring of B. C. 427, but the Athenians had regained the town before its arrival. They had proceeded to blockade Mitylene immediately upon its revolt, and the majority of the inhabitants, who preferred the rule of Athens to that of their own oligarchs who had made the insurrection, compelled the governor to surrender to the Athenian fleet. The city was reoccupied, and its fate referred to the people of Athens. Influenced by Cleon, the assembly ordered that the men of Mitylene should be put to death and the women and children reduced to slavery. Fearing a reaction from this barbarous decision, Cleon caused a galley to be despatched instantly to Lesbos with the orders of the assembly. The night brought reflection, and next morning the Athenians demanded a new assembly, which was granted by the strategæ, though contrary to law. The vote of the previous day was reconsidered, and the barbarous decree rescinded. A swift galley, manned by a picked crew, who were stimulated to the greatest exertions by the promise of large rewards if they arrived in time, was despatched to Lesbos, with the decree countermanding the order for the execution of the men of Mitylene. Every nerve was strained, the rowers scarcely paused for sleep, and ate their food while laboring at the oars. The weather was fair, and they reached Lesbos just as the Athenian commander was preparing to execute the first order. The city was punished by the destruction of its walls, and the surrender of its fleet to the Athenians. The oligarchical leaders were put to death.

Corinth now attempted to win over the island of Corcyra from the Athenian alliance by releasing the Corcyran prisoners who had been captured in B. C. 432. These reaching home brought about a civil war which came near resulting in the total extermination of the Corcyran oligarchy.

The year B. C. 426 was marked by no military events. Fire and floods agitated Greece throughout its whole extent, and Athens was again visited with the plague. The next year witnessed another invasion of Attica by the Spartans under their King Agis. They soon withdrew in haste, alarmed by the success of the Athenians in establishing a naval station at Pylos, on the coast of Messenia, from which they were endeavor-

ing to excite a revolt of the Helot population. The Spartan army at once marched against Pylos, which was held by a small Athenian force commanded by Demosthenes. Two assaults were repulsed by the little garrison, and a third was prevented by the prompt arrival of an Athenian fleet. The Athenian admiral the next day attacked the Spartans in the harbor of Pylos, and inflicted a severe defeat upon them. The Peloponnesians lost several of their ships, and only saved the remainder by beaching them. The Athenian fleet now blockaded the island of Sphacteria, in which the flower of the Spartan army had been posted. So great was the danger which thus threatened these troops, many of whom were native Spartans of the highest rank, that the ephors, having come to Pylos, and having examined the situation for themselves, saw no hope of rescuing them but by making peace. An armistice was arranged at Pylos, and an embassy despatched to Athens to sue for peace.

The Athenians were greatly elated at beholding the proud Spartans as supplicants for peace. The wiser citizens hoped that a settlement of the dispute might now be peacefully arranged; and such would have been the result had not the demagogue Cleon induced his countrymen to insist upon conditions which the Spartans rejected with indignation. Hostilities were renewed. Demosthenes, fearing that the wintry weather which was now approaching would compel him to raise the blockade of the island of Sphacteria, and thus allow the Spartans to escape to the mainland, resolved to make an immediate attack, but regarding his force as too weak to attempt it, sent to Athens explaining his plan and asking for reinforcements. The assembly, disheartened by this report, accused Cleon of having caused it to lose the opportunity for securing an honorable peace. The noisy Cleon retorted by declaring that the messengers of Demosthenes had not stated the facts of the case truly. Driven from this plea, he began to accuse the commanders of incompetence, and declared that if he were Strategus he would take the island at once. Nicias, his political opponent, asked sarcastically, "Why don't you go then?" The assembly, which had burst into a fit of laughter at the boast of Cleon, the tanner, now took up the words of Nicias, and insisted that Cleon should take the command at Pylos, and make good his boast. After

vainly trying to excuse himself from accepting so dangerous an honor, he agreed to undertake the task. Declining a reinforcement of Athenian troops, and taking with him only a small force of auxiliaries, he sailed from Athens, promising to take the island within twenty days, and either exterminate the Spartan force, or bring them in chains to Athens. Reaching Pylos, where Demosthenes had made every preparation for the attack, and was only awaiting reinforcements, Cleon assumed the command. By a combination of most singularly fortunate accidents, Cleon's attack was successful. The island of Sphacteria was taken, and all its defenders who survived were made prisoners. The harbor of Pylos was strongly fortified and garrisoned by Messenian troops and made a base for future operations against Sparta. Cleon and Demosthenes sailed for Athens with their prisoners, returning within the twenty days. Having thus gained one of the most important victories of the war, Cleon's influence at home was greatly increased, a result due entirely to his own accidental good fortune and the prudence of Demosthenes. The possession of the Spartan prisoners enabled the Athenians to exercise a constant restraint over the movements of their enemy, and to prevent the invasion of their territory by threatening to put their prisoners to death. The Spartans, sensible of the disadvantage under which they now labored, repeatedly made overtures of peace, to all of which the Athenians turned a deaf ear.

The eighth year of the war, B. C. 424, opened most encouragingly for the Athenians. Thus far the results of the war were largely in their favor. In the early part of the year their prospects were still more improved by the conquest of the island of Cythera by Nicias, who placed Athenian garrisons in its two principal towns; after which he ravaged the coast of Laconia, and captured the town of Thyrea, in which the Æginatans had been settled by the Spartans after the loss of their island. All the surviving natives of Ægina were barbarously put to death by the Athenians.

The Athenians were so greatly elated by their successes that they undertook to regain all the territory they had held previous to the thirty years' truce. They won some trifling successes in Megara, but were totally defeated in Bœotia. About the same time the Thracian dependencies were partly

conquered and partly won over to the Peloponnesian alliance by the Spartan commander Brasidas. He also subdued the most eastern of the Chalcidian peninsulas.

Athens was now sorely disheartened, and the Spartans were eager to recover their relatives taken captive at Sphacteria, who were held by the Athenians. Both parties being anxious for peace, a year's truce was concluded, B. C. 423, and negotiations for a permanent peace were begun. They were interrupted a few days later by the revolt of the town of Scioné, which went over to Brasidas. As the truce had forbidden any change in the situation of affairs, the Athenians demanded the restoration of the town. Brasidas refused to comply with the demand, and at the instigation of Cleon, an expedition was despatched under his command to retake Scioné and put the inhabitants to death. He took the towns of Toroné and Galepsus, and was advancing upon Amphipolis, when he found his progress barred by Brasidas. A severe battle ensued, in which the Athenians were defeated. Cleon was slain, and his country was thus relieved of his pernicious influence. Brasidas was mortally wounded.

The deaths of Cleon and Brasidas removed the principal obstacles to a general peace, and in the spring of B. C. 421 a treaty was concluded between Athens and Sparta, establishing a peace for fifty years. This treaty is known as the "Peace of Nicias." Some of the Spartan allies complained that Sparta had sacrificed their interests in order to carry out her own plans. These withdrew from the Peloponnesian league, and formed a new confederacy under the leadership of Argos. Athens immediately concluded an alliance with Argos, Elis, and Mantinea for a hundred years, B. C. 420.

The Athenians had been led to this step by the efforts of Alcibiades, who had at first been friendly to Sparta, but had been changed into a bitter enemy of that country by the contempt with which the Spartans had met his advances. He was one of the most accomplished of the Grecian leaders, possessed of great abilities, but utterly without principle, and a man of dissolute habits. Upon the death of Cleon he became the leader of the popular party, not from sympathy with the cause of the people, but as a means of furthering his own ambition.

The disputes between Sparta and Argos soon culminated in war, and Agis, the Spartan king, won the important victory of

Mantinea, B. C. 418. This defeat strengthened the oligarchical party at Argos, which overthrew the government, repudiated the Athenian alliance, and made a treaty with Sparta. The people succeeded in expelling this party finally, and applied to Athens for aid. An Athenian fleet and army were despatched to help them, under the command of Alcibiades. Nothing decisive resulted from this expedition. The peace between Athens and Sparta continued to be nominally observed. All this while the Athenian garrison at Pylos was committing ravages in Laconia, while the Spartans in retaliation sent out privateers to prey upon Athenian commerce.

II. *The Sicilian Expedition*, B. C. 415-413. About B. C. 416 the quarrels of the Greek colonies in Sicily revived the great struggle between the Ionian and the Dorian races. The cities of Egesta and Selinus having become involved in a quarrel, the former appealed to Athens for aid, which was granted, the Egestans having deceived the Athenians as to their ability to bear their share of the expenses of the war. A fleet was despatched to Egesta under the command of Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus, B. C. 415. Alcibiades had been publicly accused of sacrilege, and was suffered to depart with this accusation hanging over him. Upon reaching the coast of Sicily the Athenian commanders learned the deception that had been practised upon their countrymen by the Egestans, and were at a loss what course to pursue. Each one suggested a different plan. That of Alcibiades was adopted, however, namely, to secure new allies among the Greek cities of Sicily, and with their aid to attack both Selinus and Syracuse. It was the least promising plan of the three. The expedition proceeded to the coast of Sicily, took Catana, and made it the base of the operations designed against Syracuse. Alcibiades was now recalled to Athens to answer to the charge of sacrilege, but instead of proceeding to Athens escaped to Italy, from which he passed over to Sparta and betrayed the plans of his countrymen. The operations of Nicias against Syracuse were not successful, and he went into winter quarters at Naxos. The winter was spent by the Syracusans in strengthening the fortifications of their city.

In the spring of B. C. 414 the Athenians began the siege of Syracuse, and at first gained such advantages that the capture of the city

must have ensued had Nicias, the Athenian commander, acted with vigor and decision. His hesitation gave the Syracusans time to receive aid from the Peloponnesian confederacy. Gylippus, the Spartan admiral, a brave and active commander, reached Sicily, and assembling an army from the Dorian cities of the island, threw himself into Syracuse with this force. By his energetic movements he infused new spirit into the Syracusans, and the tide at once turned. The Athenian investment was broken, and about the same time Gylippus was reinforced by a squadron of thirty Peloponnesian ships, and the cities of Sicily, which until now had remained neutral, embraced the cause of Syracuse. Nicias was obliged to abandon the attempt to blockade Syracuse. He therefore occupied the peninsula of Plemmyrium, where he formed a naval station. His prospects of success were so poor that he wrote to Athens for reinforcements, and asked to be recalled.

Matters were very bad at Athens. The Spartans had invaded Attica in the spring of the year (B. C. 413) and had established a permanent camp at Declea, on the ridge of Mount Parnes, about fourteen miles from the capital and overlooking the Athenian plain. Provisions were scarce, and the revenue almost exhausted. Nevertheless the Athenians refused to recall Nicias, and sent him a reinforcement of seventy-five ships under Demosthenes and Eurymedon. This squadron arrived in time to rescue Nicias from a perilous position in the great harbor to which he had been driven by Gylippus. Finding it impossible to restore matters to a favorable footing, Demosthenes advised Nicias to abandon the attempt upon Syracuse, and return home and drive the Spartans from Attica, but the latter was not willing to return to Greece with the disgrace of a failure resting upon him. He consented to retire to Catana, a less dangerous position, but delayed his movement so long that the Syracusans were informed of it, and attacked him at once. The Athenian fleet was defeated, but the army repulsed the attack upon it. The Syracusans then endeavored to cut off the retreat of the Athenians by closing the mouth of the great harbor with a line of ships which they moored across it. In the attempt to break through this barrier, the Athenians were defeated with the loss of half their fleet. The disheartened crews refused to renew the attempt. The Athenian army was still

40,000 strong, and it was resolved to abandon the fleet and retreat by land to some friendly city, from which they could take shipping back to Greece. Nicias delayed the attempt until the favorable moment had passed, and in the effort to escape the army was defeated, scattered, and forced to surrender. Both Nicias and Demosthenes were made prisoners. Being condemned to death in spite of the efforts of Gylippus and the Syracusan commander Hermocrates to save them, they were rescued by those commanders from the indignity of a public execution by being secretly furnished with the means of ending their own lives. The other captives, after undergoing many hardships, were sold into slavery.

III. *The Decelion War, and the Decline of Athens*, B. C. 413-404. The news of the fate of the Sicilian expedition was received at Athens with the wildest grief and alarm. It is said to have been communicated by a stranger in a barber's shop in the Piræus. The story was so terrible and appeared so incredible, that the man was put to the torture as an impostor and spreader of false news. It was confirmed at length by the arrival of fugitives from the scene of the disaster, and Athens found herself face to face with the greatest calamity she had ever suffered. The private grief of the citizens for the loss of relatives and friends was mingled with a general alarm for the safety of the state. The Spartan post at Declea was a source of incessant annoyance to Athens. It was a constant menace to the city, and kept the garrison always on duty. To add to the gravity of the situation, the allies of Athens now began to desert her. Alcibiades was busy stirring up revolts in Chios, Lesbos, and Eubœa, which applied to Sparta for aid, and Sparta basely entered into a treaty of alliance with Persia, the great enemy of Grecian liberty, to crush Athens and restore the Persian authority over all the countries to which it had formerly extended, including the islands of the Ægean, and Thessaly and Boeotia. Persian gold, which was freely expended in her behalf, enabled Sparta to maintain a fleet superior to that of Athens, and the Peloponnesian navy was largely reinforced by the addition of the powerful Sicilian contingent.

Recovering from their first alarm, the Athenians addressed themselves cheerfully to the task of repairing their losses. The most rigid economy was introduced into the

public service, and a new fleet was ordered to be constructed without delay. The garrison lately established on the Laconian coast was recalled, and the promontory of Sunium was fortified, in order to secure the communication with Eubœa, from which island the Athenians drew the greater part of their provisions.

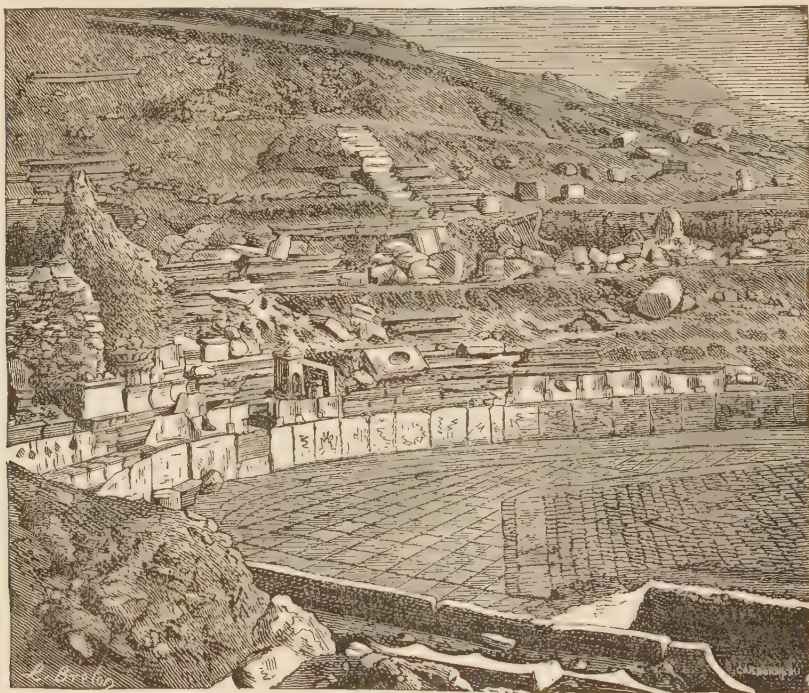
Of all the dependencies of Athens, Samos alone remained faithful. Warned by the revolution in Chios, the Samians rose against their oligarchical government, slew a number of that party, banished the rest, and instituted a democratic government. Athens at once acknowledged Samos as an equal and independent ally. The reserve fund of one thousand talents, which had been set aside by Pericles to meet the needs of an actual invasion, had until now remained untouched, being guarded by the penalty of death which had been denounced against any one who should venture to use it until the emergency for which it had been provided should have arisen. The laws guarding it were now repealed, and the fund was applied to the construction and equipment of the fleet, which, when completed, sailed at once against Chios.

The war was now transferred to the eastern end of the Mediterranean and to Asia Minor. The task which devolved upon Athens was not only to defeat the coalition against her, but to reduce her revolted provinces to obedience. In the first campaign which ensued Athens seemed to have recovered from her losses in Sicily. Lesbos and Clazomenæ were recovered, and the Chians were defeated and their territory laid waste. Samos was made the headquarters of the Athenian fleet, and remained their base of operations during the rest of the war. A battle was fought near Miletus in Asia Minor, in which the Spartans themselves were defeated. The wonderful elasticity with which Athens rose superior to her misfortunes, and the courage, patience and patriotism of her people, which lifted her out of her adversity and placed her on a footing which made the issue of the war doubtful once more, merited and have commanded the admiration of succeeding ages.

Much of this success was due to the genius of Alcibiades, who, influenced by his desire to regain his lost place in Athens, had applied himself to the task of detaching Persia from the Spartan alliance. He moved adroitly, and succeeded in persuad-

ing the satrap Tissaphernes that it was not to the interest of Persia to permit either Athens or Sparta to conquer in this war, but that her true policy lay in allowing them to exhaust each other, and then to seize the dominions of both when they had become too weak to resist her. Influenced by this advice, which was sound, the Persian satrap held back at the moment when a vigorous support given to Sparta would have enabled her to bring the war to a close. He succeeded in overcoming the impatience of the Spartan commanders by

and feared the people. Believing that their only hope of success in the war lay in the assistance of Persia, the Athenians reluctantly accepted these hard terms, and abolished their democratic government. A Council of Four Hundred, chiefly self-appointed, seized the administration of affairs. It soon became apparent that Alcibiades had simply duped his countrymen, and the four hundred were overthrown, and the republic was restored. This revolution had been hastened by the defection of the island of Eubœa to the Spartans, B. c. 411.



THEATRE OF DIONYSUS—ATHENS.

liberal bribes. Sparta had also begun to be ashamed of her unnatural alliance with the ancient enemy of Greece.

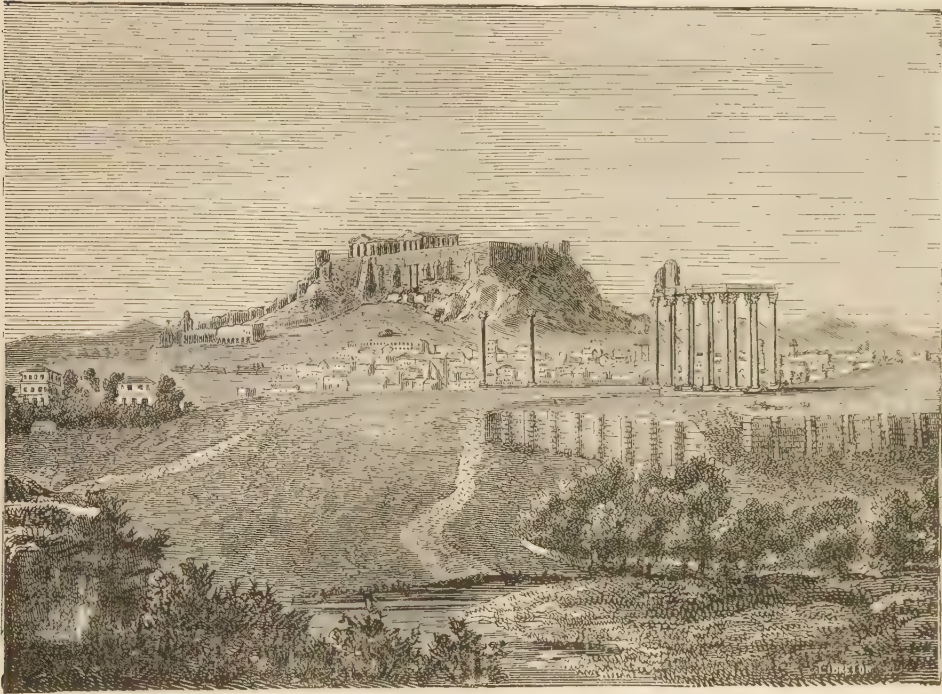
Alcibiades exerted himself to widen the breach which had thus opened between Persia and Sparta. He succeeded in duping the Athenian commanders at Samos into the belief that his influence with Tissaphernes was strong enough to draw him into an alliance with Athens, and offered to effect this result on condition of his being allowed to return to Athens and regain his former position. He stipulated that the republic should be overthrown, and an oligarchy set up in its place, as he both hated

The Athenians were obliged to put forth every energy to maintain their national existence. Their losses during the war had so seriously crippled them that they were compelled to conduct a mainly defensive struggle, and the Persian policy of aiding the state which needed it most prevented them from reaping any of the advantages of their successes.

The Persian policy did not please the Spartans any more than the Athenians. Mindarus, the Spartan commander in Asia Minor, left Miletus in disgust and sailed for the Hellespont, where he hoped to find the other satrap more active in his support.

He was followed by an Athenian fleet of inferior force, under Thrasybulus, and was defeated in an engagement in the strait between Sestos and Abydos. The Spartan admiral now endeavored to rejoin the allied fleet at Eubœa, but his vessels were lost in a storm off Mount Athos. Mindarus himself escaped. The Athenians followed up their advantage by capturing Cyzicus, which had revolted from them. A month or two later a great battle was fought between the Athenian and Peloponnesian fleets at Cynossema, off Abydos, and was decided in favor of the former by the timely

Mindarus, with the Spartan fleet, assisted by a Persian army, under the Satrap Pharnabazus, now undertook the siege of Cyzicus, and the Athenians decided to relieve it. A fierce battle ensued, in which the Peloponnesian fleet was driven ashore, where the Persians, under Pharnabazus, endeavored to defend the ships. Alcibiades landed at the head of his men and routed the Persians, while the Athenians attacked the fleet drawn up on the shore. Mindarus was slain and the whole Peloponnesian fleet captured, except the Syracusan ships, which were burned by their commander.



RUINS OF THE ACROPOLIS—ATHENS.

arrival of Alcibiades with a squadron of eighteen ships from Samos, B. C. 410.

The wily Athenian had lost the confidence of his Persian friends. The Persian king was not satisfied with the policy he had advised, and had ordered Tissaphernes to give active aid to Sparta. One of the first acts of the satrap was to arrest Alcibiades and imprison him at Sardis. At the end of a month he made his escape, reached Clazomenæ, and, determining to risk everything in an effort to secure his recall to Athens, raised a force of eighteen galleys at Samos, and joined the Athenian fleet just in time to decide the victory in their favor.

To this great victory no one had contributed more than Alcibiades. By their success the Athenians became once more masters of the Propontis and the trade of the Euxine. Supplies of grain were collected in the Euxine and sent to Athens, to the great disappointment of the Spartans at Decelea, who had hoped to starve the city into submission.

In B. C. 409 the Athenians gained still greater successes. Chalcedon surrendered to them in spite of the efforts of Pharnabazus to save it, and Alcibiades took Selymbria. In B. C. 408 Byzantium surrendered to him.

The great services of Alcibiades had now gone far to atone for his past misconduct, and in B. C. 407 he ventured to return to Athens. He met with an enthusiastic welcome from the whole population, the senate reversed his sentence, the curse was removed from him, and as he seemed the only leader capable of restoring to Athens her lost power and glory, he was made general, with unlimited powers, and was given command of a force of 100 galleys, 1,500 heavy-armed troops, and 500 cavalry. Alcibiades, with characteristic levity, believed that he had regained the affection and confidence of his countrymen, and seemed blind to the fact that the Athenians were simply according him a new trial, and that he had many influential enemies at Athens, who still doubted him.

Meanwhile the execution of the Persian plans had fallen into more vigorous hands. Cyrus, the younger son of Darius II., the reigning King of Persia, was made satrap of the Asia Minor provinces. He was a man of genuine ability, and of unbounded ambition. As a means of furthering his own schemes he resolved to give a cordial aid to Sparta in her efforts to crush Athens. At the same time the command of the Spartan fleet was given to Lysander, one of the ablest men his country ever produced. These two personages conceived a marked respect for each other's abilities, and agreed upon a hearty and vigorous co-operation. Cyrus reached Sardis in the spring of B. C. 407, and in September of the same year Alcibiades sailed from Athens to Andros, which was held by a Lacedæmonian force. Finding the resistance offered greater than he had expected, Alcibiades left Conon with twenty ships to continue the siege, and with the rest of his fleet sailed for Samos. Here for the first time he learned that Persia had become the open enemy of Athens. Being short of funds he attempted to raise money by levying a contribution upon Cymé, an unoffending dependency of Athens. His demand was refused, and in revenge he ravaged the territory of that city, which lodged a formal complaint against him at Athens. While engaged in this attempt his fleet, which he had left in command of his pilot, Antiochus, was defeated by the Peloponnesians off Notium, with the loss of fifteen ships. Antiochus was himself slain. The conduct of Alcibiades was dissolute and profligate on shore, and his men began to

show signs of grave disaffection. Besides, though in command of a splendid force, he had spent three months in idleness. These things showed to the Athenians that Alcibiades had not changed his character, nor profited by his adversity. A few years of success had revived his old traits. He was accordingly removed from his command, and replaced by ten generals, with Conon at their head. About the same time the command of the Spartan fleet was transferred to Callicratidas, who, in spite of the efforts of Lysander to hamper him and thus secure his own reappointment to the command, showed such energy and self-reliance, and such indifference to the Persian alliance, that Cyrus, who had resented his appointment over Lysander, came to his aid with an abundant supply of money. Previous to this action of Cyrus, Callicratidas had proved his ability by attacking the Athenian fleet in the harbor of Mitylene, and defeating it with the loss of thirty ships. The remaining forty were saved by being hauled ashore under the walls of the town. The Spartan admiral then blockaded the harbor of Mitylene by sea and land.

When the situation of Conon became known at Athens, great efforts were made to aid him. A fleet was immediately fitted out and despatched to Samos, where it was joined by the allies, and its strength increased to 150 sail, after which it proceeded to the relief of Mitylene. Upon the approach of the Athenian fleet Callicratidas detached fifty ships to continue the blockade, and with the remainder of his force advanced to meet the enemy. The hostile fleets encountered each other off the island of Arginusæ, near the southeastern cape of Lesbos, and a severe battle ensued. The result was doubtful until Callicratidas fell into the sea and was drowned. The Spartans, deprived of their leader, were defeated with the loss of seventy-seven ships. Their squadron at Mitylene at once took flight, and Conon was able to leave the harbor and join his friends. The united Athenian fleet then sailed for Samos.

At the beginning of B. C. 405 Lysander was again given the command of the Spartan fleet. Being inferior in force to the Athenians, he avoided an engagement, and eluding the enemy's fleet, crossed the Ægean to the coast of Attica, where he had a conference with Agis. The result of this conference was the departure of the Spartan fleet for the Hellespont, which their adver-

sary had left unguarded. Lysander took position at Abydos.

The Athenians were at this time ravaging Chios. They were withdrawn from this work by the news of Lysander's presence in the Hellespont and of the commencement of the siege of Lampsacus. They at once moved their fleet to the Hellespont, but arrived too late to save Lampsacus. They took position at Ægospotami, or the "Goat's River," on the northern side of the channel, with the intention of bringing the Spartans to battle. The Spartans were well supplied with provisions and occupied a strong position, and the delay was in their favor. The Athenians, on the other hand, held a wretched position—a mere sand-beach, distant from Sestos, whence they drew their supplies, and without anything to recommend it. The sailors were obliged to go ashore to get their meals, and the discipline of the fleet was relaxed to an alarming extent. Alcibiades, who, since his dismissal, had been residing in his castle in the vicinity, saw the danger to which his countrymen exposed themselves by retaining this position, and advised their leaders to move to Sestos, where they would be more secure. His advice was received with insults. There is a reasonable ground for the suspicion that some of the Athenian commanders had been bribed by Cyrus to bring about the state of affairs which now existed. Lysander was aware of the lax discipline of his enemies, and while declining battle, was on the alert to profit by some of their errors. On the fifth day after the arrival of the Athenian fleet he seized the opportunity offered him by the absence of the Athenian seamen, who had gone ashore and were scattered over the country, to cross the strait with his entire force and attack the enemy's ships. He found the entire Athenian fleet, with the exception of eight or ten galleys, deserted and defenceless. He seized them without striking a blow and carried them off. Only eight or ten galleys, including the flag-ship, commanded by Conon, succeeded in escaping. Conon was afraid to return to Athens, and took refuge in Cyprus. The Spartans now held the Athenian fleet and four or five thousand prisoners. The latter they put to death in retaliation for the cruelty with which the Athenians had lately treated their captives. The Spartan success at Ægospotami was the death-blow of the Athenian empire; all

the Athenian possessions fell into the hands of the victors; the democratic governments were overthrown, and oligarchical establishments were set up in their place, consisting of ten citizens, at whose head was a Spartan officer called a *hormost*.

The news of this crushing disaster reached Athens in the night. The citizens, roused from their slumbers by the fearful tidings, slept no more that night. The situation of the city was desperate in the extreme. The sources from which the Athenians drew their provisions were now in the hands of Spartans, and the city could be easily starved into submission, even if the enemy did not attack it. The Public Assembly met the next morning, and it was agreed to overlook all crimes except the most serious, and release the prisoners to enable them to take part in the public defence. All debtors were released on the same condition, and the citizens, assembled in the Acropolis, swore a solemn oath of mutual forgiveness and harmony. Although the result was evident to all, no one spoke of yielding.

The battle of Ægospotami took place in September, B. C. 405, but Lysander, who had spent the intervening time in reducing the Athenian dependencies and establishing oligarchical governments in them, did not appear in Athenian waters until November, when he reached Ægina with a fleet of 150 sail, and proceeded to ravage Salamis and blockade Piræus. At the same time the Peloponnesian army advanced into Attica and encamped in the groves of the Academia, at the gates of Athens.

The fall of the city was only a question of time, for famine had already made its appearance within the walls; but the spirit of the Athenians was unsubdued. They offered to capitulate upon condition of retaining their Long Walls and the port of Piræus. The Spartan ephors rejected their conditions and insisted that the Long Walls should be destroyed for a distance of ten stadia at least. The senator Archestratus proposed to accept the Spartan terms, and was imprisoned by the indignant citizens for his proposal, though many of them were actually dying with hunger. At last Theramenes, formerly one of the Four Hundred, who pretended to have great influence with Lysander, offered to ascertain his real intentions respecting Athens. He wasted three months—three months of terrible suffering to his countrymen—and at last re-

turned to Athens with the answer that the ephors alone had the power to make peace. Upon his return to the city the suffering from the famine had become so great that he was sent back to conclude a peace on the best terms that could be obtained. A council of the allies was held at Sparta to decide the fate of Athens. The Thebans and Corinthians urged that the city should be destroyed, its name obliterated, and the entire population sold into slavery. The Spartans now exhibited the only generosity that ever marked their history. They declared with a magnanimity which is suspicious, to say the least, that they would never consent to annihilate or enslave a city which had rendered such eminent services to Greece. The truth is most probably this: they wished to secure in Athens a useful dependency. The terms finally agreed upon were that the Long Walls and fortifications of Piræus should be destroyed; that the Athenians should relinquish all their foreign possessions and confine themselves to their own territory; and that they should surrender all that remained of their navy, readmit all their exiles, and become allies of Sparta. So reduced were the Athenians by the famine that they eagerly accepted these terms, and about the middle of March, B. C. 404, Lysander took formal possession of Piræus and the Spartan army entered Athens. Lysander at once set to work to execute the terms of the treaty. All the Athenian ships but twelve were carried away, the fortifications of Piræus, the docks, arsenals, ships on the stocks, and the Long Walls were demolished. The work was performed amidst the rejoicings of the Peloponnesians, who made it the occasion of a festival which was a needless insult to the vanquished.

Thus fell the Athenian empire, twenty-seven years after the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, and seventy-three years after the formation of the Confederacy of Delos. The Spartans, in alliance with Persia, were now supreme in Greece. Free governments were everywhere destroyed and oligarchies set up in their stead. Athens was given a genuinely Spartan constitution, which was framed by a provisional government of five ephors presided over by Lysander. Lysander caused these to intrust the government to thirty officers, who are known in history as the "Thirty Tyrants." At their head was Critias, who had been banished by a vote of the people, and who

had been permitted to return by the terms of the surrender. He now used his power to take vengeance upon his enemies. He caused the best and noblest citizens to be put to death, and inaugurated a reign of terror in Athens. A more moderate party, under Theramenes, endeavored to stop this violence by causing the selection from the friends of the Thirty of 3,000 citizens, whose assent was required in all important proceedings. The only result of this measure was to exempt these 3,000 citizens from the illegal acts of the Thirty; all the rest of the Athenians were placed without the pale of the law and might be put to death at the pleasure of the tyrants. A list of suspected citizens and intended victims was now made, and to this list any one belonging to the ruling party might add the name of an enemy. As the estate of the victim went to his informer, the blow fell first upon the rich, and the persecution thus lost its political character and became an effort to secure plunder. Theramenes being urged to destroy a prominent alien resident and enrich himself with his wealth, indignantly refused. He was denounced as a public enemy by Critias, dragged from the altar in the senate house where he had sought sanctuary, and compelled to drink the fatal hemlock. Thus released from all restraint, Critias and his party indulged their cruelty unsparingly.

One of the victims of Sparta was Alcibiades, who had been allowed by the Persians to retire into Phrygia after the battle at Ægospotami. Orders were sent from Sparta to put him to death. His house was surrounded by the Persians and set on fire, and he was slain by the arrows and javelins of his assailants, who shrank from meeting him face to face.

Meanwhile the cruelties of the Thirty had aroused a strong reaction in Greece against them and against Lysander, whose tools they were. The Thebans and Corinthians had come to regard the Thirty as the willing instruments of promoting the ambition of the Spartans, whom they now saw aimed at being the masters rather than the liberators of Greece. A number of the Athenian exiles who had taken refuge in Bœotia now returned, under the leadership of Thrasybulus, accompanied by some Theban citizens, and seized the frontier fortress of Phylé. The Thirty, at the head of the Spartan garrison and the Three Thousand, marched out to attack them, but were de-

feated. The Thirty, conscious that their downfall was close at hand, seized Salamis and Eleusis as places of refuge, removed their inhabitants, and garrisoned them with their own adherents. Critias then convoked an assembly of the Three Thousand and the Spartan garrison, and compelled them to decree the death of the prisoners, who were immediately executed. Thrasybulus now marched to Piræus, defeated the Thirty and their adherents, and seized the hill on which the citadel of the port had formerly stood. Critias was slain in the conflict, and the moderate party formerly led by Theramenes overthrew the Thirty after a reign of eight months, and instituted a new oligarchy known as the Ten. The Thirty and the Ten both asked aid of Sparta, and a new Spartan army under Lysander entered Athens, while their fleet under the brother of Lysander blockaded Piræus.



GREEK RUNNER CARRYING A MESSAGE TO A CITY.

At this juncture, however, the Spartans, becoming suspicious of the designs of Lysander, removed him from the command, which was assumed by Pausanias, the new Spartan king. After some conflicts, in which the Spartans were at first defeated by Thrasybulus, but were at length successful, peace was restored upon condition that the exiles at Piræus should be restored to Athens. Amnesty was granted to all the Athenians except the Thirty, the Ten, and the Eleven, the last of whom were the executioners of the barbarous decrees of the Thirty. The rule of the archons, the judges, and the Senate of Five Hundred was restored, and a revised code of the laws of Draco and Solon was ordered to be prepared by a subsequent assembly of the people. Thrasybulus and his party now marched into the city and were crowned with olive wreaths as the deliverers of Athens.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SPARTAN AND THEBAN SUPREMACIES.

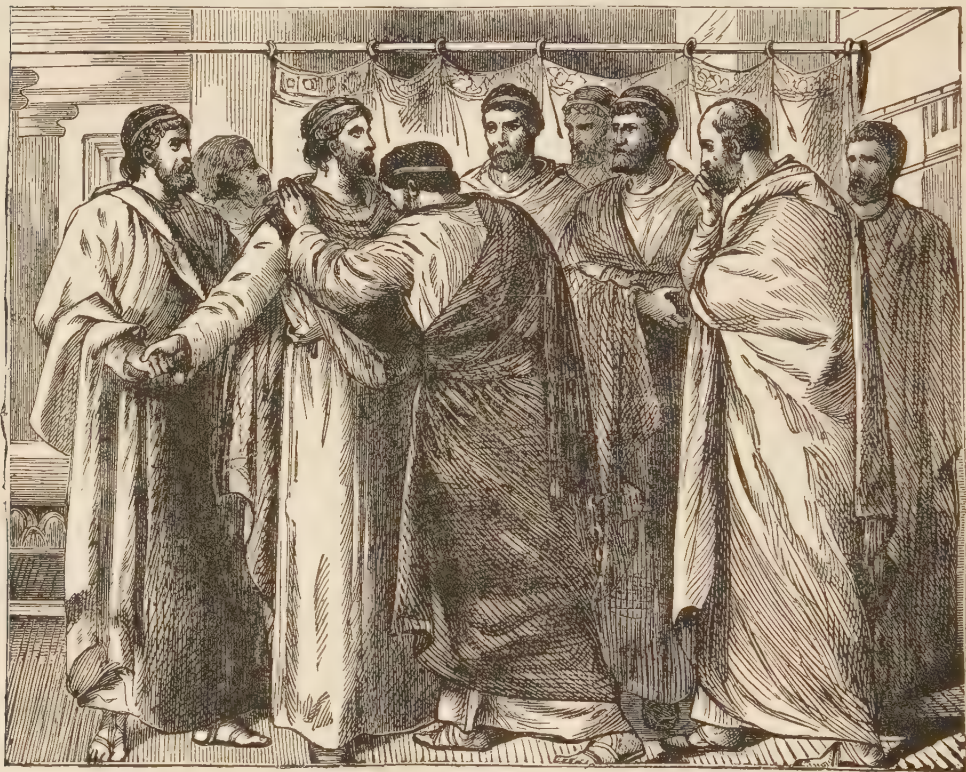
Conservative Reaction at Athens—Socrates Condemned to Death—His Character—War between Sparta and Persia—Agésilas—Sparta and Thebes at War—The League against Sparta—Conon Secures Persian Aid for Athens—The Long Walls Rebuilt—The Peace of Antalcidas—Persia the Arbitrator of Grecian Affairs—Sparta Supreme in Greece—Sparta Seizes the Cadmeia—The Thebans Recover the Cadmeia—Epaminondas—Battle of Leuctra—Danger of Sparta—Rise of Thebes to Power—Decline of the Spartan Supremacy—Jason—His Death—The Arcadian Confederation—Mantineia Rebuilt—Epaminondas Restores the Messenian State—His Triumphs in the Peloponnesus—The "Tearless Battle"—Persia Upholds the Supremacy of Thebes—The Violation of the Sanctity of the Olympian Games by the Arcadians—Results of this Act—Battle of Mantineia—Death of Epaminondas—Agésilas goes to Egypt—His Reception there—His Revenge and Death—Wars of Athens and Phœæ—The Social War—The Sacred War—End of the Theban Supremacy.

THE victory of Thrasybulus and his party restored to Athens her ancient laws and customs, and so profound was the rejoicing which it occasioned, that a conservative reaction took place in the city. It was made painfully memorable by the condemnation and death of the philosopher Socrates, one of the wisest and purest men of Greece. Twenty years before, Aristophanes, in his comedy of "The Clouds," had charged him with being an enemy of religion and a corrupter of youth; but this attack had failed at the time. He was now accused of not believing in the gods which the state worshipped, with teaching a new religion, and with corrupting the Athenian youth. He was condemned to death by a majority of six, but his proud speech in reply to his accusers raised the majority against him to eighty. The true secret of the hostility with which he was treated lay in the fact that he had offended many of the Athenians by his outspoken denunciations of their faults, and by his peculiar method of arguing, which compelled them to become the denouncers of their own acts. As the sacred ship or Paralus had sailed to Delos at the time of his sentence, and no execution could take place until its return, Socrates spent the thirty days of its absence in prison, in noble and inspiring conversation with his friends. He spoke of his past life without regret, and expressed his firm belief in the immortality of the soul. When the fatal moment arrived, he took the cup of deadly hemlock, and drank it

with a cheerful countenance, and calmly expired. His last words were a request to his friend Crito, that he would offer a cock to Æsculapius for him, as was customary with persons who had recovered from a dangerous illness, thus testifying his conviction that death was but the entrance to a new and better life. Posterity has done justice to his memory, and has accepted the estimate formed of him by his friend and pupil, Xenophon, who says of him: "To me, most emphatically (being, as I have de-

those who were in error, and persuading them to the pursuit of virtue and all that was honorable and good), he seemed to be such an one as the very best and happiest man could be."

In B. C. 398 Agis, the Spartan king, died, and was succeeded by his brother Agesilaus, one of the bravest and most capable of the Lacedæmonian leaders. He soon found a fitting field for the exercise of his powers. The aid rendered to Cyrus by the Spartans gave mortal offence to Persia, and when



SOCRATES PARTING FROM HIS FRIENDS.

scribed him, so pious, that he undertook nothing without the counsel of the gods; so just, that he never injured any one—no, not even in the slightest degree—but was of the greatest service to those that associated with him; so temperate, that he never preferred pleasure to virtue; so sensible, that he never erred in distinguishing the better from the worse, without requiring aid from any one else, but being of himself perfectly competent to discriminate between them; so capable of discoursing upon and defining such matters; and so skilled in estimating the character of others, and in convincing

Tissaphernes, the successor of Cyrus, returned to the coast, he brought orders to harass the Greek cities of Asia Minor, now under the protection of Sparta. The Spartans resolved to strike the first blow and thus secure whatever advantages might result from it. For six years, from B. C. 399 to 394, they waged war in Asia Minor. Their first commanders were but indifferent generals, but when Agesilaus was sent to Asia Minor, to direct the war, directly after his accession to the crown, a change was immediately perceptible, and from this time the Spartan successes were so numerous and

so marked, that it seemed certain that Persia would be stripped of her provinces in that quarter. A very considerable part of the Spartan army was composed of the Ten Thousand, whose exploits we have related in our account of the history of Persia, and who had returned from their expedition under Cyrus.

Persia, grown wiser since the days of Xerxes, now brought about an alliance against Sparta of the secondary Greek states—Athens, Thebes, and Corinth—B. C. 395. Thebes had already drifted into war with Sparta, and had defeated the Lacedæmonian army under Lysander at Haliartus. Lysander had been slain in this conflict, and Pausanias, who had arrived too late to relieve him, had sought refuge in the Temple of Athené, at Tegea, being afraid to return home after his failure. He had been succeeded on the throne by his son Agesipolis. In this emergency it became necessary for Agesilaus to discontinue his conquests in Asia Minor, and return home. About the same time the league against Sparta was strengthened by the accession of Eubœa, Acarnania, Western Locris, Ambracia, Leucadia, and Chalcidice in Thrace. In the spring of B. C. 394 a congress of the allies was held at Corinth, and it was proposed to march on Sparta at once. The movement was prevented by the rapid advance of the Spartans, who defeated the allies near Corinth. A second battle was fought soon after under Agesilaus, who had assumed the command of the Spartans, and the allies were once more defeated.

These successes were neutralized in the same year by the successes of Conon, who had come forward from his exile in Cyprus, and had been furnished with a fleet by Persia. He defeated the Spartan admiral Pisander off the peninsula of Cnidus in Caria, in B. C. 394, and released all the Asiatic Greeks from their dependence upon Sparta. Thus the maritime empire of the Spartans was lost more rapidly than it had been acquired. Persia had associated an admiral of her own with Conon in the command of the fleet. This officer, Pharnabazus, met the allied commanders at Corinth, and assured them of his hearty support. At the request of Conon he employed the sailors of the fleet in fortifying Piræus and rebuilding the Long Walls of Athens, and granted a considerable sum of money for that purpose. The grateful Athenians forgave Conon the disaster of Ægospotami,

and he was hailed as the restorer of his country.

The war was now conducted within the territory of Corinth, which was the principal sufferer. Sparta was so successful that Thebes, despairing of defeating her, attempted to make a separate peace with her. The Theban envoys were treated with contempt by Agesilaus, but their hopes were revived during their interview by the news of a victory over a Spartan detachment by a body of Athenians under Iphicrates. The effort for peace was at once discontinued. Other successes on the part of the Athenians caused Sparta to renew the efforts she had been making for some time to induce Persia to compel a general peace between the Greek states. This time she was successful. The Persian king dictated the terms of the treaty, known as the "Peace of Antalcidas," from the Spartan of that name who induced Artaxerxes to take the step. By intercepting the supplies of corn from the Euxine, the Persian fleet compelled Athens to accept the peace. The other states ratified it at once, B. C. 387. By the terms of this disgraceful treaty, the Greek cities of Asia were surrendered to Persia, who became the recognized arbiter of the affairs of European Greece.

The immediate consequences of the treaty were the separation of Corinth from Argos, and the loss to Thebes of her leadership of the Boeotian confederacy. The Spartans, as a means of weakening Thebes, re-established the little city of Platæa, and brought back to it as many as possible of its original inhabitants. Athens naturally supported this step, moved by her ancient friendship for the Platæans, whose fidelity to her had caused their disaster, and Thebes became to a certain extent estranged from her. Under the pretext of looking after the enforcement of the terms of the treaty, Sparta extended her influence on all sides, and it was now more than ever evident to the Greeks that she designed bringing the entire peninsula into subjection to her. In B. C. 382, in a time of profound peace, a Spartan force seized the Cadmeia, the citadel of Thebes, and the Spartan government refused to surrender it in spite of the protestations of Thebes and the fact that the two states were on nominally friendly terms. By her insolence Sparta thus succeeded in rendering Thebes her implacable enemy.

The restless ambition of the Lacedæmonian state, having no proper field in the

peninsula in which to expend its energies, was now directed against a powerful confederacy on the northern border of Greece, composed partly of Greek and partly of Macedonian cities, under the leadership of Olynthus. The Olynthian war lasted four years, from B. C. 382 to 379, and resulted in the triumph of Sparta, who thus succeeded in removing the only formidable rival of Macedon—the only state which might have formed a barrier between Greece and the Macedonian conquerors.

Sparta was now at the height of her power. She was supreme on land, and at sea was as powerful as Athens. She had gained her predominance by her efforts against the liberties of Greece, and now sought to maintain it in the same way. Her unpopularity in Greece, which was due to the harshness with which she administered her authority, was increased by the intimacy of her alliance with the bitterest enemies of Grecian freedom—the Persians, the Macedonians, and the Syracusans. Fortunately she did not long hold her power. The day of retribution was close at hand.

Thebes had been for three years in the hands of the Spartan party, and its citadel was held by a Lacedæmonian garrison. A plot for its deliverance was formed by Pelopidas and other Theban exiles at Athens, and was entirely successful. The Spartan party in Thebes was overpowered, its leaders were put to death, and the city was regained by the patriotic party. At the same time Epaminondas, the noblest of the Thebans, reached Thebes and took part in the struggle. The Spartan garrison was besieged in the citadel, and surrendered on condition of being allowed to march out with the honors of war. The Spartans at once prepared to punish Thebes. By an unjustifiable outrage upon Athens they drove that city into alliance with Thebes, and she took her place at the head of the league against Sparta, B. C. 378. In the war which ensued Sparta was mainly unsuccessful. She was not able to cope with the Athenian fleet, which inflicted several severe defeats upon her navy. The Thebans, under their great leader Epaminondas, after suffering some preliminary reverses, succeeded in freeing their country. Athens now became jealous of the success of Thebes, and made an unsuccessful effort to secure a separate peace with Sparta. In B. C. 371 a general congress of the Greek states was held at Sparta, and a general peace con-

tracted, from which Sparta excluded Thebes. The bitter hatred existing between these states would permit no adjustment between them. The treaty is known as the "Peace of Callias."

War existed now only between Sparta and Thebes, and the latter city was regarded by the rest of Greece as doomed to certain destruction. Such would most likely have been the result of the war had not Thebes possessed in Epaminondas a leader equal to the emergency. He was the greatest general, and one of the noblest characters Greece ever produced, and withal a patriot who sought his country's good without a thought for himself. The Spartans promptly invaded Bœotia under Cleombrotus, from the direction of Phocis. They surprised and captured the port of Creusis on the Crissean Gulf, and took twelve Theban galleys. Continuing their advance into Bœotia, they were decisively defeated by the Theban army under Epaminondas in the great battle of Leuctra, with terrible loss, and were besieged in their fortified camp. So great a disaster had not befallen Sparta since the battle of Thermopylæ.

The news of the battle of Leuctra was received at Sparta with a characteristic assumption of indifference; all signs of mourning were forbidden; but every effort was put forth to rescue the defeated army from its perilous position. The whole remaining military force of the kingdom was despatched by sea from Corinth to Creusis. Before it could reach Bœotia the Thebans had asked assistance of Jason, the tyrant of Phæræ in Thessaly, which had been granted. By the advice of Jason, they permitted the besieged Spartans at Leuctra to evacuate the country, and this force marching to Creusis, and thence to the Megarid, met the army despatched to their relief on its march. The entire Spartan force at once returned to their own country.

Leuctra was fatal to the Spartan supremacy, which fell instantly to the ground. The defeat was the greatest disaster that had ever befallen Sparta, and it destroyed her influence over even the cities of the Peloponnesus. Her dependencies north of the Corinthian Gulf were lost to her, and were divided between the Thebans and Jason. For thirty-four years—since her victory at Ægospotami—Sparta had been supreme in Greece. She was now obliged to accept the loss of her power and take her place among the secondary states. The

next year, B. C. 370, another danger to Greece was removed by the assassination of the ambitious Jason, who had begun to show his intention to make himself master of the peninsula. His death was felt as a relief by all the Greek states. Athens, jealous of Thebes, called upon all the states to form a new alliance upon the terms of the peace of Antalcidas. The majority of the Peloponnesian states joined the league, which was known as the Arcadian confederation, and which secured the independence of every member. Elis refused to do so on the plea that she would thus deprive herself of her sovereignty over the Triphylian cities. Thus the Peloponnesian states became independent of Sparta, even those in which her authority had been undisputed for centuries.

The Mantineans seized the occasion to avenge the wrongs inflicted upon them by Sparta. They rebuilt their city, and invited Epaminondas to aid them. Towards the close of B. C. 370, Epaminondas entered Arcadia with an army which was swelled by Argive and Elean volunteers to 70,000 men, and advanced against Sparta itself. The advance was checked by Agesilaus, and Epaminondas contented himself with ravaging the valley of the Eurotas. He then returned to Arcadia, and devoted himself to the task of establishing the Arcadian league on a firmer basis. To avoid jealousies, he advised the members of the league to build a new city, which was called Megalopolis. It was made the capital of the league, and was peopled by settlers from forty Arcadian towns.

Epaminondas completed the humiliation of Sparta by restoring the Messenian state. The town of Messenê was rebuilt; its citadel was placed on the summit of Mount Ithomé, which had been the scene of the principal struggles of the first and second Messenian wars. The Messenians—descendants of those who had been exiled three centuries before by Sparta—came back at the call of Epaminondas, and the Messenian territories were restored very nearly as they had formerly existed.

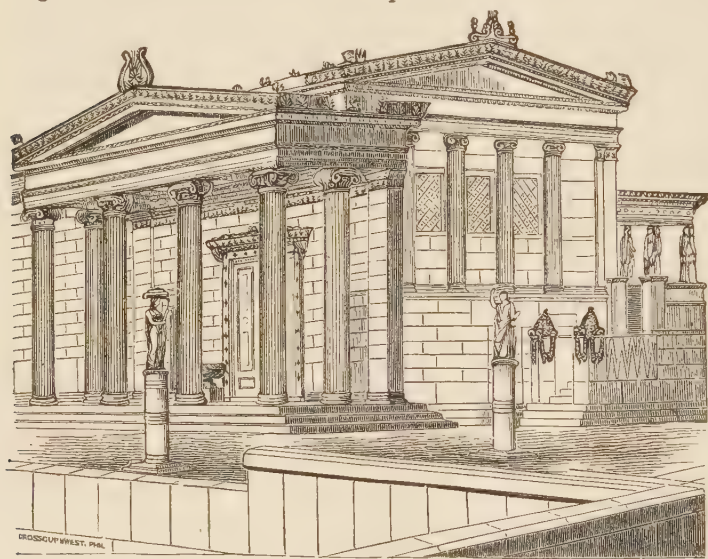
Sparta was now so thoroughly humbled that she sought the alliance of Athens, and the latter, alarmed by the growing power of Thebes, came to the help of her old enemy. Their combined forces were posted to hold the mountain passes of the isthmus in order to prevent the Thebans from reaching southern Greece, but Epaminondas

defeated a Spartan detachment, forced their line, and formed a junction with his allies in the Peloponnesus. At the same time Sicyon abandoned Sparta and joined the Theban league. An effort of the Thebans to take Corinth was repulsed, and about the same time a fleet bearing 2,000 mercenaries from Gaul and Spain, sent by Dionysius of Syracuse, arrived at Lechæum to the assistance of Athens and Sparta, B. C. 369. In B. C. 368 the Arcadians undertook to conquer the Messenian territory which remained in the hands of Sparta. They were defeated in an engagement known as "The Tearless Battle," so called because the Spartans gained their victory without the loss of a man. The Thebans viewed the defeat of their allies with complacency, as it taught them their dependence upon them for protection. They confined their efforts in this year to organizing a confederacy of the cities of Thessaly, and entered into an alliance with Macedonia. Among the hostages sent by the Macedonian King Amyntas II. to Thebes was his son Philip, then a youth of fifteen, but destined to become the master of Greece. He remained some years at Thebes.

The Thebans now (B. C. 367-366) entered into negotiations with the Persian king, who, since the peace of Antalcidas, had been the recognized arbiter of the fate of Greece, and succeeded in obtaining the sanction of Artaxerxes to the supremacy of Thebes. The independence of Messenê and Amphipolis was confirmed by the Persian king, and the Athenians were directed to lay their fleet up in ordinary. Elis was confirmed in the sovereignty of the Triphylian cities. The Thebans had great difficulty in procuring the acceptance of the Persian rescript by the other states. When Pelopidas visited Thessaly to secure its enforcement, Alexander of Pheræ threw him into prison, and defeated a Theban force sent to rescue him. Epaminondas then accomplished the release of Pelopidas, but he was prevented by the necessity of securing his friend's liberty from destroying the power of Alexander. In B. C. 363 the Thebans again invaded Thessaly under Pelopidas. He defeated Alexander, but was slain at the moment of victory, and his loss was regarded by his countrymen as outweighing their success. They wrested all of Alexander's possessions from him except the city of Pheræ, and brought the whole of northern Greece under the dominion of Thebes.

The Peloponnesus was now divided by an act of sacrilege. The Arcadians and their allies sent an army into Elis during the celebration of the Olympian Games, seized the sacred grove, expelled the Eleans from the management of the festival, and confided it to the Pisatans. The Eleans and Achæans attacked the invaders in the midst of the games, and a battle was fought upon the holy spot. The Arcadians repulsed the attack and plundered the temples of Olympia of their treasures. The Mantinean assembly sternly denounced the sacrilege and refused all participation in the sacred spoil. The Mantineans were then proclaimed traitors to the Arcadian league. The result was the disruption of

formed of this movement, regained Sparta by a forced march in time to meet the Theban attack, and, in a battle fought in the streets of his capital, compelled the invaders to withdraw. The Thebans then sought to surprise Mantinea. The citizens were unarmed and scattered through the harvest fields, and Mantinea must have fallen but for the opportune arrival of a detachment of Athenian cavalry, which, though hungry and weary with a long march, met and repulsed the Theban attack. The arrival of the Spartan army soon after obliged Epaminondas to fall back to Tegea. On the same day the two armies met in the upland plain—2,000 feet above the sea—between Tegea and Mantinea. In the bloody battle of Mantinea which ensued, the Mantineans and Spartans were utterly defeated. The Theban victory was dearly purchased. Epaminondas fell mortally wounded at the moment of victory. Realizing the loss his countrymen would suffer in his death, he spent his latest breath in advising them to make peace. With the death of her great hero the supremacy of Thebes came to an end. Having no one to take his place,



THE ERECHTHEUM—ATHENS.

that league. Peace was made with Elis, but Mantinea became the ally of Sparta, while Tegea, and the rest of the confederation, remained faithful to Thebes. Hostilities were so frequent between the two parties that Thebes was asked to intervene by her friends, while the Mantineans besought the assistance of Sparta.

In the summer of B. C. 362 Epaminondas invaded the Peloponnesus, and was joined at Tegea by his allies, while Agesilaus, with the Spartan army, marched to the assistance of Mantinea. By this movement Agesilaus uncovered his capital and placed Epaminondas nearer to it than himself. The Theban general was quick to profit by his adversary's error, and marched rapidly upon Sparta. Agesilaus, being in-

she soon fell back into her ordinary position. In accordance with the advice of Epaminondas, peace was made, matters being left in the condition in which the war had found them. Sparta refused to sign the treaty, but was unsupported by her allies, and was thus harmless.

Agesilaus, the Spartan king, though eighty years old, now set out for Egypt at the head of 1,000 heavy-armed troops, to assist Tachos in his revolt against Persia. The Egyptians, astonished at the appearance of the little, lame old man, which seemed to them unworthy of a king, mortally affronted him with their ridicule, and refused him the command of their army. He avenged himself by supporting the rebellion of Nectanebo and gaining the Egyp-

tian throne for him. The successful king repaid this service with 230 talents of gold, and Agesilaus set out on his return to Sparta. He died on his way home, and his body was embalmed in wax, carried to Sparta, and buried with great pomp. It has been said of him that he was "Sparta's most perfect citizen and most consummate general; in many ways, perhaps, her greatest man."

The peace of B. c. 362 remained unbroken on the continent of Greece for six years. During this time Athens and Alexander of Phæræ were engaged in hostilities at sea, and war was waged beyond the proper limits of Greece, between Athens on the one hand and Amphipolis, Macedon and the Thracian princes on the other. In B. c. 358 Eubœa, Amphipolis and the Chersonesus were again subdued, and Athens was once more the most powerful state of Greece. This year marks the culminating point of her second period of glory, and the beginning of her decline. In this year began what is known as "The Social War." Rhodes, Cos, Chios and Byzantium revolted from her, and were joined by Sestos and the other Hellespontine towns subject to Athens, and Caria sent aid to the insurgents. The war was very exhaustive to the Athenian treasury, and brought no profit to it. Funds for the payment of the sailors of the fleet being scarce, the Athenian commanders secured them by aiding Pharnabazus in his revolt against Persia. The great king now prepared to take part in the quarrel, against Athens, and the republic was obliged to avert his anger by consenting to the independence of the four revolted states and making peace. While the attention of Athens was thus engaged, Philip of Macedon rapidly seized her dependencies on the Thermaic Gulf, and made himself master of the entire region between the Nestus and the Peneus, and thus secured a footing in Greece.

In B. c. 357, during the prevalence of the social war, another struggle, called "The Sacred War," broke out in Greece. The hatred of Thebes towards the Phocians compelled the latter to fight for their existence. The Phocians seized the treasures of the temple of Delphi, and by a prudent use of them raised a large army of mercenaries, and even bought the alliance or neutrality of Athens, Achæa and Sparta at critical times. The Phocians, though de-

feated at first, were able, under Onomarchus, to conquer Socris and Doris, and to invade Bœotia and conquer Orchomenus in B. c. 353.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MACEDONIAN SUPREMACY.

Description of Macedon—Origin of the Nation—Foundation of the Macedonian Monarchy—Tributary to Persia—Recovers its Independence—Early History of Macedon—Philip II.—He Conquers the Illyrians—Plans the Subjugation of Greece—His Vigorous Measures at Home—Encroachments upon the Athenian Possessions—Intervenes in the Affairs of Greece—Thebes asks Aid of Philip—He Makes Himself Master of Greece—Demosthenes—His Philippics—Philip Destroys the Olynthian Confederacy—The Second Sacred War—Battle of Charonea—Philip Supreme in Greece—He Induces the Greek States to Declare War Against Persia—Humiliation of Sparta—Death of Philip—Alexander the Great Becomes King of Macedon—His Early Training—Vigorous Measures of Alexander—He is Appointed to Command the Persian Expedition—Wars with the Barbarian Tribes—Revolt of Thebes—Alexander Takes the City and Destroys it—Alexander Crosses the Hellespont and Begins the Persian War—Battle of the Granicus—Conquest of Asia Minor—Alexander Cuts the Gordian Knot—Battle of Issus—Conquest of Syria, Phœnicia, and Egypt—Alexandria Founded—Battle of Arbela—Fall of the Persian Empire—Death of Darius—Capture of Babylon and Susa—Conquests of Alexander in the East—Excesses of the Conqueror—Murder of his Generals—Alexander Pushes his Conquests into India—Conquers Porus—Reaches the Hyphasis—His Troops Refuse to Advance Further—His Return to Susa—A Terrible March—Alexander Shares the Hardships of his Men—Orientalization of the Court of Alexander—His Wives—His Plans—His True Claim to Greatness—Preparations for the Conquest of Arabia—Last Illness and Death of Alexander.

THE struggle now took a wider range and drew a new and fatal element into the quarrels of Greece. This was none other than the Macedonian kingdom, which for several centuries had been acquiring strength on the borders of Greece, and had long desired to extend its authority over that country.

Macedonia lay beyond the borders of Greece proper, and immediately north of Thessaly. Its limits varied at different times, but the following may be taken as a fair description of its boundaries. On the north it was separated from Moesia by the mountains called Orbelus and Scamius; on the east from Thrace by the river Strymon; on the south from Thessaly by the Cambunian range; on the west from Illyria by a continuation of the great chain of the

Pindus mountains, known here as Scardus and Bernus. Macedonia proper comprised an area of about 6,000 square miles. The country was generally fertile, and was extremely varied in its character. High mountain chains, covered with snow during the greater part of the year, cut the kingdom in every direction, and enclosed a number of large and distinct basins which gave to this region its peculiar character. Some of these basins have a lake in their centre which receives the drainage; others are drained by rivers, which, with one ex-



MACEDONIAN COIN.

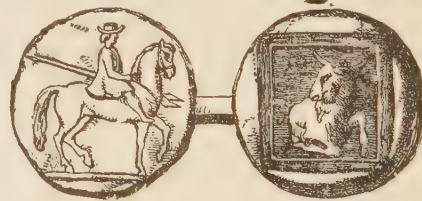
ception, flow eastward into the Ægean. "In both cases the basins are of large extent, offering to the eye the appearance of a succession of plains. The more elevated regions are for the most part richly wooded, and abound with sparkling rivulets, deep gorges, and frequent waterfalls; but in places this character gives way to one of dulness and monotony, the traveller passing for miles over a succession of bleak downs and bare hillsides, stony and shapeless."

The Macedonians were probably of Illyrian origin, and were regarded by the Greeks as barbarians, or people not of Hellenic descent. The Macedonian kings claimed to be of pure Hellenic blood, and traced their descent to Temenus of Argos.

The early history of Macedon is obscure. The monarchy is believed to have been founded by Perdiccas I., somewhere about B. C. 700, but nothing is known with certainty of its history until the reign of Amyntas I., who was contemporary with the Pisistratidæ at Athens and Darius I. of Persia. In B. C. 507 he submitted to Darius I., and Mardonius, in his first expedition against Greece, in B. C. 492, reduced Macedonia to the condition of a province of the Persian empire. Its native sovereigns governed merely as tributaries of the great king. After the defeat of Xerxes it became free once more, and began to extend its territories slowly along the northern coast of the Ægean, moving steadily to the eastward. Two rival powers barred its progress in this quarter—the Thracian

kingdom of Sitalces, and the Athenians, who had colonized the Chalcidian peninsula with Greek cities. Archelaus I., who reigned from B. C. 413 to B. C. 399, improved his country very much by the construction of roads and of fortresses along the frontier to keep back the barbarian tribes. He made Pella his capital, and endeavored to spread among his people a love of literature and art, of which he was a munificent patron. He was assassinated in B. C. 399. The next great sovereign was Perdiccas III., who came to the throne in B. C. 364. Five years later he was slain in battle. He left an infant son, Amyntas, but his brother Philip succeeded to the crown, B. C. 359.

Philip II., the son of Amyntas II. and brother of Perdiccas III., was but twenty-three years old when he became regent. It was a critical period in the history of his country. His claim was disputed by four princes; the western provinces of the kingdom had been overrun by the Illyrians, and the eastern were in danger of being seized by Thrace and Pæonia. Philip at first acknowledged his nephew's succession, and having propitiated Athens and Thrace, marched against the Illyrians, and adopting the tactics of Epaminondas, which he had studied during his residence in Thebes, inflicted upon them a series of defeats which completely broke their power. He then deposed his nephew and neutralized the efforts of the pretenders to the crown.



TETRADRACHM OF ARCHELAUS, KING OF MACEDON.

Until now he had professed a warm friendship for the Athenians. Now that he was free from danger at the hands of the Illyrians, he began the aggressions upon the Athenian possessions in the East to which reference has already been made. Taking advantage of the social war which occupied the Athenians, he suddenly attacked and captured Amphipolis, and then conquered the entire coast district between the Strymon and the Nestus. He thus became master of the rich Thracian gold mines, which yielded him an annual revenue of

1,000 talents. He organized his army on the principles which he had learned at Thebes, and by introducing into it the most rigid discipline, succeeded in rendering it irresistible, and was thus able to carry out his designs by its superiority to any force of Greece or Asia. Having made himself master of the Athenian possessions on the Ægean, he proceeded to put in execution the design which he had formed from the first of becoming the supreme master of Greece. The quarrels between the tyrants of Thessaly gave him the pretext he desired.

The Aleuadæ of Larissa, disgusted with the tyranny of the successors of Alexander of Pharæ, asked assistance of Philip against those rulers. He promptly granted their request, and entering Thessaly at the head of his army, marched against Pharæ. Lycophron, the tyrant of that city, besought aid of Onomarchus, who sent an army to his assistance. Philip defeated this force, and Onomarchus led a second army in person into Thessaly, and defeated Philip in two pitched battles, and compelled him to withdraw from Thessaly. He then returned to Bœotia and captured Chæronea. Philip now invaded Thessaly a second time, and Onomarchus marched to meet him. He was defeated and slain, and Philip became master of Thessaly, B. C. 352. Philip now marched southward as far as the Pass of Thermopylæ, but finding it strongly guarded by an Athenian force, withdrew. He then made himself master of Thrace and the Chersonese.

Meanwhile the sacred war went on. The treasures of the Delphian temple becoming exhausted, the Phocians began to show signs of weakness. In the twelfth year of the war, B. C. 346, Thebes, reckless of the consequences of such a step, called in Philip, who had long since assumed the character of the champion of the Delphic god, to crush Phocis. The Macedonian king was quick to respond to the invitation which held out so many advantages to him. Having secured the neutrality of Athens, he moved through the pass of Thermopylæ without resistance, and in a brief campaign utterly subdued Phocis, and was admitted into the Amphictyonic council in the place of that state.

Philip was now the real master of Greece. Athens alone was capable of resisting him, but the Athenians had no leader able to contend with him. Moreover, a strong Macedonian party began to spring up in Athens

itself. The great orator Demosthenes had long foreseen the danger which threatened the liberties of Greece, and when Philip began the execution of his ambitious designs, the result of which the orator clearly comprehended, Demosthenes endeavored to arouse his countrymen to a sense of their danger, and to stimulate them to an energetic resistance to the Macedonians. His *Philippics*, or orations against Philip, are justly regarded as amongst the grandest outbursts of eloquence, and the most powerful denunciations of aggression on record. When Philip attacked the Olynthian Confederacy, the last barrier between himself and Greece, Demosthenes exerted himself nobly to induce the Athenians to succor Olynthus. An expedition for its relief was determined upon, but it was too late. Olynthus was betrayed by two of its leading citizens, and was taken in B. C. 347. Philip razed it to the ground, and sold its inhabitants into slavery. As he had taken all the other Chalcidian cities before besieging Olynthus, he was now master of the entire confederacy. A proficient in intrigue, Philip then exerted himself to strengthen the party at Athens and throughout Greece, favorable to him. He succeeded in making peace with Athens, as it was his policy to conciliate that state for the present, and accepted the invitation of the Thebans to crush Phocis, as has just been related. At the close of the sacred war, Athens alone was capable of resisting the Macedonian advance, but Macedon had become the leading state in Greece. The Athenians were now fully alive to a sense of their danger. The wisdom of Demosthenes was vindicated by the result of the war, and his influence was greatly increased among his countrymen.

The aggressions of Philip on the Bosphorus embroiled Athens and Macedon in hostilities in B. C. 340. In the next year, the struggle known as the "Second Sacred War" began, and gave to Philip the opportunity of executing his long cherished design of making himself master of Greece. The Locrians of Amphissa having been accused of sacrilege, the Amphictyonic council punished them by levying a fine upon them, which they refused to pay. Philip of Macedon was thereupon named general of their forces by the Amphictyons, and ordered to carry out the decree against Amphissa. Being thus admitted to the very heart of Greece, Philip, instead of proceeding against Amphissa, seized Elatea,

the chief town in the eastern part of Phocis. It was now clear that his real design was against Bœotia and Attica. Those states formed an alliance to resist him, though it was with difficulty that the Athenians induced Thebes to take the decisive step. On the 7th of August, B. C. 338, Philip defeated the allied Theban and Athenian armies at Chæronea, in spite of their heroic resistance. He was now supreme in Greece. With the exception of Sparta, every Grecian state acknowledged his sovereignty.

It was the policy of Philip to engage the Greeks in some important enterprise in accord with the national feeling, which should prevent them from reflecting upon their lost liberties. He had long meditated the chastisement of Persia for the injuries she had inflicted upon his own country and upon Greece, and now resolved to put his scheme in execution. He summoned a congress of the Greek states at Corinth. Sparta alone refused to take part in the assembly. The result of the conference was that war was declared against Persia, and Philip was assigned the supreme command of the expedition, each state being required to furnish a certain contingent of troops and ships.

Before embarking upon this expedition, Philip resolved to punish Sparta for her hostility to him. He entered the Peloponnesus with a strong army, marched down the eastern coast, and returned by the western, meeting with scarcely any resistance. Indeed his march was more like a royal progress. The western states of Greece, north of the isthmus, submitted to him, and a Macedonian garrison was stationed in Ambracia. His authority being now undisputed in Greece, Philip returned to Macedon to prepare for the Persian expedition, and in B. C. 336 was assassinated by a young man named Pausanias, who claimed to have suffered an injury at his hands.

Philip was succeeded by his son Alexander III., called "the Great." Alexander was born B. C. 356, and was but twenty years old when he came to the throne. His education had been carefully conducted by the best of teachers. Leonidas, a kinsman of his mother, had trained him in the Spartan habits of endurance and hardihood; and Lysimachus had early aroused the ambition of the prince by teaching him to love and emulate the heroes of Homer, and by implanting in him a belief in the family tradition that the blood of the great hero Achilles ran in his veins. At the age of

thirteen he was confided to the care of Aristotle, who for several years directed his education. "Thus the greatest conqueror of the material world received the instructions of him who has exercised the most extensive empire over the human intellect." Alexander always cherished a warm affection for the great philosopher, and it was from him that he drew the enlarged and statesmanlike views that raised him above the level of an ordinary conqueror. He excelled in manly sports, and possessed a constitution which enabled him to laugh at fatigue and privation. From his father he inherited a profound ambition, and from his mother a fiery temper and an imperious will. At the age of sixteen he was made regent of Macedonia during his father's absence, and when only eighteen he commanded one of the wings of the Macedonian army in the battle of Chæronea, and decided the fortunes of the day.

He came to the throne in the midst of difficulties and dangers. The more powerful Greek states were preparing to shake off the Macedonian yoke, esteeming the young king too weak to continue the vigorous policy of his father. Thebes, indeed, went so far as to threaten open rebellion against Macedon. Alexander was equal to the emergency. He secured the adhesion of the Thessalians, partly by flattery and partly by a display of force, summoned the Amphictyonic council at Thermopylæ and compelled it to confer upon him the command with which his father had been invested. He then marched upon Thebes and prevented the revolution. The other Greek states were convened in a congress at Corinth, and, apprehensive of incurring the wrath of one whom they now saw they had evidently misjudged, appointed him generalissimo for the Persian war in the place of his father. Sparta alone held aloof, still clinging to the phantom of the supremacy she had once possessed, but Alexander did not deem it worth while to chastise her into submission. The remainder of the year was spent by him in subduing the Thracians, Tribalian, Getæ, and the Danubian tribes on the east, and the Illyrians and Taulantians on the west. By these victories Alexander not only gained an immense booty, but compelled these nations, who were about to attack Macedon, to cease their annoyances.

While he was thus engaged, a report of his death was circulated in Greece. Thebes

at once rose in rebellion, and was furnished with assistance by Athens. Before the report was contradicted, Alexander suddenly appeared in Bœotia, and advanced against Thebes. He offered the leaders of the rebellion an opportunity to surrender, but they replied to his proposals with insults; whereupon he attacked and captured Thebes, and entirely destroyed it, with the exception of one house—that of Pindar the poet. The Cadmeia was preserved and garrisoned with Macedonian troops. The inhabitants were massacred in large numbers at the capture of the city; the remainder were sold into slavery.

Alexander had now nothing more to fear from Greece. He had impressed the Hellenic states too deeply with a sense of his energy and vigor for them to dream of attempting a fresh revolt. He could now apply himself to the conquest of the Persian dominions. He made Antipater regent of Macedonia and Greece, and with an army of 30,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry, of which force 12,000 foot were Macedonians, crossed the Hellespont in the spring of B. C. 334. Passing the strait in advance of his army he hastened to the plain of Troy, and visited the scenes made memorable in his beloved *Iliad*, after which he rejoined his army near Abydos. The Persians had taken position, under Memnon, of Rhodes, an able general, near Zela, on the Granicus, to dispute the advance of the invaders. Alexander forced a passage of the river and routed the Persian army, taking, among other prisoners, 2,000 mercenary Greeks. After the battle he visited the wounded, and decreed that the families of all his slain soldiers should be exempted from taxation. Sardis, Ephesus, Magnesia, and Tralles surrendered at the approach of the victors, and Miletus capitulated after a short siege. The activity and genius of Memnon delayed the movements of Alexander for some time, but in spite of him Alexander succeeded in making himself master of a large part of Asia Minor during the remainder of the year. Still he seems to have been unwilling to remove his army far from the *Ægean* as long as Memnon was alive. The death of that commander in the spring of B. C. 333 removed the last obstacle to his success and placed the Persian empire at his mercy.

Alexander passed the winter at Gordium, the ancient capital of Phrygia. In the Acropolis of this city was kept the

wagon or chariot in which Midas, the son of Gordium, one of the ancient Phrygian kings, had entered the town with his parents, and had been by the direction of the oracle made king. An ancient prophecy predicted that he who should untie the knot of bark which fastened the yoke of the wagon to the pole, should become the master of Asia. Alexander repaired to the citadel to attempt this feat, and, drawing his sword, cut the Gordian knot through. That night a violent storm of thunder and lightning burst over the city, which was interpreted by the superstitious people as a divine intimation that the conqueror had fulfilled the prediction.

In the spring of B. C. 333 Alexander resumed his advance to the eastward, receiving the submission of Paphlagonia and meeting no resistance from Cappadocia, and finally passed the Taurus range and entered the plains of Cilicia. Here he was delayed by a dangerous fever caused by his imprudence in bathing. He remained at Tarsus until he had recovered, and then continued his march to Mallus, still clinging to the coast. Here he learned that Darius was advancing to meet him at the head of 600,000 fighting men. The Persian king, impatient of delay, had resolved to seek Alexander, whose youth he despised. The two armies met near Issus, and while the Persians were still entangled in the mountains, in a position so cramped that they were not able to profit by their superior numbers, they were attacked by the Macedonians. A desperate battle ensued, in which the skilful dispositions of Alexander and the valor of his troops secured him the victory. The Persians were routed and driven from the field with fearful loss. Darius saved himself only by the speed of his horse, but his camp, and his mother and wife fell into the hands of the victor. The royal ladies were treated with the most respectful consideration by the young conqueror.

The battle of Issus was fought in November, B. C. 333. Alexander's genius was strikingly illustrated by the use which he made of it. Knowing that it would require a considerable time for Persia to recover sufficiently from her disaster to be able to take the field again, he suffered Darius to escape, and turned southward to conquer the Mediterranean coast and Egypt, by which he would effectually secure the safety of Macedon and Greece. All the Phœni-

cian cities but Tyre submitted. That city resisted him for seven months, trusting to its insular position for success. Alexander collected the ruins of old Tyre, built a wide causeway with them from the mainland to the city, took it by storm and destroyed it in July, B. C. 332. Eight thousand Tyrians fell by the sword, and 30,000 were sold into slavery. Gaza also resisted, and was captured after a siege of two months. Jerusalem next yielded to him, as has been related. Continuing southward, he entered Egypt, where he was gladly welcomed. The Egyptians had bitterly hated the Persians since the time of Cambysses, and they

the ancient kingdom into direct relations with the European world.

All the maritime provinces of Persia were now in the hands of Alexander, who was complete master of the sea. He now retraced his steps and advanced to the eastward once more, to complete the conquest of the Persian empire. Moving through Samaria and Syria, he crossed the Euphrates at Thapsacus about the end of August, B. C. 331, and advanced through the fertile region of Mesopotamia towards the Tigris, on the left bank of which stream he was informed that Darius awaited him. Darius had collected the full force of his



RUINS OF CORINTH.

welcomed the Greeks as deliverers. Alexander won their friendship by the respect with which he treated their religion, a policy in striking contrast with the contempt that had been heaped upon it by the Persians. He founded the city of Alexandria, at the mouth of the western branch of the Nile, selecting with the genius of a born statesman the most favorable commercial site in Egypt. Undoubtedly the new city owed much to the Ptolemies in future times, but so admirable was the choice of its founder that a city so located could not under any circumstances have failed to become a great metropolis. Alexander made it the capital of Egypt, and thus brought

the empire, and is said to have assembled a million of men under his standard, of whom 50,000 were Greek mercenaries. He had taken position in one of the extensive plains east of the Tigris, between that stream and the Kurdistan mountains, about twenty miles from the town of Arbela, which gave its name to the battle which ensued there. He had selected this position in order that he might be free to manœuvre his immense force. The Macedonian army consisted of but 40,000 infantry and 7,000 horse. It was made up of *European* soldiers, however, and its commander was the first general of his time. Early in September Alexander attacked the Persian army in its

chosen position, and inflicted upon it such a crushing defeat that Persia was unable to offer any further resistance. Darius fled from the field before the battle was decided, and his army quickly followed his example. Alexander pursued the fugitives with such vigor that as many were drowned in trying to cross the Lycus as fell on the field of battle. A few hours were passed by the Greeks in resting from their fatigue, and then the army pushed on to Arbela. Darius had fled far beyond that city, but the whole of the royal baggage and treasure was captured there.

Finding it useless to pursue the fugitive king any farther, Alexander marched to Babylon, which surrendered at his approach. He made a magnificent entry into the famous city. The Persians had been severe persecutors of the Chaldæan religion; Alexander won the affection of the Babylonians, as he had that of the Egyptians, by restoring their temples and protecting their religion. Susa had already promptly surrendered to a detachment of the conquering army sent to seize it immediately after the battle of Arbela, and in November, Alexander, after leaving a garrison in Babylon, marched to Susa with his whole army. The Persian treasury was captured there, containing 40,000 talents (\$48,000,000) in gold and silver bullion, and 9,000 in golden darics (\$10,800,000). Besides this, the spoils carried away from Greece by Xerxes were recovered. These were sent back to Athens.

At Susa Alexander received a reinforcement of 15,000 men from Greece, and the news of the revolt of Sparta against Antipater. He sent a considerable sum to the regent to aid him in putting down the disturbances, and then pressed on into the heart of the Persian empire. He stormed and carried the difficult mountain pass called "The Persian Gates," which was defended by the Satrap Ariobarzanes with over 40,000 men, and advanced to Persepolis, which surrendered without striking a blow. The treasure captured here is said to have exceeded that found at Babylon and Susa, and to have amounted to the enormous sum of 120,000 talents, or \$144,000,000.

Not satisfied with his victories, Alexander continued his advance into Media, where Darius had collected his forces for a last stand. On the approach of the conqueror the Persian king fled through the Caspian

Gates into Bactria, where he was murdered by Bessus the satrap, who assumed the title of King of Persia. Alexander caused the dead monarch to be interred with royal pomp with his ancestors at Passargadæ. The Greek mercenaries of Darius now joined the ranks of the conqueror, who continued his march deeper into the heart of the empire, the eastern provinces of which submitted at his approach and were reorganized and attached to his dominions. Bessus, the murderer of Darius, was captured in Sogdiana, and was put to death with cruel tortures for his treason and usurpation. The conqueror founded a new city, which he called Alexandria, on the Jaxartes, and inflicted a severe chastisement upon the Scythians, and returned to Bactria and went into winter-quarters at Zariaspa, B. C. 329.

But the fairly-won fame of Alexander had been tarnished by a brutal exercise of power. Elated by his conquests he had assumed the pomp and dress of a Persian king, and had given offence to some of his generals thereby. Philotas, the son of Parmenio, the ablest of the Macedonian generals, had made some disparaging remarks upon the change in the habits and manners of the king, and was put to death on the unsustained charge of plotting against the life of his sovereign. Parmenio was also slain by order of Alexander for his alleged participation in the same plot. The next year in a drunken revel Alexander slew with his own hand his friend Clitus, who had saved his life at the battle of the Granicus, and who had offended him by refusing to join in the fulsome adulation of the courtiers.

In B. C. 328 Sogdiana was subdued, and the next year Alexander advanced into India. His army had been largely recruited from among the Asiatic nations, and is said to have numbered 120,000 foot and 15,000 horse. He marched through the Punjab, or the region of the "Five Rivers," without encountering any resistance until he reached the Hydaspes, where Porus, an Indian monarch, endeavored to stop his progress with a large force of men and elephants. A bloody battle ensued, in which Porus was defeated and made a prisoner. Alexander asked his captive how he wished to be treated. "As a king," replied Porus. "And have you no other request?" asked Alexander. "No," was the reply, "everything is comprehended in the word king."

Struck with this spirited answer, Alexander restored Porus to his throne, and thus changed an enemy into a friendly vassal.

Alexander halted for a month on the Hydaspes to rest his army, and during this time founded two cities. One of these he called Nicæa, in commemoration of his victories; the other Bucephala, in honor of his favorite war-horse Bucephalus, which is said to have died here. Then resuming his march he overran the whole of the Punjab as far as its southern boundary, the river Hyphasis, the modern Ghara. He was very anxious to cross this stream and conquer the country beyond it, but the army, worn out with fatigue and hardship, refused to advance any farther. Finding it impossible to prevail upon the troops to continue the march, Alexander yielded with as good a grace as possible to the inevitable. Pretending that the sacrifices were unfavorable for the passage of the Hyphasis, he erected twelve colossal altars on its banks to mark his conquests in this direction, and gave the order to retreat. He returned to his new cities on the Hydaspes, from which he determined with characteristic enterprise to return to Babylon by a different route from that by which he had come. He had caused a fleet of 2,000 ships to be constructed when he first advanced into the Punjab. It was now ready, and embarking with 8,000 men on these he descended the Indus, which he at first believed to be a branch of the Nile, while the army marched along the shore. But little resistance was encountered except from the tribe of the Malli, in the capture of whose town Alexander came near losing his life. Two new cities were built at the junction of the chief tributary of the Indus, the Acesines (Chenab), and the entire valley was reduced to submission. Arriving at the Indian Ocean Alexander sent Nearchus with the fleet to the Persian Gulf, while he marched by land to Persepolis and Susa. His route lay through Gedrosia (Beloochistan) and Carmania. It was the most terrible march he had ever attempted. In crossing the Gedrosian desert more men died than had fallen during the entire expedition. Alexander shared the hardships and privations of his troops, marching with them on foot and enduring all that they were called upon to bear. In spite of his losses, however, he reached Persepolis with the bulk of his army, a force strong enough to enable him not only to maintain his con-

quests, but to attempt new ones. Persepolis was reached in the early winter of B. C. 326. The next year Alexander returned to Susa. Here he gave his army several months of much-needed rest, and applied himself to the organization of his empire.

Two years previous he had married Roxana, a beautiful Bactrian princess whom he had captured, and he now took for a second wife Statira, the eldest daughter of Darius III., hoping by this union to conciliate his Eastern subjects. He bestowed the hand of her sister Drypetis on Hephæstion, and promoted the marriages of about one hundred of his officers with Eastern women of rank. At the same time ten thousand of his soldiers took Asiatic wives, and were given rich presents by the king. Twenty thousand Persians were admitted into the army and trained in the Macedonian discipline. Persian satraps were placed over a number of the provinces, and the court was composed of about an equal number of Europeans and Asiatics. The manners and habits of the king conformed more and more to those of an Eastern despot. These changes gave great offence to the Macedonian veterans, who at length broke out into open revolt when the king proposed to dismiss such Macedonians as were wounded or otherwise disabled. Alexander promptly seized thirteen of the leaders of the mutiny and put them to death, and with great address succeeded in bringing the others to a sense of their dependence upon him. They besought pardon, and were forgiven, and ten thousand veterans were sent back to their homes beyond the sea.

Alexander was no vulgar conqueror, and his title of Great does not rest simply upon his conquests. He had conceived the design of founding a vast empire which should comprise the then known world. He did not intend merely to bring these countries under his sway, but his plans comprehended their improvement as well. He caused the rivers of the countries conquered by him to be freed from obstructions, encouraged commercial enterprises, and gave a new impetus to Oriental industry. Wherever he went he left the Greek language and some portion of Greek cultivation as a priceless legacy to the countries through which he passed. This universal spread of the Greek tongue was all-powerful in drawing the nations of the old world into a closer and more intimate contact with each other.

Greek became the language of commerce, as well as of the court. At a later period the Hebrew Scriptures, translated into Greek, were made accessible to the whole world, and the way was thus paved for the mission of Him of whom these Scriptures testified.

Alexander intended to extend his conquests into Arabia, and after subduing that country to conquer Carthage, then Italy, and then Europe. Babylon was to be his capital, and he caused the construction of a harbor to be begun which should change the inland city into the principal port of the East.

In the spring of B. C. 324 he went from Ecbatana to Babylon. The preparations for the Arabian expedition were rapidly pushed forward, and in the meantime Alexander occupied himself with surveying the course of the Euphrates and devising plans for its improvement. While thus engaged in the unhealthy Chaldæan marshes he contracted a fever, which prostrated him soon after his return to Babylon, and in the midst of the final preparations for, and the banquets which were to precede, his departure for Arabia. At these carousals the king drank deep, and at the termination of one he was seized with the fever. He neglected it for some days, but at length was confined to his bed. He succumbed rapidly to the malady, and it was evident to all that his end was near. As he lay speechless on his death-bed his favorite troops were admitted to take leave of him. He could only stretch out his hand to them in mute recognition, while the hardened veterans sobbed in uncontrollable grief. He died on the 28th of June, B. C. 323, at the age of thirty-two, and in the thirteenth year of his reign.

CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT TO THE ROMAN CONQUEST.

Consequences of the Death of Alexander—Arrangements of his Generals—Philip Arrhidæus made King—Division of Alexander's Dominions Among his Generals—Birth of the Son of Alexander—Quarrels of Alexander's Successors—Their Wars—Battle of Ipsus—Final Division of Alexander's Dominions—Matters in Greece—Final Conquest of Athens by Macedon—Philip IV. of Macedon—Demetrius Becomes King of Macedon and Greece—Goes to War with Syria—Loses Macedon—Macedon Subject to Thrace—Seleucus Master of Alexander's Empire—Ptolemy Ceraunus King of Macedon—His Cruel Reign—Inruption of the Gauls into Greece—Antigonus Gonatus King of

Macedon—Wars with Pyrrhus—Death of Pyrrhus—Antigonus Master of the Whole of Greece—The Achæan League—It Frees the Peloponnesus from Macedon—Demetrius II. is Succeeded by Philip V.—Failure of the Effort to Revive the Power of Sparta—Philip Makes War Upon the Ætolians—Allies himself with Carthage—Attacks the Roman Possessions—Is Defeated and Compelled to Make Peace—Renews the War—Is Defeated and Compelled to Retire to Macedonia—The Achæan and Ætolian Leagues—The Latter Made Subject to Rome—Further Humiliation of Philip—His Death—Perseus King of Macedon—Rome Declares War Against Macedon—Perseus Conquered and Taken Prisoner—Conquest of Greece by the Romans.

THE unexpected death of Alexander threatened his great empire with disruption, as he had appointed no successor. On the day of his death a council of his generals was called to decide upon the proper course to be pursued. The king on his death-bed had given his ring to Perdicas, and that general now took a leading part in the discussions of the council. Roxana, the wife of Alexander, was pregnant at the time of his death, and it was agreed that if she should give birth to a son he should inherit his father's crown. After considerable difficulty the council agreed to an arrangement on the following basis: That Philip Arrhidæus, an illegitimate brother of Alexander the Great, and a young man of weak intellect, should be declared king, "reserving, however, to the child of Roxana, if a son should be born, a share in the sovereignty; that the government of Macedonia and Greece should be divided between Antipater and Craterus; that Ptolemy, who was reputed to be connected with the royal family, should preside over Egypt and the adjacent countries; that Antigonus should have Phrygia proper, Lycia, and Pamphylia; that the Hellespontine Phrygia should be assigned to Leonnatus; that Eumenes should have the satrapy of Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, which countries, however, still remained to be subdued; and that Thrace should be committed to Lysimachus. Perdicas reserved for himself the chiliarchy or command of the horse guards, the post before held by Hephæstion, in virtue of which he became the guardian of Philip Arrhidæus, the nominal sovereign."

These matters being arranged, the last rites were paid to the remains of Alexander. His body was conveyed to Syria, and thence transported to Alexandria in Egypt, where it was deposited in a mausoleum erected by

Ptolemy I. In due time Roxana gave birth to a son, who was named Alexander, and declared joint sovereign of the empire. The real ruler was Perdiccas, who for two years kept the empire united and faithful to the family of Alexander. Four regents or guardians of the realm were appointed—two in Asia and two in Europe. Perdiccas murdered his co-regent and thus became sole ruler of Asia, but Antipater and Craterus administered the government west of the Hellespont. It was plain, however, that the various commanders who had been appointed to the provinces would seek to retain the dominions assigned them, and it was not long before they realized these anticipations. Seeing the impossibility of preserving the crown for the infant Alexander, Perdiccas resolved to seize it him-

In B. C. 319 Antipater died at Macedon. Instead of leaving the regency to his son Cassander, he appointed his friend Polyperchon his successor. Cassander at once joined Antigonus, who was prosecuting the war against Eumenes. Eumenes and Polyperchon were the only persons who were honestly seeking to maintain the integrity of the empire; Cassander, Antigonus, and Ptolemy sought its destruction as the means of their own aggrandizement. Antigonus defeated a royal fleet near Byzantium, and then drove Eumenes beyond the Tigris, where he was joined by a number of the Eastern satraps. Notwithstanding this reinforcement, Eumenes was defeated, and was delivered by his own troops to Antigonus, who put him to death, B. C. 316. In the same year Olympias, the mother of

Alexander the Great, caused Philip Arrhidaeus and his wife to be murdered. Not long afterwards she herself fell into the power of Cassander, who had become master of Macedonia and Greece, and was killed. Cassander now strengthened himself by marrying Thessalonica, the half-sister of Alexander the Great. He founded in her honor the city of Asia Minor which bears her name.



THESSALONICA.

self. He was opposed by Antigonus and Ptolemy, the most important of the provincial rulers. The former had ambitious schemes of his own, and the latter meant to erect his dominions into an independent kingdom. Perdiccas was slain by his mutinous soldiers in a campaign against Ptolemy, and Craterus perished in a battle with Eumenes in Cappadocia. Antipater was thus left sole regent. He silenced Eurydice, the young wife of the mock king Philip Arrhidaeus, who demanded to be admitted to a share of the government, and caused a new division of the provinces to be made, B. C. 320. Antigonus was intrusted with the war against Eumenes, and under the pretext of sustaining the royal authority, made himself master of the greater part of Asia Minor.

It was plain that Antigonus was seeking nothing less than the sovereignty of the entire East. In pursuance of this design he drove Seleucus from Babylon. The latter sought refuge in Egypt, and a new coalition was formed against Antigonus, consisting of Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus. A war of four years ensued, which exhausted all parties, and peace was made in B. C. 411, by which it was provided that the Greek cities should be free, that Cassander should exercise his authority in Europe until Alexander came of age—he was now sixteen years old—and that Ptolemy should retain Egypt and Lysimachus Thrace. Very soon after the negotiation of this treaty Cassander caused Roxana and the young Alexander to be secretly assassinated.

Seleucus, who had recovered Babylon, had also made himself master of Media, Susiania, and Persia, and was not a party to the peace. It was doubtless believed by his allies that he was strong enough to hold his conquests. The peace was broken in B. C. 310 by Ptolemy, who complained that Antigonus had not freed the Greek cities of Asia. Antigonus also complained that Cassander still maintained his garrisons in the cities of European Greece. The war was resumed. Ptolemy gained important successes at first in Cilicia, but was ultimately checked by Demetrius, the son of

Antigonus. He then transferred his operations to the opposite side of the Aegean, and occupied Sicyon and Corinth. He sought to secure in marriage the hand of Cleopatra, Alexander's sister and the last survivor of the royal house of Macedon, but Cassander prevented this by causing that princess to be assassinated, B. C. 308. Demetrius now arrived with a large fleet to the assistance of Athens. He did not remain there long, as he was recalled early in B. C. 306, and sent to besiege Cyprus, which had been seized by Ptolemy. Ptolemy

hastened to the relief of the island with 140 ships and 10,000 troops. A severe naval battle ensued off Salamis—one of the most memorable in the history of the world. Ptolemy was completely defeated and lost all his ships but eight, and 17,000 soldiers and sailors. Antigonus regarded this victory as of so much importance that he assumed the title of king. His example was followed by Ptolemy, Cassander, Lysimachus, and Seleucus.

Demetrius now undertook the siege of Rhodes, which he conducted with great

ability, but after a year spent in a vain endeavor to take the town he was obliged to retire. Rhodes took no part in the remainder of the war. During this year Cassander had been very successful in his efforts to bring Greece under his authority. He had taken Corinth and was besieging Athens when Demetrius arrived in the Euripus to the assistance of that city. Cassander at once raised the siege and marched against Demetrius, who defeated him in a battle near Thermopylæ, after which the conqueror entered Athens, where he was joyfully received. Demetrius re-



BATTLE OF IPSUS.

mained in Greece two or three years, and during this time Cassander was unable to make any progress. He was recalled in the spring of B. C. 301, to the assistance of his father, who was threatened by the combined forces of Lysimachus and Seleucus. A great battle, which decided the struggle, was fought at Ipsus in Phrygia. Antigonus was utterly routed and slain. The wreck of his army was conducted by Demetrius to Ephesus, from which port he sailed to Cyprus, and afterwards proposed to go to Athens, but the Athenians refused to receive

him. The conquerors at Ipsus divided Asia between them. Ptolemy was in possession of Palestine, Phœnicia, and a part of Cœle-Syria, and was allowed to keep these provinces. Lysimachus received the greater part of Asia Minor, in addition to his Thracian kingdom, whilst Seleucus received all of western Asia not given to Lysimachus or held by Ptolemy, from the coast of Syria to the Euphrates. Cassander was not molested in Macedonia, and ruled that country until his death.

Greece still remained a possession of the Macedonian crown. Upon the death of Alexander the majority of the states had rebelled against Macedon, under the leadership of Athens. Antipater, the regent, endeavored to quell the revolt, but was defeated and besieged in the Thessalian town of Lamia. He now had recourse to diplomacy, and broke up the league of the Greeks by treating with each of its members separately. All were granted the most lenient terms except the leaders.



COIN OF THESSALONICA.

Athens was severely punished. Twelve thousand of her citizens were exiled to Thrace, Illyria, Italy, and Africa, and the remainder willingly submitted to the Macedonian authority. Demosthenes and the other leaders of his party were executed. Athens now had not a vestige of independence left, B. C. 321.

Cassander died in B. C. 298, three years after the battle of Ipsus. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Philip IV., who died in the same year. Thessalonica, the wife of Cassander, then divided Macedonia between her remaining sons, Antipater and Alexander. Antipater aspired to the undivided crown, and murdered his mother and invited his father-in-law, Lysimachus of Thrace, into Macedonia, to aid him in becoming master of the whole kingdom. Alexander asked aid of Demetrius, then master of Athens and the greater part of Greece, and of Pyrrhus, King of Epirus. The brothers were put to death by their respective allies, and Demetrius (B. C. 294) became King of Macedon and Greece. Sev-

eral of the western provinces having been ceded by Alexander to Pyrrhus, Demetrius undertook to recover them, but was defeated by Pyrrhus. At the head of a large army he then invaded Asia about B. C. 288, for the purpose of recovering the dominions of his father, Antigonus. To avert this invasion, Seleucus and Lysimachus induced Pyrrhus to attack Macedonia from the west, while Lysimachus invaded it from Thrace. This combined attack forced Demetrius to resign the Macedonian crown, B. C. 287. Later on he was made prisoner in an expedition into Asia against Seleucus, and kept in captivity until his death three years afterwards. Pyrrhus and Lysimachus quarrelled over the division of Macedonia, and the former was driven back into his own country, and Macedonia became a part of the Thracian kingdom. Five years later the nobles rebelled against Lysimachus and offered the crown to Seleucus, who defeated and slew Lysimachus in the battle of Corupedion, and became master of all his dominions. Seleucus now ruled over the whole of Alexander the Great's vast empire with the exception of Egypt. He was slain a few weeks later by Ptolemy Ceraunus, the disinherited son of Ptolemy I., who had taken refuge at his court. Ptolemy Ceraunus at once seized the Macedonian crown. His short reign was literally steeped in crime. He married his half-sister Arsinoë, the widow of Lysimachus, and murdered her children before her eyes and banished her to Samothrace, whence she fled to Egypt and became the wife of her brother Ptolemy II. The reign of Ceraunus was cut short by a sudden invasion of the Gauls, who burst into Macedonia about B. C. 280. He was slain in the effort to resist them, and his kingdom was ravaged far and wide. The next year the Gauls entered Thessaly in force and passed into central Greece. They were gallantly resisted by the Greeks, and being repulsed in their efforts to capture Delphi, broke up into predatory bands. Disease, exposure, and loss in battle destroyed the greater part; of the survivors some settled in the region of the Danube, others founded a kingdom in Thrace, and others still passed into Asia, where they gave their name to the country called Galatia.

Macedonia fell into a state of anarchy at the death of Ptolemy Ceraunus, and the crown was disputed by several pretenders. In B. C. 278 Antigonus Gonatus, the son of

Demetrius, who had continued to hold the kingdom of southern and central Greece, entered Macedonia at the head of an army of Gallic mercenaries, and made himself king. The Syrian King Antiochus Soter endeavored to expel him, but finding this impossible, acknowledged him as King of Macedonia and gave him his sister in marriage. Neither the Macedonians nor the Greeks submitted willingly to Antigonos, and upon the invasion of Macedonia by Pyrrhus, in B. c. 273, the Macedonian army allowed itself to be twice defeated by the Epirote king, and Antigonos became a fugitive. Pyrrhus was unquestionably the ablest warrior and ruler of his day, and had he sought to consolidate his conquests instead of attempting others, he might have retained the extensive domain of which he was now master. He was possessed, however, of a restless ambition which soon led him to attempt the conquest of southern Greece. He was repulsed in an attack upon Sparta, and killed in a night assault upon Argos by a tile thrown from a house-top by an Argive woman, B. c. 271.

Antigonos now returned, regained his throne in Macedonia, and reigned for thirty-two years more. He made himself master of nearly the whole of the Peloponnesus, and governed it by means of tyrants whom he established in the various cities. With the aid of an Egyptian fleet and a Spartan army, he laid siege to Athens, which resisted him for six years. The Athenians were reduced to great extremities, and their city was captured about B. c. 262. During the siege of Athens Antigonos was obliged to return to Macedonia to meet an invasion of Alexander, the son of Pyrrhus, who had won so many successes that he had been acknowledged King of Macedonia. Demetrius, the son of Antigonos, drove Alexander back into Epirus, and even wrested that kingdom from him. He was obliged to restore Epirus, but Alexander wisely confined himself to his own dominions in future. In B. c. 242 Antigonos captured Corinth. With the exception of Sparta, he was now master of all Greece.

A new power had now arisen in Greece. The Achæan League, or the confederacy of the cities of Achæia, which had been suppressed by the successors of Alexander the Great, was revived in B. c. 251 by Aratus of Sicyon, who seized his native city and added it to the league. In B. c. 245 Aratus was elected Strategus, or general of the

league, and again in B. c. 243, in which latter year he captured Corinth from the Macedonians and added it to the confederacy, the object of which was to free Greece from Macedonian rule and re-establish the independence of its states. By his efforts the league soon embraced the whole Peloponnesus with the exception of Sparta, Elis, and some of the Arcadian towns. Antigonos, now an old man, did not attack the Achæan Confederacy, but retaliated by inducing the Ætolians to do so. He died in B. c. 239, and was succeeded by his son, Demetrius II.

Demetrius made an alliance with Epirus. By so doing he alienated the Ætolians, who were enemies of that kingdom, and they joined their forces with those of the Achæan League against Macedon. Though Demetrius succeeded in driving the allied Greeks from Thessaly and Boeotia, he lost the Peloponnesus. The Ætolians having begun a series of aggressions upon Acarnania, Rome interfered for the first time in the affairs of Greece, and compelled the Ætolians to respect the integrity of Acarnania. In B. c. 228 the Romans obtained a footing in Greece by becoming masters of Coreyra, Apollonia, and Epidamnus. Demetrius II. died in B. c. 227, leaving his crown to his son Philip V., a boy of eight years. Antigonos Doson, a near kinsman of the young king, was made regent.

During all this while Sparta had retained her independence, but had lost even the shadow of her former power and greatness. Agis IV., who came to the throne in B. c. 244, endeavored to restore the ancient power and glory of his country by reviving the laws of Lycurgus, but lost his life in the attempt. Cleomenes, his successor, carried out these reforms some years later, and Sparta, thus reinvigorated, was able to inflict another defeat upon the forces of the Achæan League, and to detach from it the principal Achæian towns of the Peloponnesus, and make them her own allies. Aratus, the Strategus of the league, was now so hard pressed that he called in the aid of Antigonos Doson, the Macedonian regent, thus using the power of the league which had been formed to regain the liberties of Greece, to complete its enslavement. Sparta was unable to make head against this coalition, and in B. c. 221 Cleomenes was defeated in the battle of Sellasia, and obliged to take refuge in Egypt with Ptolemy IV. It was plain now that the effort to revive

Sparta had failed, that Greece must become the prize of either Macedon or Rome.

In B. C. 220 the regent, Antigonos, died, and Philip V., a youth of seventeen years, assumed the government. The wise and cautious policy of the regent had won great advantages for Macedon; Philip was now to lose them. His reign began with a war with the Ætolians, who, thinking that the accession of so young a sovereign would enable them to advance their interests at the expense of their rivals, invaded Messenia. Aratus went to the help of Messenia, with the Achæan army, but was defeated, and the Achæans begged aid from Philip, who readily responded to their appeal. He defeated the Ætolians in several engagements, and achieved so much substantial success in Greece that he could easily have reduced the whole of that country to submission to him. But after several years of brilliant success, he suddenly made peace with the Ætolians, in B. C. 217, and turned his attention to another quarter.

It had become his dearest wish to expel the Romans from the eastern coast of the Adriatic, and to conquer Italy. The great victory won over the Romans by Hannibal

and beat a hasty retreat. Still clinging to his schemes against Rome, Philip committed the mistake of arousing the hatred of the Greeks by his arbitrary and insolent treatment of them. Aratus, venturing to remonstrate with him, was poisoned by his order, B. C. 213.

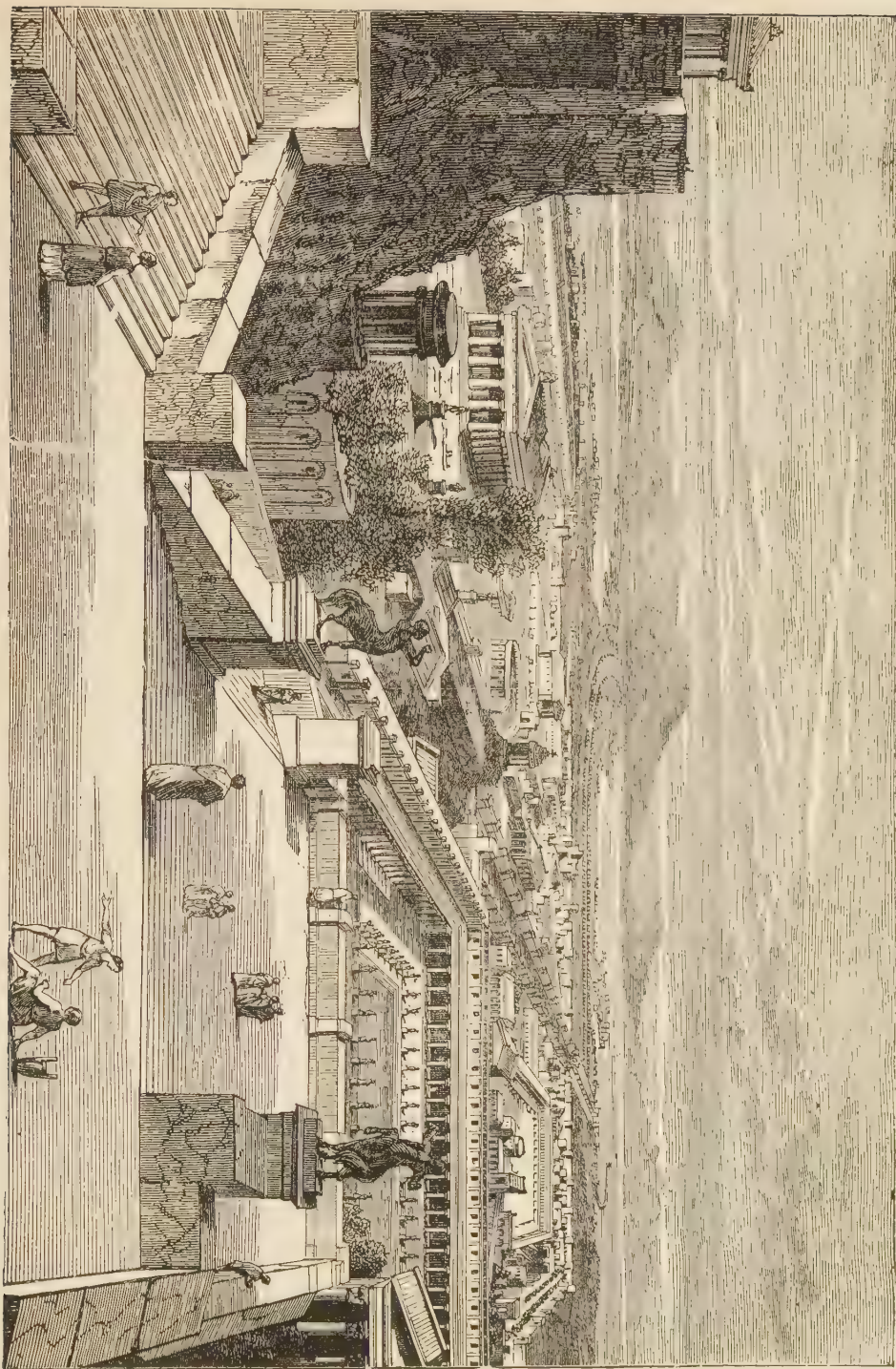
In B. C. 211 the Romans, having recovered from their disasters in Italy, formed an alliance with the Ætolians, Eleans, Spartans, Illyrians, and Attalus, King of Pergamus, and carried the war into Philip's dominions, where they pressed him so hard that, instead of being able to send succor to Hannibal, he was forced to ask aid from Carthage. The Romans captured Zacynthus, Nesos and Eniadae, Anticyra in Locris, and the island of Ægina, and turned them over to the Ætolians. The first two years of the war passed by with varying success. In B. C. 209 Philopœmen, the Achæan commander, put in force a series of reforms among the Achæans, which seemed to promise a revival of the ancient glories of Greece, and enabled them to gain the important victory of Mantinea, in B. C. 207, over the Lacedæmonian allies of Rome. This victory placed Philip in a position to dictate terms to the Ætolians, with whom a separate peace was made. The Romans, now anxious to devote all their energies to the destruction of Carthage, consented to a treaty of peace with Macedon, on terms honorable to both parties, B. C. 205. Philopœmen was hailed by the Greeks as the liberator of their country.

The unscrupulous and reckless ambition of Philip did not permit him to take advantage of the respite which this treaty gave him. Instead of seeking to consolidate his power in Macedon and Greece, and thus prepare for the final struggle with Rome, he began the execution of vast plans which were destined to prove his ruin. He concluded a treaty in B. C. 205 with Antiochus the Great, of Syria, for the partition of the possessions of Egypt, by which he hoped to gain Thrace and a part of Asia Minor. This measure involved him in a war with Rhodes and Pergamus (B. C. 203), which for their own preservation took up the Egyptian cause. In B. C. 201 the Macedonian fleet was signally defeated by the allied squadron off Chios. Philip subsequently gained the victory of Ladé, and made himself master of Thasos, Samos, Chios in Caria, and of several places in



COIN OF LYSIMACHUS.

at Lake Trasimené seemed to him to have reduced the power of the republic to such a low ebb that, by a vigorous co-operation with the Carthaginians, he could secure the success of his plan. Accordingly in B. C. 216, he began to negotiate with Hannibal for this purpose. His ambassadors were captured by the Romans, but the next year the negotiations were brought to a successful close. An alliance was formed between Macedon and Carthage, and in B. C. 214 Philip began the long-wished-for war with Rome by besieging Apollonia, the chief Roman seaport in Illyricum, and capturing Oricum. He soon found, however, that he had seriously miscalculated the power of Rome. The siege of Apollonia was raised by M. Valerius Lævinus, who surprised the Macedonian camp, and obliged Philip to burn his ships



CORINTH UNDER THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

Ionia. He was thus successful in the main objects of the war, but his success was more than counterbalanced by his gaining the bitter hostility of two powerful naval states and the ill-will of Ætolia. A more serious consequence of his acts was the renewal of the war with Rome. Pergamus was an ally of Rome, and had been included in the recent treaty of peace. In B. C. 200 Rome remonstrated with Philip upon his infraction of the treaty and the unprovoked war against her ally, but her warning was unheeded. In the same year Rome, having concluded the second Punic war, was free to turn her arms against Macedon, and war was declared against that kingdom.

The Roman declaration of war found Philip engaged in the siege of Athens. A Roman fleet arriving to the relief of the city, he was obliged to withdraw. Before he did so, however, he gratified his wrath by barbarously destroying the gardens and buildings in the suburbs, including the Lyceum and the tombs of the Attic heroes. He returned soon after with larger reinforcements, and committed further outrages. Greece was divided. Some of the states supported Rome, some Macedon, and others remained neutral. With matters in this condition, neither of the combatants gained any decided advantage. In B. C. 198, however, the Consul T. Quinctius Flaminius succeeded in inducing the Achæan League to join the Roman alliance, to which the Ætolians were already attached. At the same time Flaminius proclaimed himself the champion of the separate independence of the Greek states, and was joined by nearly every state of Greece. In B. C. 197 the Macedonian army was decisively defeated at Cynoscephalæ, near Scotussa, in Thessaly, and the power of Philip, whose kingdom was already threatened from the direction of Illyria by a combined army of Romans, Illyrians and Dardanians, and from the sea by the fleets of Rome, Pergamus and Rhodes, was so greatly prostrated that he was obliged to sue for peace. In B. C. 196 a treaty was made, by which Philip gave up all his possessions in Greece, withdrew his garrisons from the Greek towns, surrendered his fleet to the Romans, and paid an indemnity to Rome of 1,000 talents. Flaminius solemnly promised the re-establishment of the freedom of Greece, but it was not until B. C. 194 that the Roman armies were withdrawn from the peninsula.

In the final settlement of the affairs of Greece the Romans assigned to the states smaller limits than they had formerly possessed, and left the two leagues of Achaia and Ætolia as a check upon each other. The majority of the states were contented with the new arrangement, as the separate independence of each was guaranteed. The Ætolians, however, were dissatisfied, and endeavored to persuade Macedon, Sparta, and Syria to aid them in overturning the settlement. The Syrian King Antiochus alone ventured to respond favorably. He entered Greece at the head of an army inadequate to the task he had undertaken, and was defeated by the Romans at Thermopylæ in B. C. 191. The Ætolians were now left to continue the war alone, and the next year they were defeated in the battle of Magnesia, and compelled to submit unconditionally to Rome. Rome deprived them of a portion of their territory, and made them subject allies.

The humiliation of the Ætolians aided the growth of the Achæan league (which was patronized by Rome) in power and importance. Guided by the able and upright Philopœmen, its advance was marked. In B. C. 192 Sparta joined the league, and the next year the last of the Peloponnesian states which had held aloof from it, Elis and Messenê, came into it. It now embraced all the Peloponnesus, Megara, and other places beyond the limits of southern Greece.

Philip had remained at peace since his defeat at Cynoscephalæ, with the exception of having aided Rome against Antiochus and Ætolia. In return for this service he had been allowed to extend his kingdom over a part of Thrace and a portion of Thessaly. When his aid was no longer needed, however, the Romans ordered him to surrender all his dominions but Macedon proper. In the negotiations which followed, and which were conducted by Demetrius, Philip's second son, who had been long resident at Rome as a hostage, the senate relaxed its demands somewhat in consideration of its friendship for the young prince. This led Perseus, the eldest son of Philip, to accuse his brother, of whom he was jealous, of treason. He forged letters to sustain his charges, and Philip caused Demetrius to be put to death. He discovered the truth when it was too late, and it is said that it was remorse for his act that hastened his own death, which occurred two years later, B. C. 179. The leader of

the Achæan league, Philipœmen, was also dead. He was captured in B. c. 183, in an attempt to suppress a rebellion of the Messenians against the authority of the league, and was put to death by his captors.

Philip had intended to leave his crown to a distant relative named Antigonus, as a punishment to Perseus for having caused the death of Demetrius, but Antigonus was absent from the court at the time of Philip's death, and Perseus mounted the throne without opposition. The last years of Philip had been passed in preparing for a renewal of the struggle with Rome, which he saw was inevitable, and Perseus continued these preparations with diligence. The mines were worked industriously and the treasury filled; the losses in population were made good by the importation of colonies from Thrace; the army was increased and carefully disciplined; and alliances were made with the Illyrians, Gauls, and Germans, whose aid the Macedonian king hoped to enjoy against Rome. For eight years these efforts went on. Perseus might have drawn all the Greeks to his standard, as there was already a considerable party in Hellas, which preferred the Macedonian to the Roman supremacy; but he wavered, and pursued such a selfish and penurious course that he lost his opportunity. In B. c. 172, Eumenes, King of Pergamus, formally accused Perseus before the Roman senate of hostile designs. On his return home, he was murdered near Delphi, and the Romans, believing Perseus to be responsible for the murder, declared war against him.

In B. c. 171 the Romans landed in Epirus, and during the next few months succeeded in inducing the Greek states to join their side. They put down the Bœotian confederacy, which was friendly to Macedon, and won over Thessaly and Achæa. Everywhere the friends of Perseus were crushed. Perseus himself was induced to accept a truce during these months. When the Romans were in readiness, they advanced into Thessaly, but were met and defeated by Perseus, who, however, made no effort to follow up his victory. In B. c. 168, L. Æmilius Paulus having succeeded to the command, Perseus was decisively defeated near Pydna. He fled to the sacred island of Samothrace, but was at length obliged to surrender himself to a Roman squadron. He was taken to Rome, where he was made to walk in the triumph of Paulus, and then

cast into a dungeon. Paulus generously interceded in his behalf, and he was allowed to spend the rest of his life in a milder captivity at Alba.

The victory of Pydna sealed the fate of Macedon. The kingdom was divided into four states subject to Rome, and these were forbidden to hold any intercourse with each other. As a compensation to the Macedonians for the loss of their freedom, a tribute equal to only one-half of the taxes they had paid their kings was required by Rome.

Another result of the war was the establishment of the Roman supremacy over four-fifths of Greece. All the confederacies but the Achæan league were dissolved. Rome thought it necessary, however, that she should have no possible rival in Greece, and that Achæa should either submit unconditionally to her will or be conquered. In B. c. 167, the republic demanded of the league the trial of one thousand of its chief citizens on charges of having secretly aided



COIN OF PERSEUS.

Perseus. The Achæan assembly did not dare refuse, and the whole number of prisoners were carried to Italy, and imprisoned in the Etruscan towns. The Roman party was thus left in control of Achæa. The captives were kept in prison for seventeen years without a hearing, for the deliberate purpose of exasperating their friends in Greece. When their number had been reduced by suffering and death to three hundred, the survivors were suddenly released and sent back to their own land. Rome had barbarously reckoned upon their going back with the intention of being revenged upon her, and she was not disappointed. Three of the survivors who were most embittered against her by their treatment came into power, and their hatred soon gave the republic a pretext for hostilities. War was declared in B. c. 146, and in a few years southern Greece was conquered and added to the Roman dominions.

CHAPTER X.

FROM THE ROMAN CONQUEST TO THE
PRESENT TIME—THE MODERN KINGDOM
OF GREECE.

Greece under the Romans—Sufferings During the Civil Wars—Efforts to Regain its Freedom—Well Treated by the Emperors—Invasions of the Goths—Athens Plundered—Spread of Christianity in Greece—Its Establishment by Constantine—Constantinople Founded—Greece under the Eastern Empire—The Latin States of Greece—The Venetian Dominion—Capture of Constantinople by the Turks—Wars between the Venetians and the Turks for the Possession of Greece—Sufferings of the Greeks—Destruction of the Parthenon—Greece under Turkish Rule—A Remarkable System of Government—How the Greek Nation was Preserved—The Mountaineers Unconquered—Revolts of the Greeks—The Revolution of 1821—Uprising of the Greeks—Their First Successes—A Revolutionary Government Organized—Greece Declared Independent—Massacre of Scio—Miaulis Drives back the Turkish Fleet—Siege of Missolonghi—Marco Bozzaris—Death of Lord Byron—Ibrahim Pasha Conquers Crete—Invades Peloponnesus—Fall of Missolonghi—Ibrahim Desolates Peloponnesus—Intervention of the European Powers—Battle of Navarino—Ibrahim Evacuates Peloponnesus—Treaty of Adrianople—Greece a Free Country once more—Organization of the Kingdom of Greece—Otho Chosen King—A Constitution Granted—Revolution of 1862—Otho Expelled—George of Denmark King—Subsequent History.

GREECE remained a possession of Rome for more than four centuries, or from B. C. 146 to A. D. 324. At first it continued to enjoy a sort of municipal freedom, for every important town was governed by one of its own citizens, and the Romans paid a willing and hearty homage to the superior genius and civilization of their conquered subjects. The best of the Romans were proud of a knowledge of the Greek language and literature, and looked upon Greece with an affectionate reverence as their intellectual mother. Even the emperors in later times were proud of being citizens of Athens. These feelings at length excited the envy of the Roman people, and the term *Græculus*, which was at first regarded as a mark of honor, became an expression of contempt.

The proximity of Greece to Italy made it the scene of many wars, both between various factions of the conquerors and between the Romans and other nations. These brought a plentiful harvest of misfortunes upon the country. In many of these wars the Greeks joined the foreign enemies of Rome in the vain hope of throwing off the Roman yoke and recovering their independence. In the early part of the first cen-

tury B. C. Mithridates, King of Pontus, became involved in a war with the Romans. He drove them out of Asia Minor and attacked their European possessions. He formed an alliance with the Greeks, and sent several armies into Greece, which were joined by the Athenians, Spartans, Thebans, and Achæans. The allies were for a while successful, and for a brief season Greece was a free country once more. In B. C. 87, however, the tide turned; nearly all the Greek cities were retaken by the Romans. Athens was besieged, and the next year was driven by hunger to surrender. The Romans stained their victories by indiscriminate massacres in Athens, Thebes, and other towns, and sold many of the conquered Greeks into slavery. The temples of Delphi, Olympia, and Epidaurus were plundered of their treasures, and the country was stripped of its choicest works of art, which were sent to Rome.

The quarrels of Cæsar and Pompey involved Greece in fresh trouble. The Athen-



COIN OF ANTONINUS STRUCK AT CORINTH.

ians, Bœotians, and Peloponnesians sided with Pompey, while the Acharnanians, Ætolians, and a portion of the people of Epirus sustained the cause of Cæsar. The great battle of Pharsalia, fought in Thessaly, in B. C. 48, made Cæsar master of all Greece. He visited his severities on the Megarians alone, and treated the rest of Greece with remarkable forbearance. Athens, whose ancient glories he admired, received many favors from him; and he caused the city of Corinth, which had been destroyed in the first Roman conquest, to be rebuilt, B. C. 46.

Upon the murder of Cæsar a new civil war broke out in Greece, this time between Antony and Octavian on the one hand, and Brutus and Cassius on the other. The Athenians joined the latter party, while the Lacedæmonians cast their lot with the former. The battles of Philippi, in B. C. 42, made Antony and Octavian masters of the Roman world, which they proceeded to divide between them. Greece fell to An-

Antony's share. He took up his abode at Athens, in which city he had been educated, and treated the Greeks with such liberality that their country seemed on the point of recovering its ancient glories. When the civil war broke out between Antony and Octavian, almost the whole of Greece supported the former. Antony was finally defeated and ruined in the battle of Actium, in B. C. 31. Octavian treated the Greeks with great kindness; he caused the town of Patræ to be rebuilt, and erected the city of Nicopolis on the spot where he had gained his great victory.

Under the Roman emperors, Greece, on

the empire sank deeper into corruption, Greece suffered greatly from the general insecurity, and the growing needs of the Romans caused them to plunder the wealthy cities whenever the opportunity offered itself. The numerous bloody wars had greatly reduced the population, and many districts of the country were almost uninhabited.

To make matters worse, the Goths, who had begun their irruptions into the Roman dominions, threatened in A. D. 253 to overrun Greece. The Greeks occupied the pass of Thermopylæ, the walls of Athens were rebuilt, and the isthmus of Corinth was strongly fortified. The victories of the Ro-



MODERN CORINTH.

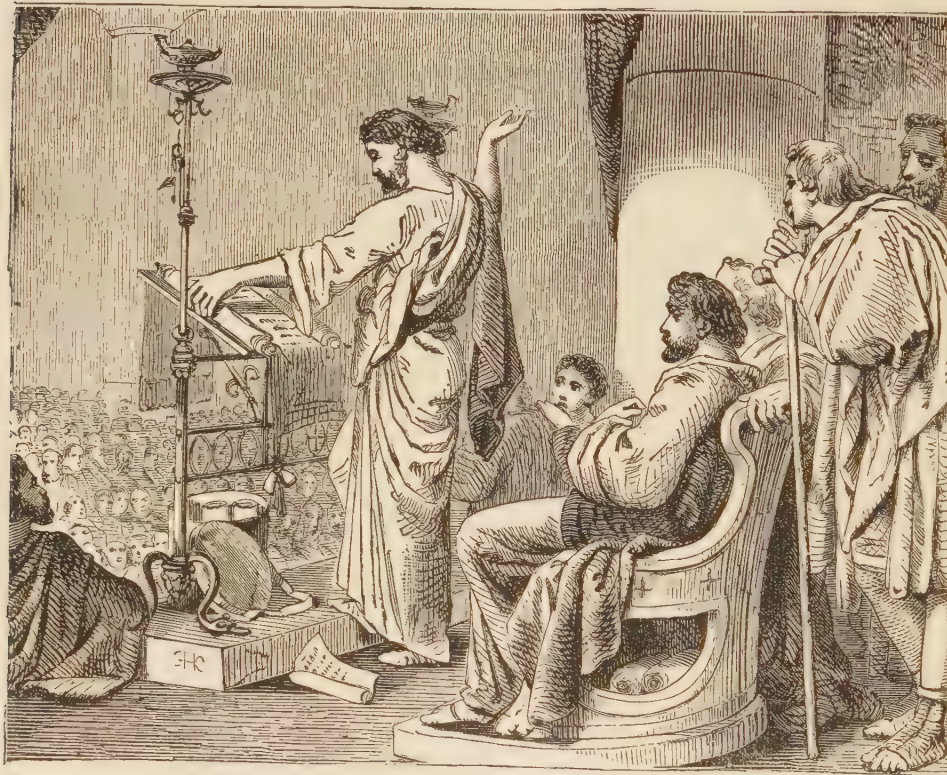
the whole, enjoyed peace and prosperity. Many of its cities—especially Athens—were allowed to retain their own governments, and though Caligula and Nero carried away many of the other art treasures to Rome, others, like Trajan and Hadrian, were never tired of lavishing marks of their affection upon Athens. Hadrian greatly adorned that city, to which he made frequent visits, and boasted of his title of Archon Eponymos of Athens. Still, the character of the Greeks was steadily lowered under the Roman rule; the coarser manners and the gladiatorial games of the conquerors demoralized the people, and depraved their taste in art and literature. As

mans over the Goths in Thrace saved Greece from the barbarian invasion this time; but in A. D. 262 the Goths made a descent upon the country by sea. Corinth, Argos, and many of the towns on the main land and on the islands, were captured and destroyed. Athens fell after a heroic resistance, and its streets were deluged with the blood of its citizens. The monuments were destroyed, and the manuscripts in the libraries would have shared the same fate had not the barbarians believed that the study of literature made the Greeks weak and effeminate and the more easily conquered. At this juncture Dexippos, the historian and one of the Athenian generals, collected the remnant

of his forces, and surprised and defeated the Goths, who retreated into Illyricum, where they were routed by the Emperor Gallienus. During the reign of the Emperor Claudius, the Goths made another formidable attack upon Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, and other Greek provinces, but were defeated by Claudius. This put an end for two centuries to the attempts of the barbarians upon Greece, but the country shared the general suffering which was caused by the growing weakness of the empire.

very successful at Athens, and passed on to Corinth, where he established a church. From these beginnings, Christianity spread rapidly over other parts of Greece. In spite of the persecutions with which the Roman authorities sought to check its progress, in spite of the charms with which paganism surrounded the old religion, Christianity spread steadily, and by slow degrees affected the character of the entire Greek nation.

When Constantine became Emperor of Rome, he made Christianity the religion of



ST. PAUL PREACHING CHRISTIANITY IN GREECE.

During all this while Greece had been experiencing a radical change. Christianity had been gradually extending its influence throughout the country. About the middle of the first century after Christ, the Apostle Paul crossed over from Asia Minor to Macedonia, and began preaching the Gospel of Christ to the Greeks. He made many converts, especially at Thessalonica, where he established a church. Persecutions drove him to Athens, where he renewed his efforts, preaching in the presence of the assembled city on Mars' Hill. He was not

the empire. His next most important act was the establishment of his capital in the new city which he built on the site of ancient Byzantium, and named Constantinopolis, or city of Constantine. He perceived that the ruin of the western part of the empire was inevitable, and believed that a stronger and more enduring state might be founded in his Greek dominions.

The establishment of the new capital in the ancient Greek territory was to a certain extent the revival of the independence of Greece, which gave a hearty support to the

emperors at Constantinople. The history of the Greek empire will be related elsewhere, and we can only pause to notice a few events which directly concerned Greece itself.

Until the eleventh century Greece remained an undisputed part of the Byzantine empire. In A. D. 1080 Robert Guiscard, a Norman prince of lower Italy, invaded Epirus and Thessaly, and attempted their conquest, but was driven out by Alexis Comnenus. In 1146 Robert II. of Sicily seized the island of Corcyra, and plundered Corinth and other Greek cities. Corcyra was soon recovered by the imperial forces. In A. D. 1204 the Venetians, in alliance with the French crusaders, attacked and captured Constantinople, and divided Greece between them. The Marquis of Montferrat became the sovereign of Salonica (the ancient Thessalonica), Achaia, and the Morea (the Peloponnesus became a principality under Gillaume de Champlitte and Geoffroi Villehardour; the archipelago was organized as a dukedom with Naxos as its capital; and a dukedom was set up at Athens, which lasted from 1205 to 1456. The Greeks recovered Constantinople from the Venetians in 1261, but the other foreign dominions lasted for several centuries. The Venetians held a large part of the Morea or Peloponnesus, and other portions of continental Greece, and the island of Crete and other islands, until the conquest of the eastern empire by the Turks.

In A. D. 1453 the Turks, who had wrested from the Greek emperors almost the whole of their dominions, captured the city of Constantinople, and brought the Eastern Empire to an end. The next three centuries were occupied with wars between the Turks and the Venetians for the possession of Greece. Northern Greece was already in the hands of the Turks, and they soon after succeeded in acquiring the island of Eubœa and Attica. Athens once in the hands of the Moslems, the Parthenon was converted into a mosque. The sultan next turned his efforts to Peloponnesus, the greater part of which was held by the Venetians. Between the contending powers the Greeks led a miserable existence. If they sided with the Venetians the Turks visited the most fearful vengeance upon them, and if they aided the Turks they experienced treatment almost as cruel at the hands of the Venetians. On the whole, their sympathies were with the Venetians,

who were Christians, and who constantly held out the hope of freedom to them. One result of this war was the transfer to Venice and Genoa of the large silk manufactories which had flourished at Athens and Corinth since the days of Justinian. In 1522 the island of Rhodes was conquered by the Turks after a desperate struggle, and soon after they subdued the remaining Venetian possessions in Peloponnesus. In 1571 the island of Cyprus fell into the hands of the sultan, and not long after the entire Turkish fleet, consisting of 200 ships, was defeated and destroyed off Naupactus by the allied fleets of the Venetians, the pope, and the emperor, under the command of Don John of Austria. Almost all the men serving in the Venetian fleet on this occasion were Greeks. In 1670 the Turks drove the Venetians out of the island of Crete after a struggle of thirty years. In 1685 the Venetians, under the command of the famous Morosini, assisted by the Greeks, regained the whole of Peloponnesus, and the next year captured Athens. During this siege the Parthenon was used as a powder magazine by the Turks. A Venetian shell thrown into it exploded the magazine and shattered the beautiful edifice. In 1699 the Venetians were obliged to relinquish all their conquests but Peloponnesus, and in 1715 Achmed III. wrested that peninsula from them also. With the exception of the Ionian islands, Turkey was now mistress of all the Greek countries.

The Turks organized the Greek territory into provinces, and adopted a somewhat peculiar system for their government. The Patriarch of Constantinople, the head of the Greek Church, was recognized by the sultan as the head of the Greek nation, and thus became the civil as well as the spiritual ruler of Greece. In every province there was a bishop, who held both the civil and ecclesiastical control of the Greeks. He was acknowledged as the judge in all private affairs; he directed the schools, which preserved the Greek language, and governed the church, which preserved the national religion and the national character of the people. He was directly responsible to the Patriarch of Constantinople, who was, in his turn, responsible to the sultan. The lower clergy were constituted so many civil officials by this arrangement, and were dependent upon the bishop, from whom they received their orders in political matters. This system, it should be understood.

applied only to the Greeks. In every province the Turkish government was represented by the pasha and other civil officials, but with these the Greeks had little to do. In consequence of the system under which they were placed, the Greeks, in their disputes among themselves, never resorted to the Turkish courts of justice. They laid their differences before the ecclesiastical tribunals and accepted their decisions. The bishops, on their part, collected and paid over the tribute to the Turkish authorities, and protected the people against the Turkish military and civil officials, mainly by bribing the pashas. They regulated

of Hellas. In all the churches daily prayers were offered that God would drive out the Turks and restore the freedom of Greece. No Greek adopted the faith of Islam, and no marriages took place between the two races. Their hatred was deep and mutual.

Another cause of the survival of the national spirit of the Greeks was the warfare waged upon the Turks by the Klephts, or the inhabitants of the mountains of Epirus, Thessaly, Acharnania, Ætolia,

Arcadia, and Maina, or Laconia. These hardy mountaineers had never submitted to the Turkish authority, and had been joined since the Turkish conquest by numbers of men who refused to submit to the Moslems. From their mountain fastnesses they

carried on a constant warfare against the Turks, causing them great losses. Their example was a constant incentive to the Greeks to keep alive their national feelings until the day of deliverance should come.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century the Greeks were strongly moved by the hope of speedily regaining their independence. The Turkish sultans from the very period of the conquest had been forced to employ Greeks in many ways. They were largely engaged in



GREEK PATRIARCH.

the revenues of every community, and directed the necessary expenditures.

This system had the inevitable effect of keeping alive the Greek nation even under the grinding tyranny of the Turks. The Greeks were kept to themselves, and taught that they had nothing in common with their conquerors; the church, to which they were devotedly attached, kept alive the spirit of national patriotism, and the schools preserved the national language, the greatest tie that united the oppressed people

to the service of the foreign office, and in the financial department of the empire. Greek mercantile houses controlled the trade of the Levant, and had branches in the various cities of Europe. The Greeks in the Turkish service had many opportunities of aiding and benefiting their unfortunate countrymen, and made good use of them. The hopes of the Greeks were also revived by the growing weakness of the Turkish empire, and everywhere the nation was on the alert to profit by

the first opportunity to rise against its oppressors.

In 1769, Turkey having become involved in a war with Russia, the Greeks rose in revolt in Peloponnesus and Maina (Laconia), stimulated by promises of assistance from Russia. The Russian promises proved deceptive, and the revolt was put down with dreadful cruelties by the Turks.

In 1787 a new revolt broke out in parts of Greece, especially in the mountain districts. For the first time in many cen-

schools were encouraged, the pupils carefully trained in the history of their ancestors, and secret societies, having for their object the emancipation of the country, were formed in various parts of Greece. Rigas Pheræos, and, later on, Coray, two leading writers, appealed to the Greeks to remember the glories of their ancestors and emulate them. In 1797 Rigas went to Italy to endeavor to interest Napoleon Bonaparte in the affairs of Greece. He was arrested at Trieste by the Austrians,



NAVARINO—THE ANCIENT PYLOS.

turies, the Greeks now formed a small navy under Lambros Catsonis, and inflicted considerable damage upon the Turkish shipping. The revolt was put down. The Suliotes of Epirus, though they managed to prolong the struggle until 1803, were driven from their mountain fastnesses, and sought refuge in the Ionian islands.

During all this time, and far into the present century, the best men of Greece continued their efforts to prepare the nation for the attempt to regain its freedom. The

who delivered him up to the Turks, by whom he was beheaded at Belgrade. His last words were, "The Greeks will soon avenge my death."

At length the moment for which all Greece had been looking so long, arrived. In 1821 the secret societies and the leaders of the Greeks, believing that the time had come when the Turkish rule could be no longer endured, gave the signal for revolt, and uprisings took place simultaneously in every part of Greece. The movement em-

braced the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia. The Turks by rapid and vigorous movements crushed the insurrection in those provinces, and the Greek towns were scenes of frightful massacres. On the pretext that a plot of the Greek residents of Constantinople to seize the city and kill the sultan had been discovered, the patriarch was arrested on Easter Sunday, 1821, and hanged on the gate of his palace, after which his body was thrown into the sea. A number of the bishops and clergy and hundreds of the leading Greek citizens of Constantinople were massacred and their property confiscated.

In Greece proper the insurrection was more successful. On the 6th of April, 1821, the leading men of Peloponnesus assembled at the monastery of Sancta Laura, in Ar-

Turkish ships. The Greek vessels encountered the Turks off the island of Lesbos on the 8th of June, and by means of a fire-ship, which they handled with great daring, burned a Turkish frigate with 600 men on board. The Turkish fleet at once put about and sailed for Constantinople.

The hopes of the Greeks were aroused by their successes on land and sea, and they resolved to make the separation between Turkey and their country final. Early in 1822 a National Assembly was held at Epidaurus. This body drew up a declaration, in which, after reciting the sufferings of Greece at the hands of the Turks, and appealing to all Christendom for sympathy, they declared the Greek nation independent of Turkey. The next step of the assembly

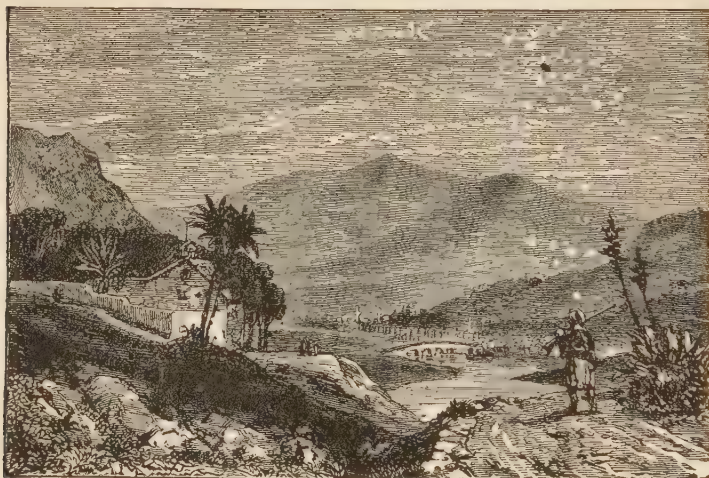
was to organize a provisional government, with Alexander Mavrocordatos at its head. The nation gave its enthusiastic support to the provisional government, and from this time the resources and energies of the country were directed in a more systematic and successful manner.

Turkey now put forth the greatest exertions to crush the revolt of the Greeks. Forty thousand men, under Dram Ali, were sent into Peloponnesus

to relieve the fortress of Nauplia, which was besieged by the Greeks. They were defeated by a force of about 10,000 Greeks, and driven from Peloponnesus. This was one of the most brilliant victories ever won by the Hellenic race.

In the month of April, 1822, the Turkish fleet made a descent upon the island of Scio (Chios), and laid the beautiful island waste. Thousands of the inhabitants were massacred without mercy, and as many more were sent to the slave markets of Asia and Egypt. Both sexes and all ages were treated alike, and for many days the island was the scene of indiscriminate massacres, burning, and pillage. Never had a more terrible vengeance been wreaked upon a helpless people.

When the news of the massacre of Scio



SCENE IN THE ISLAND OF CRETE.

cadia, and pledged themselves in a solemn oath to free their country from Turkish rule or die in the attempt. The whole Peloponnesus rose in arms, and succeeded in defeating the force of 6,000 Turkish troops sent to quell the insurrection. Several important places were taken by the patriots, but the Turkish forces inflicted great suffering upon the country, which they ravaged with fire and sword. On the 5th and 6th of September all continental Greece joined the insurrection. On the latter day a powerful fleet sailed from Constantinople to reduce the Greek islands. To meet this force the patriots collected a small fleet, chiefly from Hydra, Spezzia, and Psara, the citizens of these islands making great sacrifices to procure and equip these vessels, which were in every way inferior to the

became known, the Greek fleet undauntedly sailed to meet the Turks. It was commanded by Andreas Miaulis, the greatest naval hero of modern Greece, "an iron man who never smiled and never wept, whose superiority was acknowledged by all." With characteristic boldness, Miaulis kept the powerful Turkish fleet from proceeding against the other Greek islands, and so saved them from the fate of Scio. On the night of the 6th of June, 1822, a young Greek officer, Constantine Canaris by name, with a small vessel manned by thirty-three men, succeeded in setting fire to a Turkish frigate, and blew it up with all on board, off the island of Chios. This was the admiral's ship, and that officer and more than 2,000 Turks perished in the explosion. This disaster struck terror to the Turks, and abandoning their effort to relieve Nauplia, they retreated in haste towards the Hellespont. On the voyage the fleet was overtaken by a severe storm off Tenedos, and in the midst of it the Greeks succeeded in destroying a Turkish frigate and 1,600 men. The Turks thereupon returned to Constantinople. Nauplia, thus abandoned, surrendered to the Greeks on the 12th of December.

While these events were transpiring in other parts of Greece, Alexander Mavrocordatos had occupied the town of Missolonghi, at the head of the Gulf of Patras, and appreciating the importance of the position had determined to hold it against the Turks. From this point he directed the resistance of Acharnania and Ætolia, and also endeavored to assist the Suliotes, who had returned to their mountains in Epirus from their exile in the Ionian islands. He was unsuccessful, however, and was compelled to withdraw to Missolonghi. The Suliotes were driven from Epirus, and took refuge in the island of Cephallenia, from which they soon after sailed to Missolonghi and joined the little band there under Mavrocordatos. The Turks now concentrated all their efforts against this place, which was but poorly fortified, and garrisoned with a small force. On the 6th of January, 1823, they attempted to carry the town by assault, but were repulsed with heavy loss, and driven from their position.

Early in 1823 a strong Turkish army was sent against Missolonghi. The little town was hard pressed, and must have fallen but for the heroic efforts of Marco Bozzaris, the Suliote chief, who with a small force of

his countrymen made a night attack upon the Turkish position, and gained a brilliant victory over the enemy, purchasing his success with his life. Later in the year the Turks made another unsuccessful effort to capture Missolonghi.

The heroism of the Greeks aroused the sympathies of all Europe, and many volunteers hastened to Greece to assist the patriots. Among these was the English poet Lord Byron. He organized a corps of Suliotes at his own expense, and repaired to Missolonghi. His death, which occurred soon after his arrival, prevented him from taking an active part in the war.

Having failed to subdue the Greeks, the sultan now demanded aid of his vassal, the Pasha of Egypt. Mehemet Ali was at this time seated on the Egyptian throne. He was, as we have seen in our account of Egyptian history, an able ruler, and was well seconded by his gifted son Ibrahim. The sultan bestowed upon Mehemet the island of Crete, which had supported the Greek cause, and ordered him to occupy it and stamp out the insurrection there. This was done in the latter part of 1823 by the Egyptian forces under Ibrahim Pasha. Ibrahim was now appointed Governor of the Peloponnesus, with orders to conquer that peninsula.

Ibrahim began the execution of his orders in the summer of 1824, and directed his first efforts against several of the Greek islands which had been most conspicuous in their support of the patriot cause. In spite of the heroic resistance of the Greeks, the Egyptians were successful, and Kasos, Psara, and other islands were conquered, and the inhabitants massacred or sold into slavery. Roused by these disasters the Greeks sent out their fleet, and gained several nobly won successes over the Turkish fleet, finally driving it into the Hellespont.

In 1825 Ibrahim Pasha entered the Peloponnesus at the head of a large and well-equipped army, largely officered by Europeans. He formed the siege of Pylos, and on the 8th of May captured the island of Sphacteria and put its garrison to the sword, but could not prevent the escape of the Greek fleet of eight vessels, which cut its way through the fifty-two Egyptian men-of-war. Pylos fell into Ibrahim's hands soon after this, and the conqueror ravaged Messenia with fire and sword. Ibrahim then rapidly subdued the greater part of

Peloponnesus, everywhere marking his conquests with the greatest cruelty, and rousing the indignation of all Europe by his barbarities. Early in 1826 he joined the Turkish forces before Missolonghi. The Turks had made the most determined efforts to capture this place, and the siege had lasted nearly six months. The little garrison had held their own with heroic courage, but by the time of Ibrahim's

ish lines. The attempt was made on the night of the 22d of April, 1826. The Greeks were driven back, and the Turks and Egyptians entered the town with them. Seeing that all was lost, the Greeks blew up their magazine and forts, involving many thousand Turks and Egyptians in their destruction. On the morning of the 23d of April, Ibrahim Pasha was master of Missolonghi. He held a heap of black



BATTLE OF NAVARINO.

arrival had begun to suffer fearfully from famine and disease. The patriot government at Nauplia was powerless to do anything for their relief, and the gallant efforts of the Greek squadron under Miaulis to throw provisions into the town had been baffled by the superior force of the Turkish and Egyptian fleets. At length driven to despair, the garrison of Missolonghi resolved to cut their way through the Turk-

ened ruins, for the possession of which he had paid dearly. This success was followed early in 1827 by the capture of Athens by a Turkish army under Reshid Pasha. The Turks and Egyptians visited the most frightful cruelties upon the country. Ibrahim Pasha deliberately sought to exterminate the native population of Peloponnesus, intending to repeople that peninsula with Egyptians and Arabians.

By this time the barbarities of the Turks and Egyptians had aroused the indignation of all Europe, and the heroism of the Greeks had won for them the sympathies of the whole world. At first the European powers had regarded the Greeks as rebels in revolt against their lawful sovereign, and the Austrian government openly sided with the Turks. Even Russia had met the appeal of the Greeks for aid with the cold command to them to return to their allegiance to the sultan. Fortunately for Greece Alexander I. of Russia died on the 1st of December, 1825. His successor, the Czar Nicholas, reversed his father's policy, and determined to give active aid to the Greeks. At the same time the sympathies of the English and French people for the Greeks compelled their governments to move in the same direction. Great Britain recognized the Greeks as belligerents, and a convention was signed in London on the 6th of July, 1827, by the representatives of England, France, and Russia, by which it was agreed to ask Turkey to grant a truce to the Greeks, and in the event of the refusal of the sultan to do so, to recognize the independence of Greece and compel the Turks to stop the war. One month was given to the sultan to reply. A combined English, French, and Russian fleet was sent to the Mediterranean with orders to put a stop to the cruelties of Ibrahim Pasha in Peloponnesus. As had been foreseen, the sultan refused to grant the truce, and the war went on. On the 20th of October, 1827, the allied fleet, under the command of the English Admiral Coddington, entered the harbor of Navarino (the ancient Pylos), which was occupied by the Egyptian and Turkish fleets. The allies had ten ships of the line, ten frigates, and some smaller vessels, and the Egyptians and Turks had five line-of-battle ships, nineteen frigates, and a large number of smaller craft. The object of the allies was to compel Ibrahim Pasha to desist from further hostilities against the Greeks. As their fleet entered the harbor it was fired upon by the Mohammedans, and at once closed with them. The battle which ensued was stubbornly contested during the greater part of the day, and resulted in the total destruction of the sultan's fleet.

This great victory virtually decided the struggle. Deprived of his fleet, Ibrahim consented to evacuate the Morea (Peloponnesus), and withdrew to Egypt with the

larger part of his army. A division of 14,000 French troops, under Marshal Maison, was landed in Greece and rapidly drove the Turks out of that country. The Greeks, on their part, won several important successes over the Turks, by land and sea. In the meantime Russia had begun its war upon Turkey, and had pressed the sultan so hard that Mahmoud II. was compelled to come to terms. On the 28th of August, 1829, the treaty of Adrianople was signed. This treaty, besides making many concessions to Russia, recognized the independence of Greece. The new kingdom included all of continental Greece south of a line drawn from the Gulf of Arta to the Gulf of Volo, thus leaving Thessaly and Albania within the Turkish empire. The islands of Eubœa, the northern Sporades, and the Cyclades, were included within the new limits of Greece. The Ionian Islands remained under the rule of Great Britain, and Crete and the islands off the coasts of Thrace and Asia Minor remained in the hands of the Turks.

Early in 1828 the seat of the Greek national government had been removed to the island of Ægina. Count Capo d'Istria, a distinguished Greek statesman, then in the service of Russia, had been chosen president of the provisional government. His measures were not satisfactory to the people, who were so much divided by internal dissensions that the independence of the country had hardly been secured when it was perceived that the only permanent organization of the country possible must be the work of the powers that had given freedom to the Greeks. Accordingly efforts were set on foot to accomplish this, and after many failures were successful. Greece was organized as a kingdom, and in the spring of 1832 Prince Otho, son of the King of Bavaria, who had been an enthusiastic friend of Greek independence, was chosen King of Greece. This choice was ratified by the national assembly of the Greeks, on the 8th of August, 1832.

King Otho, then but eighteen years old, arrived at Nauplia on the 6th of February, 1833. In 1835 the seat of government was transferred to Athens. The king soon after attained his majority, and governed from this time in his own name, by ministers responsible to himself, aided by a council of state.

The treaty by which the kingdom of Greece was established was silent on the

question of a constitution, but the Greeks confidently expected that one would be granted them. The government of Otho was despotic, though mild on the whole, and was not satisfactory to the people. The discontent continued to grow, and on the night of the 14th of September, 1843, broke out in open revolt. The army and people surrounded the royal palace at Athens, and demanded a constitution. The king hesitated for a while, but finally yielded, and convoked a National Assembly. This body drew up a constitution, which was approved by the king on the 16th of March, 1844.

The history of the ten years following the adoption of the Greek constitution is a record of constant confusion. Partisan controversies raged with great bitterness, and were increased by foreign intrigues. Ministerial changes and insurrections were frequent, the latter on several occasions attaining very formidable proportions. The national party was obliged to maintain a constant struggle with the foreign elements, which, owing to the peculiar circumstances in which Greece was placed, were able to exercise a powerful control upon its government. In the presence of these contentions the material interests of the country suffered severely.

In 1847 Greece barely escaped another war with Turkey, which threatened to grow out of an alleged discourtesy to the Turkish ambassador at Athens. In 1848 a more serious misunderstanding arose with England, arising out of demands made upon Greece by that country for damages suffered by British subjects. The question remained unsettled for several years, and became harder to adjust. In 1850 a British fleet anchored off Piræus, and blockaded Athens and made many seizures of Greek shipping. Brought face to face with the alternative of war with Great Britain, Greece now yielded, and the questions at issue were settled.

In 1852 the failure of the grape crop caused much suffering among the people, and in 1853 a severe earthquake destroyed a considerable amount of property in various parts of the kingdom, and added to the general distress. The country was in a greatly disturbed condition. Banditti infested the Peloponnesus and central Greece and made life and property unsafe; and the government was too weak to check the evil.

When the Crimean war broke out Greece was very active in behalf of Russia, but was obliged by the menaces of England and France to pledge itself to a strict neutrality. An English and French squadron was stationed at Piræus to compel the observance of this pledge, and was not removed until 1857, two years after the close of the war, and then only after repeated protests by the Greek government.

In the mean time the opposition to King Otho and the royal family had been steadily increasing from year to year. In December, 1861, Dossios, a student, attempted to assassinate the queen, and, in spite of the fact that his intended victim was a woman, was openly defended by many of the people. On the 22d of October, 1862, a revolution broke out at Athens, and, through the indifference or sympathy of the army, was successful. The next day a provisional government was established by the leaders of the revolution. King Otho was declared deposed, and a National Assembly was convoked. The king was absent at the time on a visit to the ports of Peloponnesus. He received the news of his deposition on his return to Piræus. He did not attempt to land, but held a council with the foreign ministers at Athens on board his ship. Acting upon their advice, he issued a proclamation on the 24th, taking leave of Greece. He made no formal abdication, however, and soon after sailed in an English frigate for Germany. On the 1st of December a decree was issued by the Provisional Government, ordering an election for a new king. England now offered, in the event of the election of a king who should be satisfactory to her, to transfer to Greece the sovereignty of the Ionian Islands. The National Assembly met at Athens on the 22d of December, 1862. On the 16th of February, 1863, the deposition of the Bavarian dynasty was confirmed, and on the 30th of March, Prince George, son of the King of Denmark, was elected king. This choice was confirmed by the great powers on the 16th of July.

King George reached Athens in October, 1863, and on the 31st took the oath to support the constitution. On the 14th of November, 1863, a treaty was signed between Great Britain and Greece, by which the Ionian Islands became a part of the Greek kingdom, thus fulfilling the long-deferred hopes of the people of those islands.

In 1866 the island of Crete, or Candia,

revolted against the Turks. The Greeks were open in their sympathy with the insurgents, and in spite of the prohibitions of the government, furnished them with considerable assistance. The insurrection was put down by the Turks, and over 30,000 Cretans, mostly women and children, took refuge in Greece. The aid given by the Greeks to the insurgents and the shelter afforded by them to the fugitives came near involving the kingdom in a war with Turkey. The danger was averted, however.

In 1870 a party of four English travelers, on a visit to the scene of the battle of Marathon, were captured by the Greek brigands, and were put to death in conse-

quence of the failure of the negotiations for their ransom. England held Greece responsible for the massacre, on the ground that it was bound to suppress brigandage in its territories. The matter was pressed by Great Britain so firmly that at one time it threatened to lead to war. It was settled by the payment of £10,000 to the family of one of the murdered men and by negotiation.

When the war between Russia and Turkey broke out in 1877, the Greeks were anxious to unite with Russia in the hope of freeing all the Greek countries from Moslem rule, but the government, yielding to the warnings of Great Britain, decided to remain neutral.

BOOK XII.

THE HISTORY OF THE GREEK KINGDOM OF SYRIA.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE KINGDOM TO THE ROMAN CONQUEST.

Division of Alexander's Empire—Seleucus Receives Syria—Establishment of the Kingdom—Its Early Prosperity—Antioch Founded—Reign of Antiochus I.—His Wars—Antiochus II.—His Successors—Reign of Antiochus the Great—War with Egypt—Reverses of Antiochus—He Invades Parthia—Wars with Rome—Is Defeated—Antiochus IV.—Drives the Jews into Rebellion—Weak Reign of Antiochus V.—Demetrius I.—Comes in Conflict with Rome—Alexander Balas—Demetrius II.—Made Prisoner by the Parthians—His Captivity—Reign of Antiochus VII.—Decline of the Syrian Kingdom—Civil Wars—Syria Becomes Subject to Armenia—Conquered by Pompey—Made a Roman Province.

THE empire of Alexander the Great was divided after his death, as we have seen, among his generals. We have related the establishment of the Egyptian kingdom under Ptolemy Lagi, and the fortunes of Macedonia and Greece under Alexander's successors. We have now to consider the establishment of the Greek kingdom of Syria by Seleucus and his successors.

The kingdom dates from the year B. C. 312. Seleucus, as has been related, taking advantage of the check which Antigonus had received by the victory of Ptolemy

Lagi over Demetrius, near Gaza, regained possession of Babylon, and extended his power over all the provinces of Alexander's empire between the Euphrates and the Indus, on the one hand, and the Jaxartes and the Indian Ocean on the other. He also made war upon an Indian monarch whose kingdom lay upon the head-waters of the Ganges, and compelled him to make a treaty by which Seleucus gained important commercial advantages and added 500 elephants to his army. After the victory of Antigonus at Salamis, Seleucus assumed the royal title. The battle of Ipsus (B. C. 301) gave Seleucus Cappadocia, part of Phrygia, upper Syria, and the right bank of the middle Euphrates, as his share of the territory divided between the conquerors.

Seleucus spent the remaining years of the century in thoroughly organizing his kingdom, which was the most important of all the monarchies formed from the wreck of Alexander's empire. In this work he showed great skill. His only apparent error was in not continuing Babylon as the capital, by which Syria might have retained the East, and prevented the subsequent rise of the Parthian kingdom. Seleucus divided his dominions into seventy-two provinces, which were without exception

placed under the rule of Greek or Macedonian governors. A standing army of native troops was organized and officered by Macedonians or Greeks. New cities

Lysimachus, hoping to carve out a new kingdom with his sword. Unable to gain any advantages in this quarter, he passed into Cilicia and attacked the Syrian pos-

sessions. He was defeated and made a prisoner by Seleucus, who kept him in captivity during the remainder of his life. In B. C. 281, Lysimachus having murdered his son, at the instigation of his Egyptian wife Arsinoë and her brother Ptolemy Ceraunus, the widow of the murdered prince fled to the court of Seleucus, who took up her quarrel and invaded the territories of Lysimachus. The latter was defeated and slain in the battle of Corupedion, and Seleucus became master of nearly the whole of Alexander's empire. He hastened to take possession of the capital of Lysimachus, but on the way was mur-

were built in each province. The king named sixteen of these Antioch, in honor of his father; five Laodicea, for his mother; seven Seleucia, for himself, and several for his two wives, Apamea and Stratonice. Antioch on the Orontes, one of these cities, was made the capital of the kingdom, and Seleucus spent the remaining years of his life in building and ornamenting it, and constructing its port, Seleucia. Antioch became one of the largest and most famous cities of the East, and maintained its commanding position for fully a thousand years.

In B. C. 293 Seleucus divided his empire with his son Antiochus, to whom he gave all the provinces east of the Euphrates. In B. C. 287, Demetrius, who had won and lost Macedonia, invaded the Asiatic provinces of

Antiochus I. (Soter) succeeded to the throne. He was murdered in open day by Ptolemy Ceraunus, who became King of Macedonia, as has been related.

Antiochus I. (Soter) succeeded to the



MODERN ANTIOCH.



DAMASCUS.

Antiochus I. (Soter) succeeded to the crown of Syria upon the death of his father Seleucus. His kingdom was confined to Asia. Soon after his accession he became involved in a war with the native kings of

Bithynia, during which he lost the provinces afterwards known as Galatia and Pergamus. He undertook an unsuccessful war with Egypt in support of his son-in-law Magas, the rebellious King of Cyréné. He was finally defeated and killed in a battle with the Gauls near Ephesus, in B. C. 261.

Antiochus II., who bore the blasphemous surname of "Theos," "the god," succeeded his father. He was a weak and dissolute prince, and resigned the government of his kingdom to his wives and favorites. Syria declined rapidly under him. The kingdoms of Bactria and Parthia sprang up about B. C. 255, and greatly reduced the dimensions and power of the Syrian state. Becoming involved in a war with Egypt, he ended it by repudiating his wife and marrying Berenice, the daughter of the Egyptian king. On the death of that monarch, Antiochus put aside Berenice and took back his former wife Laodice, who murdered him, together with Berenice and her infant son, B. C. 246.

Seleucus II., the son of Laodice, succeeded his father. The next year he lost nearly all his dominions by an invasion of Ptolemy III., who came to avenge the wrongs of his sister Berenice. Ptolemy carried his victorious arms as far as the Indus, but being suddenly called home by a revolt, lost all he had gained, and Seleucus succeeded in re-establishing his authority from the Indus to the Ægean. A little later, Antiochus Hierax, a younger brother of Seleucus, began a formidable rebellion, and at the same time the Parthians gained sor-

important successes on the eastern border, and defeated Seleucus in a great battle in B. C. 237. The civil war continued until B. C. 229, when Antiochus was defeated and obliged to fly for his life. Seleucus was killed in B. C. 226 by a fall from his horse.

Seleucus III. now came to the throne. In the third year of his reign he undertook an expedition against Pergamus, in which he was slain by his mutinous troops, B. C. 223.

Antiochus III., called the Great, the great-grandson of Seleucus, the founder of the dynasty, now mounted the throne. His reign constitutes the most eventful period



STREET SCENE IN DAMASCUS.

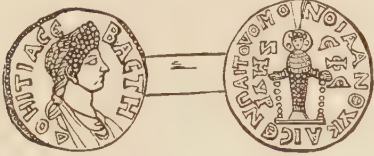


COIN OF EPHESUS.

Antiochus Hierax, a younger brother of Seleucus, began a formidable rebellion, and at the same time the Parthians gained sor-

of Syrian history. He began it by quelling the revolt of Molo, the ablest of the Syrian generals, who had made himself master of the region east of the Euphrates, and had defeated every army sent against him. During his absence his relative Achæus assumed the title and state of king. Antiochus, who had declared war against Egypt, was anxious to prosecute his campaign in that quarter, and contented himself with remonstrating with the rebel. He marched into Palestine and Phœnicia, and conquered those provinces. Palestine had become alienated from Egypt by the profanation of the Jewish Temple by Ptolemy IV., and

submitted from choice to the Syrian king. Proceeding southward, Antiochus encountered the Egyptian army at Raphia, on the eastern edge of the desert, and was defeated, B. C. 217. He now lost all his conquests except Seleuceia, the port of Antioch. He therefore made peace with Egypt and turned upon Achæus. With the help of



COIN OF EPHEBUS AND SMYRNA, ALLIED.

Attalus, King of Pergamus, he defeated him and besieged him in Sardis. In B. C. 214 he obtained possession of the person of Achæus by treachery, and the rebellion ceased. Antiochus then repaired to the eastern part of his kingdom to meet the Parthian King Arsaces III., who was threatening Media. By a rapid march from Ecbatana across the desert to Hecatompylos, he seized that city, B. C. 213, and then passed the mountains and entered Hyrcania, where he fought a battle with the Parthians, the issue of which was so far doubtful that Antiochus consented to make peace, and recognized the independence of Parthia and Hyrcania, under Arsaces, as one kingdom. He then made war against Bactria, but after gaining some advantages he made peace with the Bactrian king, Enthymemus, and left him in possession of Bactria and Sogdiana. A marriage was arranged between the daughter of the Bactrian king and Demetrius, the son of Antiochus. Crossing the Hindoo Koosh range into the modern Afghanistan, Antiochus renewed the old alliance between Syria and the Indian kingdom of that region, and returned home through Arachosia, Drangiana, and Carmania, passing the winter in the last-named province. The next year he undertook a naval expedition in the Persian Gulf against the Arabs of the western shore, whose piracies he punished severely, and returned home in B. C. 205.

Antiochus now resumed his designs against Egypt, encouraged by the fact that that country had just passed under the sway of the infant Ptolemy V. and an incompetent regent. He succeeded in regaining Coele-Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine, which were secured to him by the victory of Paneas, in B. C. 198. Antiochus prom-

ised Coele-Syria and Palestine as a dowry to his daughter Cleopatra, whom he gave in marriage to Ptolemy V., but neither he nor his successors fulfilled this promise. He then subdued Asia Minor and conquered the Thracian Chersonesus.

In B. C. 196 the Romans, who had defeated Philip of Macedon and assumed the protectorate of Egypt, demanded of Syria the surrender of all the territories taken from Egypt and from Macedon. Antiochus refused to comply with the demand, and aided by the great Carthaginian leader Hannibal, who had taken refuge at his court, prepared for war. In B. C. 192 he invaded Greece, but after some successes, he was decisively defeated by the Romans at Thermopylæ and obliged to withdraw into his own country. The Romans followed up their success, and in two naval victories wrested from Syria the whole of the western coast of Asia Minor. The Roman army crossed the Hellespont under the two Scipios, and in the great battle of Magnesia, in Lydia, reduced Antiochus to such an extremity that he was obliged to sue for peace. He was compelled to cede all Asia Minor save Cilicia, and to agree to pay an indemnity of 12,000 talents, or \$14,400,000. The territory surrendered by Antiochus was given by the Romans to Pergamus, which was thus made strong enough to act as a check upon Syria. These losses were followed by a revolt in Armenia, which country succeeded in establishing its independence. While attempting to put down this revolution, Antiochus, in order to raise the money to meet the payment of the fine imposed upon him by Rome, stripped the



TETRADRACHM OF ANTIOCHUS IV., EPIPHANES, OF SYRIA.

temples of Asia of their treasures. While thus engaged he aroused a tumult in Elymais, in which he was killed, B. C. 187.

Seleucus IV., Philopator, succeeded his father. He reigned eleven years, but this period was uneventful. He was murdered by Heliodorus, his treasurer, who seized the throne, B. C. 176, but was soon overthrown

by Antiochus IV., Epiphanes, with the aid of Pergamus. Antiochus was the second son of Antiochus the Great, and inherited a good share of his father's ability and courage. Having lived fourteen years in Rome as a hostage he introduced many Roman customs into his kingdom. He made war upon Armenia, and enraged at the demand of Egypt for the surrender of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, which his father had promised as a dowry to the wife of Ptolemy V.,

he invaded that country, and would have conquered it had not the Romans compelled him to withdraw. He revenged himself upon the Jews by capturing their Holy City by assault, and plundering and defiling the Temple. A little later his effort to supplant the worship of Jehovah with that of Greece brought about the Maccabæan war of independence. His army was several

death, B. C. 164. Antiochus V., Eupator, the son of Epiphanes, succeeded his father. He was but twelve years old, and the kingdom passed into the hands of Lysias as regent. The regent and the young king



SCENE IN SYRIA.

repaired to Judæa to conduct the war, and compelled Judas Maccabæus to shut himself up in Jerusalem. Philip, who had been appointed by Epiphanes guardian of his son, now appeared in Antioch with the royal signet, and seized the government. Lysias at once caused the king to make peace, and returning to Antioch, defeated Philip, captured him, and put him to death.

Lysias seems to have cared nothing for the interests of the kingdom, for he took no steps to resist the Parthians who were overrunning the eastern provinces at this time. Neither did he seek to check the Romans, who were enforcing the terms of the treaty with Antiochus the Great with unusual severity. The danger which thus



COIN OF LAODICEA.



times defeated by Judas Maccabæus. Antiochus then set out to punish Judæa himself. On the way he stopped to plunder the Temple of Elymais, but was seized with a superstitious madness which caused his

threatened the kingdom was very serious. It was ended by the arrival of Demetrius, who had escaped from Rome, where he had been detained for many years as a hostage. He seized the throne

and put both Antiochus and Lysias to death.

Demetrius I. began to reign in B. C. 162. He commenced his reign by attempting to reconquer Judæa. He was at first successfully opposed by Judas Maccabæus, but when the death of that heroic leader seemed to place the victory within his reach, he was deprived of it by the Romans, who had made an alliance with Judæa, and who now forbade him to molest that province, which they declared an independent kingdom. Demetrius then undertook to dethrone Ariarathes, King of Cappadocia, and conferred his crown upon Orophernes, his illegitimate brother. The neighboring kings now induced Alexander Balas, an illegitimate son of Epiphanes, to claim the crown, and the league in his favor was joined by the Romans. Syria had now sunk so low that both claimants of the crown courted the favor of the persecuted Jews. In B. C. 151 Demetrius was slain in battle, and his rival gained the crown.

Alexander Balas reigned for five years.



COIN OF ALEXANDER BALAS.

He owed his success mainly to Egypt, and had married Cleopatra, the daughter of the Egyptian monarch; but he proved himself utterly unfit to be a king. He abandoned his authority to a worthless favorite named Ammonius, gave himself up to licentiousness and self-indulgence, and treated his father-in-law with such ingratitude that Ptolemy Philometer withdrew his support, took his daughter Cleopatra from him, and gave her to Demetrius Nicator, the son of Demetrius I., who, encouraged by the hatred of the Syrians for Alexander, had claimed the crown. Aided by Ptolemy the pretender defeated his rival, who was soon after slain by his own officers.

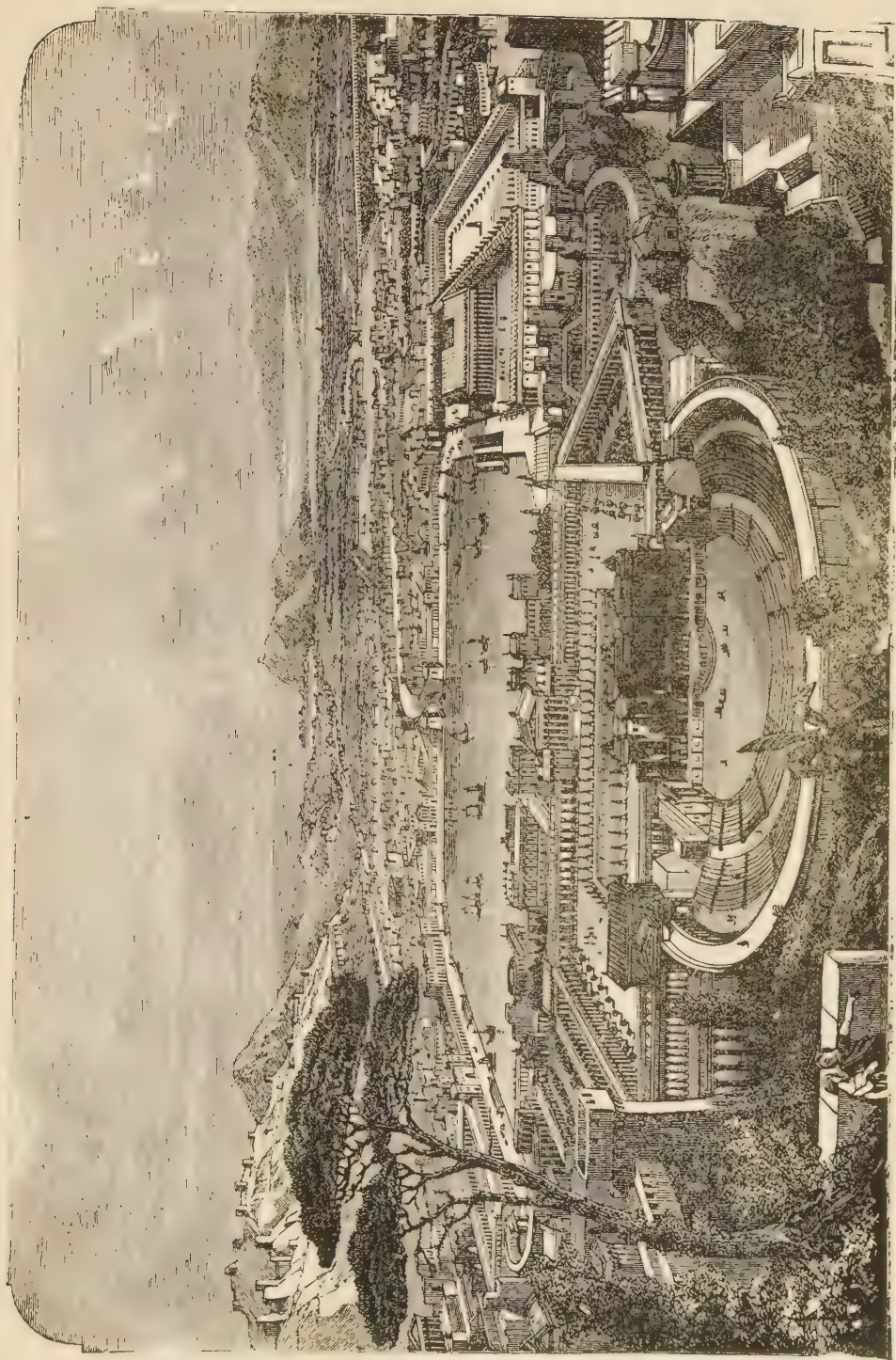
Demetrius II., Nicator, became king in B. C. 146. He was such a cruel tyrant that he soon alienated his subjects. The people of Antioch having rebelled against him, he allowed his body-guard of Jewish mercenaries to plunder the city. A pretender was now set up by Diodotus of Apamea, in the

person of Antiochus VI., the son of Alexander Balas, a child of two years. Three or four years later Diodotus removed this child, assumed the surname of Tryphon, and declared himself king, B. C. 143. In the meantime the Parthians were pressing upon the eastern border of the kingdom so persistently that Demetrius, confiding the government to his wife, Cleopatra, marched against the Parthians. He won some successes at first, but in B. C. 140 he was defeated and made a prisoner by the Parthian monarch, Arsaces VI., who kept him in honorable captivity for ten years, and gave him a Parthian princess for his second wife.

Cleopatra finding herself unable to maintain her position unaided, called to her assistance her husband's brother, Antiochus Sidetes, who joined his arms to hers, and after a war of two years with Tryphon, defeated and killed him, B. C. 137. The conqueror then made himself sole King of Syria, as Antiochus VII., Sidetes. He married Cleopatra, his brother's wife, who considered herself set free by the captivity of her husband and his marriage with a Parthian princess. Antiochus attacked Judæa, and brought it once more under Syrian rule, B. C. 135-133. He then undertook an expedition against Parthia for the purpose of delivering his brother. He gained some important successes at first, but was at length defeated, with the loss of his army, and slain.

Just before the death of Antiochus the Parthian king released Demetrius, and sent him to Antioch to claim his crown, hoping to compel Antiochus to withdraw in order to preserve his kingdom. Demetrius resumed his authority, to which the death of his brother left no rival. In a short while a rival did appear, however. Ptolemy Physcon of Egypt, to revenge himself upon Demetrius for the support he had given the Egyptian Queen Cleopatra, raised up a pretender to the Syrian crown, named Alexander Zabinas, who claimed to be the son of Alexander Balas. A battle ensued between the rivals near Damascus. Demetrius was defeated and fled to his former wife Cleopatra, at Ptolemais, but she refused to receive him. He then attempted to throw himself into Tyre, but was captured and slain, B. C. 126.

Cleopatra, having put to death her eldest son, Seleucus, because he had assumed the crown without her consent, now seated her



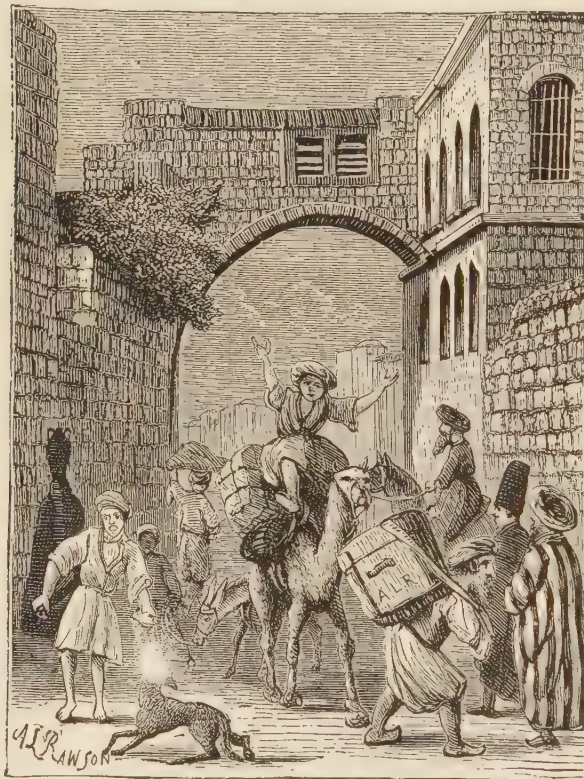
EPHESUS AT THE TIME OF THE ROMAN DOMINION.

second son, Antiochus Grypus, on the throne with herself as joint monarch. At the same time Zabinas reigned in parts of Syria. He continued to do so for seven years, but at length he quarrelled with his Egyptian patron, and was abandoned to Antiochus by Ptolemy Physcon, B. C. 124. In B. C. 122 Antiochus captured him and forced him to take poison. The next year Antiochus, finding his mother engaged in a plot against him, put her to death, and thus became sole monarch. A period of eight years of peace followed. Syria was in sore need of rest. She was exhausted by con-

bloody war of three years' duration compelled the king to divide his territory with his half-brother. The war was resumed in B. C. 105, and continued through the century, lasting, indeed, until B. C. 96, and entailing fearful suffering upon the kingdom. During this period Syria suffered very greatly from the ravages of the Arabs on the eastern, and the Egyptians on the southern, border. Cilicia revolted, and Tyre, Sidon, and Seleucia asserted their independence. At length, in B. C. 96, Antiochus was assassinated by Heracleon, an officer of his court, who endeavored to secure the crown, but failed.

Seleucus V. succeeded his father, and continued the war with Cyzicenus, whom he defeated in a great battle. The pretender slew himself to avoid capture, but his son Antiochus Eusebes took up his quarrel, assumed the royal title, and drove Seleucus into Cilicia. Seleucus now sought to raise money from the people of Mopsuestia by a forced contribution, but they turned upon him and burned him alive.

Philip, the second son of Antiochus VIII., succeeded to the throne, and for some years carried on the war with Eusebes, assisted by his brothers Demetrius and Antiochus Dionysus. Eusebes was finally overcome and driven into Parthia. Philip and his brothers, unable to agree upon a satisfactory distribution of power, made war upon each other. The Syrians, disgusted with these quarrels, invited Tigranes, King of Armenia, to rule over them. He accepted the invitation, and from B. C. 83 to B. C. 69 Syria was at peace. Towards



STREET IN DAMASCUS.

stant strife, and had lost Judæa and the eastern provinces, and had herself become a mere petty state, without energy and utterly corrupt. The wealth of the country was in the hands of a few weak nobles; the masses of the people were fearfully poor.

In B. C. 114 a rebellion broke out, headed by Antiochus Cyzicenus, the son of Cleopatra by her third husband, Sidetes. A

the close of this period Tigranes incurred the vengeance of the Romans by aiding his father-in-law Mithridates, King of Pontus. They compelled him to relinquish Syria, and the crown passed to Antiochus XIII., Asiaticus, who reigned for three years. In B. C. 65 Pompey the Great overthrew Asiaticus, subdued Syria, and organized it as a Roman province

BOOK XIII.

THE HISTORY OF THE SMALLER GREEK KINGDOMS OF ASIA.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF PERGAMUS, BITHYNIA, PAPHLAGONIA, PONTUS, CAPPADOCIA, ARMENIA, AND BACTRIA.

Rise of the Kingdom of Pergamus—Eumenes I.—Reign of Attalus I.—Takes the Royal Title—His Alliance with Rome—Eumenes II.—Is Rewarded by the Romans—Intellectual Splendor of Pergamus—Reign of Attalus III.—Leaves his Kingdom to the Romans—Pergamus a Roman Province—Growth of the Kingdom of Bithynia—Prusias I.—His Wars—Death of Hannibal—Reign of Nicomedes II.—Nicomedes III. Bequeaths the Kingdom to Rome—Rise and Fall of the Paphlagonian Kingdom—Growth of the Kingdom of Pontus—Mithridates III.—His Conquests—Takes Sinopé—Mithridates IV.—Aids Rome in her Wars—Mithridates the Great King—His Conquests—His Struggle with Rome—His Defeat and Death—Pontus Becomes a Roman Province—History of the Cappadocian Monarchy—The Rise and Fall of the Armenian Kingdoms—The Greek Kingdom of Bactria Founded—Its History—It is Absorbed by Parthia.

BESIDES the monarchies we have mentioned, a number of smaller kingdoms were erected out of the fragments of the empire of Alexander the Great. It will be necessary to notice the most important of these.

I. THE KINGDOM OF PERGAMUS. The city of Pergamus, on the Caicus, in Mysia, was regarded as one of the great strongholds of Asia Minor. Lysimachus, King of Thrace, made it the depository of the treasures of his kingdom, and placed it in charge of the eunuch Philetærus. On the death of Lysimachus at the battle of Corupedion, Philetærus retained possession of his principality on his own account, and with the aid of the treasures of Lysimachus succeeded in establishing his independence. He reigned twenty years, from B. c. 283 to B. c. 263; but did not take the title of king.

He was succeeded by his nephew, Eumenes I., the son of his brother. Soon after his accession Eumenes was attacked by Antiochus I., of Syria, but defeated him in a pitched battle near Sardis. By this victory he greatly increased his territory.

He died in B. c. 241, from the effects of drunkenness, after a reign of twenty-two years.

Eumenes was succeeded by his cousin, Attalus I. The Gauls, who had been for about thirty years settled in northern Phrygia, or Galatia, as it was afterwards called, made frequent predatory raids into the territories of their neighbors. About B. c. 239 they made a descent upon the territories of Pergamus, and met a terrible defeat at the hands of Attalus. This success induced Attalus to take the title of "king," which none of his predecessors had ventured to assume. Ten years later he was obliged to defend his kingdom against the invasion of the Syrians under Antiochus Hierax, the brother of Seleucus II. This ambitious prince, who was endeavoring to make himself king of Asia Minor, was defeated by Attalus and driven out of Asia. Attalus succeeded also in extending his territories, which, by the year B. c. 226, embraced nearly all the countries west of the Halys and north of Taurus. He was deprived of these conquests by Seleucus Ceraunus and Antiochus the Great, and by the year B. c. 221 he was simply monarch of his Pergamene territory. By wise management and a judicious employment of Gallic mercenaries he recovered Æolis in B. c. 218, and in B. c. 216 made a treaty of alliance with Antiochus the Great, by which the Syrian king restored him the better part of the territory of which he had deprived him.

In B. c. 211 Attalus became the ally of the Romans and Ætolians in the war against Philip V., of Macedon, and rendered good service to his allies. This won for him the all-important friendship and patronage of Rome. After the peace of B. c. 204 Philip attacked Attalus, ravaged his dominions, and endeavored to drive his fleet from the Ægean. The Pergamene king made an alliance with Rhodes, and in B. c. 201 the allies inflicted a terrible defeat upon the fleet of Philip off Chios. In B. c. 199 the second war between Rome and

Philip was begun. Attalus, though seventy years old, warmly espoused the cause of the Romans and rendered them valuable aid with his fleet. His exertions in their behalf caused his death in B. C. 197.

Eumenes II., the eldest of the four sons of Attalus, mounted the throne of his father, whose talents and policy he also inherited. In the wars of Rome with Philip of Macedonia, Antiochus the Great, of Syria, and Perseus, the successor of Philip, Eumenes rendered such valuable aid to the Romans, that, after the battle of Magnesia, B. C. 190, he was rewarded with a large increase of territory on both sides of the Hellespont. These additions made Pergamus

Eumenes surpassed him in the assistance he gave them. The capital was adorned with noble buildings, the ruins of which still attest their splendor. Painting and sculpture were liberally encouraged. Eumenes founded the great library of Pergamus, which was excelled only by that of Alexandria, and attracted to his court a large number of learned men. A school of grammar and criticism grew up at Pergamus, which had but one superior—that of Alexandria. Parchement (*Charta Pergamena*), a material for writing far superior to the Egyptian papyrus, was introduced in this reign.

Eumenes died in B. C. 159. He left a



SMYRNA.

one of the greatest kingdoms of the East. The Pergamene territories now included Mysia, Lydia, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Pamphylia, and portions of Caria and Lycia in Asia, and the Thracian Chersonese with its capital, Lysimacheia, and adjacent parts of Thrace. In B. C. 183 a war broke out between Pergamus and Bithynia, by which the former power acquired the Hellespontine Phrygia. A war with Pontus began in B. C. 183, and lasted until B. C. 179, and in B. C. 168 Pergamus was at war with the Gauls. The object of Eumenes in these wars was not conquest, but the maintenance of the territories he had won.

Under Eumenes II. Pergamus became one of the most brilliant cities of the ancient world. His father had been a liberal promoter of literature, science and art, but

son named Attalus, a mere child, too young to reign, and the crown was assumed by Attalus II., the brother of Eumenes, who took the surname of Philadelphus. He reigned twenty-one years, and more than half of this time was spent by him in defending his kingdom against Prusias II., of Bithynia. In order to relieve himself of so dangerous a neigh-

bor, Philadelphus supported the revolt of Nicomedes, the son of Prusias, against his father, and helped to establish him upon his throne. This led to peace between Pergamus and Bithynia. Philadelphus was a great builder, and employed the peaceful years of his reign in building cities and adding to his library. Among the cities built by him were: Eumonia, in Phrygia; Philadelphia, in Lydia; and Attalia, in Pamphylia. He died in B. C. 138.

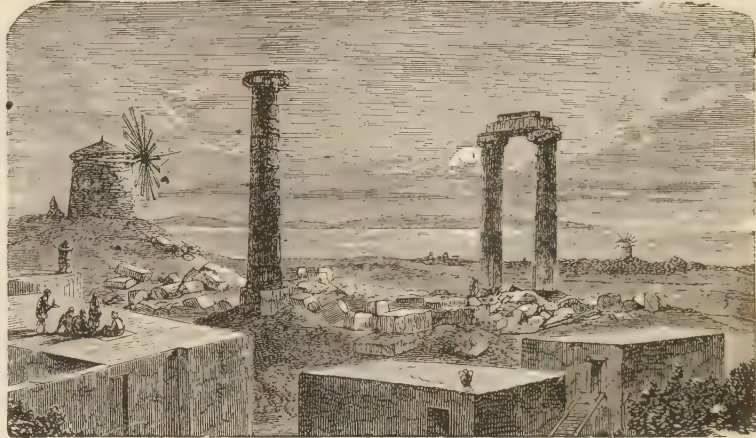
Attalus III., the son of Eumenes II., succeeded his uncle Philadelphus. He took the name of Philometer (lover of his mother). His reign of five years was a period of horror. He caused the murder of all the trusted friends of his father and uncle, together with their families, and put to death nearly every office-holder in the

kingdom. Finally he murdered his mother and a number of his relations. Then, seized with remorse for his crimes, he abandoned the government of his kingdom and devoted himself to painting, sculpture and gardening. He died in B. C. 133, and by his will left his kingdom as a legacy to the Roman people.

Rome accepted the bequest with characteristic promptness. Aristonicus, an illegitimate son of Eumenes II., claimed the kingdom as his natural inheritance, and at first won important successes over the Romans. In B. C. 131 he defeated and captured Licinius Crassus, the Roman commander who had been sent to take forcible possession of the kingdom. The next year he was himself defeated and made prisoner by Perpena, and the kingdom of Pergamus became a Roman province.

II. THE KINGDOM OF BITHYNIA. During the existence of the Persian empire Bithynia was one of its tributary kingdoms, governed by its own sovereigns. It readily recovered its independence after the battle of Arbela, and successfully resisted all the

his sons, Nicomedes and Zipoetes. With the help of the Gauls the elder defeated his brother, and ascended the throne as Nicomedes I. He founded Nicomedeia, on the Gulf of Astacus. He had two wives, by the first of whom he had a single son,



MILETUS.

Zeilas by name. By his second wife he had three children, to whom he wished to leave his dominions. Zeilas called in the Gauls to his help, defeated his half-brothers, and obtained the throne. He reigned about twenty years.

Prussias I., called "Prussias the lame," succeeded Zeilas, his father, about B. C. 228. His reign lasted until about B. C. 180, a period of forty-five years. The first eight years were uneventful, but the remainder were passed in constant and important wars. In B. C. 220 he assisted Rhodes in her war with Byzantium, and in B. C. 216 gained a victory over the Gauls. He became the ally of Philip V., of Macedonia, in his war with Rome, and in B. C. 208 attacked the territories of Pergamus and compelled Attalus I. to return home for the protection of his kingdom. This act on the part of Prussias made Rome his enemy, and her anger was still further increased in B. C. 187 by the shelter given by Prussias to Hannibal, the vanquished Carthaginian leader. With the help of Hannibal, Prussias attacked Eumenes of Pergamus and defeated him. He gained nothing by his victory, for Rome now intervened and compelled him to compensate Eumenes for his losses by ceding to him the whole of the Hellespontine Phrygia. The



SILVER COIN OF MILETUS.

efforts of the generals of Alexander the Great to conquer it. Bas, the king under whom this resistance was maintained, died in B. C. 326, and left to his son, Zipoetes, a flourishing and independent kingdom.

Zipoetes reigned forty-eight years, from B. C. 326 to B. C. 278, and successfully defended his kingdom against the efforts of Lysimachus and Antiochus Soter. At his death a civil war broke out between two of

Romans also demanded of the Bithynian king the surrender of Hannibal, threatening him with war in case of refusal, and Prusias was weak enough to order the arrest of his guest. Hannibal, seeing that he could not escape, baffled his enemies by taking poison. With his last breath he expressed his hatred of Rome and his contempt for Prusias. The Bithynian king now turned his arms against Heracleia Pontica, and though he won some successes, received the wound from which he derived his surname of "the Lamé." He died soon after this, about B. c. 180.

Prusias II. succeeded his father, and reigned until B. c. 149. He was the most

ular with the people than himself, he sent him to Rome, with secret orders to his attendants to assassinate him. The prince discovered the plot, and with the consent of the Roman senate left Rome and returned to his own country, where he raised the standard of revolt. By the aid of Attalus II., of Pergamus, Nicomedes defeated his father, took him prisoner, and put him to death.

Nicomedes II., surnamed Epihanes, or "the Illustrious," mounted the throne in B. c. 149. He endeavored to stand well with Rome, and rendered valuable aid in the war against Aristonicus of Pergamus. He was not always faithful to the Romans,



THYATIRA.

wicked and contemptible of all the Bithynian sovereigns, and suffered great disasters. He married the sister of Perseus, King of Macedonia, but declined to render him active aid in his final struggle with the Romans, and on the downfall of Perseus made an abject submission to the conquerors, who allowed him to retain his kingdom. In B. c. 156 he went to war with Attalus II., of Pergamus, and would have conquered him had not the Romans intervened and compelled him to make peace, restore his conquests, and pay Attalus an indemnity of 500 talents. Finding that his son, Nicomedes, was more pop-

ular with the people than himself, he sent him to Rome, with secret orders to his attendants to assassinate him. The prince discovered the plot, and with the consent of the Roman senate left Rome and returned to his own country, where he raised the standard of revolt. By the aid of Attalus II., of Pergamus, Nicomedes defeated his father, took him prisoner, and put him to death.

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however, and in B. c. 102, in alliance with Mithridates the Great, of Pontus, conquered Paphlagonia, and took possession of a part of it. Required by the Romans to restore the province to its legitimate heir he pretended to obey, but by a trick secured it to one of his own sons. In B. c. 96 Mithridates endeavored to annex Cappadocia to his dominions. Laodicé, the widow of the late king, took refuge at the court of Nicomedes, who married her, and, espousing her cause, caused her to be established in Cappadocia as its queen. She was shortly after driven out by Mithridates. Somewhat later, Nicomedes endeavored to regain Cappado-

cia by one of his characteristic tricks, but the Romans refused to be deceived and deprived him of both Cappadocia and Paphlagonia. In B. c. 91 Nicomedes died, being nearly eighty years old.

Nicomedes III. succeeded his father, but was almost immediately driven from the kingdom by a revolt headed by his brother Socrates, who was aided by Mithridates of Pontus. In B. c. 90 Rome compelled Socrates to withdraw, and Nicomedes reascended his throne. He now undertook to punish Pontus by making incursions into her territory. Mithridates thereupon took the field with a vast army, defeated Nicomedes on the Amneius, B. c. 88, and expelled him and his Roman protectors from Asia. This led to the first Mithridatic war, which resulted in the defeat of Pontus, and the restoration of Nicomedes to his throne, B. c. 84. He now enjoyed a peaceful reign of ten years. He died in B. c. 74, and, as he had no issue, bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans, a bequest which involved the republic in a third war with Mithridates.



AN EASTERN WELL.

the dominions of Alexander the Great in anything more than name. Shortly after it was overrun by Mithridates of Pontus, and attached to his kingdom, of which it formed a portion for many years. The time at which it recovered its independence is uncertain, but about B. c. 200 it appears once more under the rule of native monarchs, and is engaged in wars to protect its freedom against the efforts of Pontus, on the one hand, and Bithynia on the other. In B. c. 102 Pylæmenes, the last native king, died without issue, and the country was seized conjointly by Mithridates the

Great, of Pontus, and Nicomedes II. of Bithynia. Mithridates at length succeeded in driving out the Bithynians and annexed Paphlagonia to his own dominions.

III. THE KINGDOM OF PAPHLAGONIA. The date of the establishment of the Paphlagonian kingdom is unknown. After the establishment of the Persian empire it was nominally subject to that power, but was never entirely submissive to it. As early as B. c. 400 we find the kingdom paying very little attention to the great king's orders, and about the same year the Paphlagonian king allowed the Ten Thousand to pass through his territory without making any effort to check their progress. In B. c. 394 Cotys or Oty's, the king of the country, entered into an alliance with Agesilaus of Sparta against Persia. About B. c. 365, Thyus, or Thys, another king, was reduced to submission by the Persian Satrap Dattames. Upon the fall of the Persian empire Paphlagonia did not become a part of

IV. THE KINGDOM OF PONTUS. The kingdom of Pontus was formed out of the satrapy of Cappadocia, which Darius I. of Persia conferred upon Onates, one of the generals who had assisted him to overthrow the false Smerdis. Onates was a descendant of the ancient Arian kings of Cappadocia, and Darius made the satrapy hereditary in his family. In B. c. 363 Ariobarzanes, the son of Mithridates, the satrap, led a successful revolt against Persia, and made himself master of that portion of Cappadocia which lay along the coast of the Euxine. He erected his territory into a kingdom, to which the Greeks gave the name of "Pontus," by which it has since been known. Inland Cappadocia remained a province of

Persia. Ariobarzanes died in B. C. 337, and was succeeded by his son Mithridates I. Upon the conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great, Pontus became a Macedonian province, B. C. 322. In B. C. 318 Mithridates threw off the Macedonian yoke, and re-established the independence of his country. He was assassinated in B. C. 302, by order of Antigonos, to whom, as we have seen, Phrygia, Lycia, and Pamphylia had fallen in the division of Alexander's dominions.

Mithridates II. succeeded his father. He reigned thirty-six years, and added to his dominions at the expense of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia. He was succeeded by his son Ariobarzanes II., in B. C. 266, whose reign was uneventful. He died about B. C. 245, and the crown passed to his son Mithridates III., who was the most spirited of all the early Pontic kings. He was a minor when he came to the throne, and as soon as he attained his majority married a sister of Seleucus II., of Syria, and received the province of Phrygia with her as a dowry. In B. C. 222 he gave his daughter Laodice in marriage to Antiochus the Great, of Syria, and gave another daughter, also called Laodice, as a wife to Achæus, a cousin of the Syrian king. He never permitted these marriages to influence his political action, and made war upon Syria as readily as if he had not been bound to her by such ties. He is believed to have died about B. C. 190. Pharnaces succeeded his father on the Pontic throne. About B. C. 183, he conquered the town of Sinopé, on the Euxine, and made it the capital of his kingdom. In B. C. 181 he engaged in a war with Eumenes II., of Pergamus, in spite of the efforts of the Romans to prevent the conflict. He gained some successes at first, but was at length obliged to make peace on condition of relinquishing all his conquests except Sinopé. He died about B. C. 160, and was succeeded by his son Mithridates IV., surnamed "Euergetes." He reigned about forty years, from about B. C. 160 to B. C. 120. He fought in alliance with Attalus II., of Pergamus, against Prusias II., of Bithynia, B. C. 154; and in the third Punic war, B. C. 150 to B. C. 146, was the ally of the Romans against Carthage. He also aided the Romans to drive Aristonicus out of Pergamus, and at the close of the war was rewarded by them with the gift of the Greater Phrygia. He was murdered in B. C. 120 by his disaffected courtiers.

Mithridates V., called "the Great," succeeded to the crown of his father. He was the ablest of the Pontic sovereigns and one of the greatest of Asiatic kings. He was a minor when he succeeded to the crown, and for eight years the affairs of the kingdom were directed by his guardians. He passed this period in diligent study, and is said to have acquired twenty-five different languages. To harden his constitution he engaged in perpetual hunting expeditions in the roughest parts of his dominions. Distrusting his guardians, he began at an early day to accustom himself to antidotes against poison for the purpose of defeating any attempt upon his life. At the age of twenty he assumed the government. He was possessed of a hardy and vigorous physical constitution, and his mind was well stored with knowledge. His remarkable linguistic acquirements enabled him to transact business with every part of his dominions in its own peculiar dialect.

Upon coming to the throne, Mithridates saw clearly that the position of his kingdom would soon make it a mark for the efforts of the Romans, and that, in order to meet them with any prospect of success, he must add to the size and strength of his dominions. With this end in view, he began in B. C. 112 a deliberate and systematic effort at conquest in the East, in which quarter he was safe from the interference of Rome. During the next seven years he added to his kingdom the Lesser Armenia, Colchis, the whole of the eastern coast of the Black Sea, the Cimmerian peninsula, now known as the Crimea, and the region westward from the Crimea to the Dneister. He further strengthened himself by alliances with the wild tribes of the Danube, and with the Kings of Armenia, Cappadocia, and Bithynia. He attempted to place his own son on the Cappadocian throne, in B. C. 93, and to seat Socrates on that of Bithynia, in B. C. 90, but was unsuccessful in both attempts. The Romans commanded him to undo both of these acts, and Mithridates deemed it best to obey, as he was not yet ready for war with Rome.

In B. C. 89, Nicomedes, encouraged by the Romans, invaded Pontus. Mithridates at once took the field with a powerful army, and the next year overran Cappadocia and annexed it to his kingdom. He next invaded Bithynia, defeated Nicomedes on the Amneius, and drove him and his Roman

allies out of Bithynia. Mithridates now rapidly overran Galatia, Phrygia, and the Roman province of Asia, and made himself master of all of Asia Minor except a few towns in Lycia and Ionia. He established himself at Pergamus for the winter, and there committed the great error of his life. Elated by his success, he ordered the massacre of all the Romans and Italians in Asia. Eighty thousand persons were slain, and from this moment the fortunes of the Pontic king began to wane. In B. c. 87 he sent two armies under skilful generals to drive the Romans out of Greece; but these forces were defeated by Sulla in the battle of Chæroneia. A third army was sent into Greece, but this was also defeated. In the meantime the Romans had carried the war into Asia, and after gaining several successes, defeated the principal Pontic army in Bithynia, in B. c. 85. Mithridates was obliged to seek safety in flight, and, finding his reverses too heavy to be recovered from speedily, made peace on the humiliating conditions of surrendering all his conquests and a fleet of seventy vessels, and paying to Rome an indemnity of 2,000 talents. The Kings of Cappadocia and Bithynia were restored to their thrones, and the Roman authority was re-established over the province of Asia.

These disasters caused the eastern conquests of Mithridates to attempt the recovery of their independence. The king prepared a large army and fleet to reconquer them, but was obliged to use these forces to meet another danger. Murena, the Roman commander in Asia, suddenly, and without provocation, attacked Pontus, in B. c. 83. Mithridates at first simply complained to the Roman senate, which ordered its general to let Pontus alone. Murena refused to obey the order, and Mithridates marched against him, and totally defeated him on the banks of the Halys. Murena fled, and the senate sent a legate, who negotiated a peace with the Pontic king, in B. c. 82.

Seven years of peace with Rome now followed, and Mithridates was enabled to subdue all his revolted provinces, and to re-establish his kingdom upon a firm basis once more. This accomplished, he bent all his energies to the task of preparing for a final struggle with Rome. His army was made up largely of men from the barbarous nations of the Danube and the Black Sea; it was very numerous, and was disciplined

and equipped according to the system of Rome. The navy was increased to a force of 400 triremes.

Both Rome and Pontus, though each saw that a final contest for supremacy in Asia Minor was inevitable, would gladly have put off the evil day. The outbreak came sooner than either expected or desired. In B. c. 74 Nicomedes III., dying without issue, left the kingdom of Bithynia to the Romans, who accepted the legacy. Mithridates saw that to allow the Romans to occupy Bithynia would be to place his whole western border at their mercy, and he at once poured his forces into Bithynia, and occupied that kingdom. This act, though one of self-defence, was a declaration of war against Rome; and the republic promptly accepted the challenge.



COURT OF AN EASTERN HOUSE.

The war which thus began in B. c. 74 lasted nine years. In the first year Mithridates defeated Cotta, the Roman commander, on land and sea. He then laid siege to Chalcedon and Cyzicus, but was obliged to abandon these enterprises. In B. c. 73 his army was badly beaten by Lucullus, and his fleet was defeated off Tenedos, and then wrecked in a gale. In the same year Mithridates took Heracleia Pontica, and returning to his capital raised a fresh army. He then took position at Cabeira, but was attacked there by the Romans and routed. He escaped with difficulty, and fled for safety to his son-in-law, the Armenian King Tigranes, B. c. 72. The Romans now demanded of Tigranes the surrender of Mithridates, and upon the refusal of the Armenian monarch, he was declared an enemy of Rome, and the war was transferred to his kingdom, B. c. 70. The war was carried on for three years in Armenia, and the two kings were twice defeated by Lucullus, B. c. 69. In B. c. 68 Mithridates returned to his kingdom with a new

army, and in the course of a few months inflicted two defeats upon the Romans. A mutiny in the army of Lucullus paralyzed the efforts of that commander, and Mithridates and Tigranes recovered Pontus and Cappadocia. In B. c. 66 Lucullus was superseded by Pompey the Great. The new commander saw that it was within the power of the allied kings to prolong the war indefinitely, and he determined to give Tigranes employment at home until he could destroy Mithridates. To this end he made a treaty of friendship and alliance with Phraates, King of Parthia, by which that monarch agreed to attack Armenia. This was done in the same year, and Tigranes was obliged to devote all his efforts to the defence of his own kingdom. Pompey promptly advanced upon Mithridates, defeated him with the loss of nearly the whole of his army, and forced him to fly from Pontus across the Black Sea into the Crimea, where the Romans made no effort to pursue him. The year B. c. 65 saw Pontus entirely in the hands of the Romans. Mithridates now prepared to renew the war against Rome from the European coast of the Black Sea, hoping to gather to his standard the barbarian tribes of the Danube, and to march upon Italy from that quarter. In spite of his great age, he entered with enthusiasm into this project; but his officers looked coldly upon it, and a plot, headed by his own son, was formed against him. The old king, finding himself deserted by all whom he had relied upon, gave way to despair, and caused one of his guards to despatch him, B. c. 63. Pontus became a Roman province, and until the time of Nero it continued to be ruled by princes of its ancient line, who held their throne as subjects of Rome.

V. THE KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA.

The northern division of Cappadocia became, as we have seen, the independent kingdom of Pontus; but the southern division remained faithful to Persia until the downfall of the empire. In B. c. 331, after the battle of Arbela, Ariarathes, the satrap, assumed the state of an independent monarch. He was conquered by Perdiccas, in B. c. 331, after the death of Alexander the Great, and was made prisoner and crucified. Perdiccas made over his conquest to Eumenes of Pergamus, but at the death of that king, Cappadocia revolted, and recovered its independence under Ariarathes II.,

the nephew of Ariarathes I. He died about B. c. 280, and left his crown to his son Ariamnes, who was succeeded by his son Ariarathes III. Their reigns were obscure. The latter king died in B. c. 220, and the throne passed to his infant son Ariarathes IV. Coming to man's estate, this king married Antiochis, the daughter of his cousin Antiochus the Great, B. c. 192. He assisted Antiochus in his war with Rome, and fought as his ally in the great battle of Magnesia, which destroyed the power of the Syrian empire, B. c. 190. By this course the Cappadocian king exposed himself to the wrath of the Romans. He succeeded by good management in appeasing the republic and obtaining favorable terms. He maintained friendly relations with Rome during the rest of his reign, and died in B. c. 162.

Ariarathes V. succeeded his father, and reigned thirty-one years. He was remarkable as a blameless ruler. "He was a student of philosophy, and made Cappadocia a residence of learned men. . . No cruel or perfidious deed of his doing is upon record. He conciliated the affection of his subjects, and commanded the respect of his neighbors. The history of the three centuries after Alexander shows us no other monarch who led so pure and blameless a life." He remained faithful to the Roman alliance in spite of efforts to draw him from it, and when the Romans undertook to drive Aristonicus out of Pergamus, took the field to aid them, and was killed in their service, B. c. 131.

Ariarathes V. left six sons, all of whom were minors at the time of his death. His widow Laodicé became regent, and, in order to retain the power in her own hands, poisoned five of her sons before they came of age. The queen-mother finally fell a victim to the wrath of the people, and her youngest son ascended the throne as Ariarathes VI. The reign of this king was insignificant. He married a sister of Mithridates the Great of Pontus, and was murdered by an emissary of that monarch in B. c. 96. Mithridates at once seized Cappadocia, but Laodicé, the widow of the late king, took refuge with Nicomedes II., of Bithynia, who married her, and established her as Queen of Cappadocia. Mithridates succeeded in driving her out of the kingdom, and a war of several years ensued, during which the Pontic king set up two sovereigns and the Cappadocians themselves one. In

this struggle the old royal line of Cappadocia became extinct. Pontus and Bithynia both set up pretenders to the throne; but the Romans permitted the Cappadocians to settle the matter by choosing their own king. This they did, and Ariobarzanes ascended the throne in B. c. 93. He was almost immediately driven out of his kingdom by Tigranes of Armenia, but was reinstated by the Romans in B. c. 92. He reigned unmolested until B. c. 88, when he was overthrown by Mithridates, who held Cappadocia during the whole of his first war with Rome. He was restored to his throne by the treaty between Pontus and Rome, but was again driven out by Mithridates and Tigranes in B. c. 67, and was restored once more by Pompey in B. c. 66. About B. c. 64 he abdicated in favor of his son, who ascended the throne as Ariobarzanes II. Ariobarzanes sided with Pompey against Cæsar, but after the battle of Pharsalia was magnanimously forgiven by Cæsar, and was allowed to increase his territory. In the next civil war he sided with Antony and Octavian, and was put to death by order of Cassius, B. c. 42. The battle of Philippi overthrew the "Liberators," and Antony gave the Cappadocian crown to Ariarathes IX., who is believed to have been a son of the last king. He soon turned against him, had him put to death, B. c. 36, and gave his throne to Archelaüs, one of his own creatures. This king ruled the kingdom until A. D. 15, when, having offended the Emperor Tiberias, he was summoned to Rome, where he died in A. D. 17. Cappadocia was then converted into a Roman province.

VI. THE KINGDOM OF THE GREATER ARMENIA. From the battle of Ipsus, B. c. 301, until the battle of Magnesia, B. c. 190, Armenia formed a part of the Syrian empire. After the defeat of Antiochus the Great, it revolted from Syria, and was divided into the kingdoms of Armenia Major and Armenia Minor, the latter of which lay west of the Euphrates. The first king of the Greater Armenia was Artaxias, who had been a general of Antiochus, and had headed the revolt of his kingdom. He founded the city of Artaxata, the capital of his kingdom. He reigned until about B. c. 165, when he was defeated by Antiochus Epiphanes, who made Armenia once more a Syrian possession. This subjection lasted for an indefinite period. In B. c. 100

Armenia appears once more as an independent monarchy under Ortoadistes, who was succeeded in B. c. 96 by Tigranes I., the greatest of the Armenian kings.

Tigranes began his reign by a cession of a part of his kingdom to Parthia; but about B. c. 90 to 87 won important victories over the Parthians, recovered his lost territory, and added to his kingdom the regions of Atropatêné and Gordyêné (Upper Mesopotamia). He then overran the Syrian dominions, and conquered the whole of that kingdom, including the province of Cilicia. For the next fourteen years—from B. c. 83 to B. c. 69—his dominions extended from the borders of Pamphylia to the shores of the Caspian. During this period he built the city of Tigranocerta, and made it the capital of his kingdom.

He ravaged Cappadocia, and carried off more than 300,000 people, B. c. 75. By so doing he drew upon himself the enmity of Rome. Somewhat later he received and gave active support to his father-in-law, Mithridates the Great, who had been driven from his kingdom. The Romans now demanded of Tigranes the surrender of the Pontic king, and, being refused, invaded Armenia. In B. c. 69 Tigranes was defeated, and lost his capital. The next year Tigranes, accompanied by Mithridates, retreated to the Armenian highlands, to which they were pursued by the Romans, who inflicted another terrible defeat upon them at Artaxata. The disaffection of the Roman troops put a stop to their victories, as we have seen, and enabled Tigranes and Mithridates to resume the offensive in B. c. 67.

As has been related, Pompey now assumed the command of the Roman army, and induced Parthia to attack Armenia. The Parthian invasion obliged Tigranes to abandon his father-in-law to his fate in order to save his own kingdom. Having conquered Pontus, Pompey turned his arms against Armenia, and Tigranes, unable to resist both the Romans and the Parthians, submitted. He surrendered all his conquests, and retained only his Armenian kingdom. He died in B. c. 55.

Artavasdes I. succeeded his father. He assisted Crassus in his expedition against the Parthians, B. c. 54, and so won the



COIN OF TIGRANES.

favor of the Romans. He offended Antony in after years, and was made a prisoner by him, B. C. 34. In B. C. 30 he was put to death by order of Cleopatra.

The Armenians, upon the capture of their king, conferred the crown upon his son Artaxias II. This proved distasteful to the Romans, and a troubled period ensued until the reign of Trajan, the Armenian sovereigns being merely puppets of Rome. In A. D. 114 the Emperor Trajan converted Armenia into a Roman province.

VII. THE KINGDOM OF ARMENIA MINOR. Armenia Minor revolted from Syria at the same time that Armenia Major threw off the Syrian yoke. Zariadras, the successful leader of the revolt, made himself king of his province. Armenia Minor continued to be governed by his descendants as an independent kingdom until the reign of Mithridates the Great of Pontus, who seized it and annexed it to his kingdom. Upon the fall of Pontus it became a Roman province. Its history is uneventful, and the names of the successors of Zariadras are almost unknown.

VIII. THE KINGDOM OF BACTRIA. After the death of Alexander the Great, Bactria became a part of the Syrian empire. In B. C. 255, Diodotus, the satrap, threw off his allegiance to Syria, and founded the kingdom of Bactria. This kingdom was thus purely Greek in its origin, and so stands in marked contrast with that of Parthia. But little is known of the reign of Diodotus. He is believed to have assisted Seleucus Callinicus in his first expedition against Parthia, and to have obtained in return for this service a recognition of the independence of Bactria. He died about B. C. 237, and was succeeded by his son Diodotus II., who reversed the policy of his father, became the ally of Parthia against Syria, and assisted that country to gain its independ-

ence. He appears to have been overthrown by a revolt led by Euthydemus, a native of Magnesia, who seized the throne and became the third King of Bactria. He was obliged to defend his kingdom against Antiochus the Great of Syria, and was defeated in a battle fought on the Arius. Antiochus was wounded in this battle, and soon after made peace with Euthydemus, and left him in peaceful possession of his kingdom, B. C. 206. Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, made extensive conquests in Affghanistan and India during his father's lifetime. He succeeded his father on the throne about B. C. 200, and continued his eastern wars. While thus employed he was supplanted at home by a rebel named Eucratides. For some years the two monarchs divided the kingdom between them, Demetrius reigning on the south, and Eucratides on the north side of the mountains. Demetrius appears to have died about B. C. 180, and Eucratides reigned over the whole kingdom. He carried his conquests far into the Punjaub, but on the other hand lost some of his territory through the encroachments of Parthia. He was murdered by his son on his return from an Indian campaign, about B. C. 160. Heliocles, the murderer of his father, now mounted the throne. But little is known of his reign. Bactria declined rapidly under him. The Scythian tribes on the north pressed heavily upon the kingdom, and the Parthians on the west and south wrested province after province from it. The Bactrian Greeks besought the aid of their brethren in Syria, and Demetrius Nicator marched to their aid. He was defeated and made a prisoner by the Parthians. The reign of Heliocles came to an end about B. C. 150, eight years before this expedition. From that time no record of the history of Bactria exists. Parthia and the Scythic tribes rapidly absorbed the country.



BOOK XIV.

THE HISTORY OF THE PARTHIAN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE PARTHIAN MONARCHY.

Description of Parthia—Characteristics of the Parthians—Rise of the Parthian Kingdom—The Early Kings—Wars with Syria—Invasion of Antiochus the Great—Alliance between Parthia and Rome—Rome Makes War upon Parthia—Defeat of Crassus—Rome Resolves upon the Conquest of Parthia—Wars between Parthia and the Roman Republic—Reign of Arsaces XXV.—Is Defeated by the Emperor Trajan—War between Vologeses III. and Marcus Aurelius—Other Wars with Rome—Arsaces XXX. King—Rebellion of the Persians—Sudden Fall of the Parthian Kingdom.

PARTHIA proper corresponded nearly in extent to the modern Persian province of Khorasan. It was about 300 miles long from east to west, and from 100 to 120 miles broad. It thus covered an area of about 33,000 square miles, being about equal in size to Ireland. This region consisted of a mountainous country on the north, and a plain on the south. The elevation of the mountain chains is not great, the heights rarely exceeding 6,000 feet. The mountains are for the most barren and rugged, but the valleys, some of which are very extensive, are remarkably rich and fertile. The mountain country is well watered by numerous rivers. The flat country, or plain, lay at the southern base of the mountains, and was regarded by the ancient writers as the true Parthia. It is about 300 miles long. It has always depended upon irrigation for its fertility. In ancient times the fertile belt was much wider than at present, irrigation being more extensively practised, but the plain could never have extended more than ten miles beyond the foot of the mountains, as at that distance the Salt Desert begins, and renders cultivation impossible. Compared with the countries around it, Parthia was a "garden spot," and was regarded by the Persian sovereigns as one of the most desirable parts of their dominions. It was bounded on the north by Chorasmia

and Margiana, on the east by Aria, on the south by Sarangia, and on the west by Lagartia and Hyrcania. "The situation and character of Parthia thus, on the whole, favored her becoming an imperial power. She had abundant resources within herself; she had a territory apt for the production of a hardy race of men; and she had no neighbors of sufficient strength to keep her down, when once she developed the desire to become dominant."

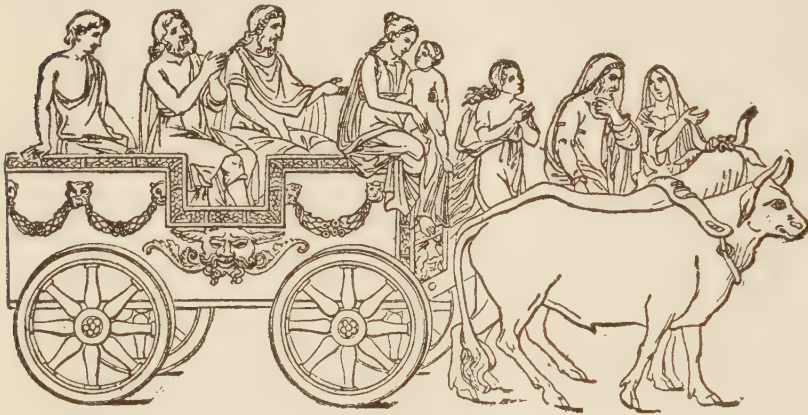
The Parthians were a Turanian race. "Like the Turkoman and Tartar tribes generally, they passed almost their whole lives on horseback, conversing, transacting business, buying and selling, and even eating on their horses. They practised polygamy, secluded their women from the sight of men, punished unfaithfulness with extreme severity, delighted in hunting, and rarely ate any flesh but that which they obtained in this way, were moderate eaters, but great drinkers, and did not speak much, but yet were very unquiet, being constantly engaged in stirring up trouble either at home or abroad. A small portion of the nation alone was free; the remainder were the slaves of the privileged few. Nomadic habits continued to prevail among a portion of those who remained in their primitive seats, even in the time of their greatest national prosperity; and a coarse, rude, and semi-barbarous character attached always even to the most advanced part of the nation, to the king, the court, and the nobles generally, a character which, despite a certain varnish of civilization, was constantly showing itself in their dealings with each other and with foreign nations." The Parthians are represented in modern times by the Turks, who are allied to them in race, and rule over some of the same countries. At the height of their power, the Parthians were barbarians; they were repulsive in appearance, treacherous in war, and indolent and unrefined in peace. Still, they were brave and enterprising, with a genius

and love for war, and possessed many characteristics which fitted them to rule. They were never subdued by the Romans, and maintained their independence until A. D. 226, when they fell before the modern kingdom of Persia. Rome was forced to confess her inability to deal with these fierce warriors, and when the whole world bowed in submission to the republic and the empire, Parthia remained free under her own kings.

Parthia formed a part of the Persian empire from an early day, and was governed by a satrap. Upon the fall of Persia it became a part of Alexander's empire on the same terms. At his death it passed under the dominion of the Syrian kings, and remained subject to them until B. C. 255. Then the weakness of Syria prompted the Parthians to rise against their Greek masters

him in his revolt. The new king ascended the throne as Arsaces II. The only important event of his reign was his defeat of Seleucus Callinicus, who was forced to acknowledge the independence of Parthia. He was succeeded by his son Arsaces III., about B. C. 216, who two years later invaded Media and threatened to wrest that province from the Syrian crown. Antiochus the Great marched against him, drove him out of Media, invaded Parthia, and took its capital; and pursued Arsaces into Hyrcania, where he defeated him in a pitched battle. He found it impossible to subdue the country, however, and wisely made peace, confirming Arsaces in the possession of Parthia and Hyrcania. This reign is believed by the best authorities to have extended to B. C. 196.

Arsaces III. died in B. C. 196, and was succeeded by the fourth king of that name, whose reign was uneventful. In B. C. 181, Arsaces V. (Phraates) came to the throne, and about B. C. 174 left his crown to his brother Mithridates I., also called Arsaces VI., a great



A SCYTHIAN FAMILY.

and assert the independence of their country.

The leader of the revolt was Arsaces, a Scythian general, the commander of a body of Scythian Dahæ from the banks of the Ochus, who emigrated to Parthia and obtained the ascendancy in that country. "There was probably sufficient affinity between the emigrant Dahæ and the previous inhabitants of the region for the two races to readily coalesce; both appear to have been Turanian, and the Dahæ were so completely absorbed that we hear nothing of them in the subsequent history." Arsaces made himself King of Parthia. His reign lasted two years, and was spent in consolidating his authority over the Parthians, some of whom resisted him. He was succeeded in B. C. 253 by his brother Teridates (Arsaces II.), who had assisted

and warlike sovereign, who conquered Media, Susiana, Persia, Babylonia, and Bactria, and founded the Parthian empire, the western boundary of which was the Euphrates. The reigns of Arsaces VII. (B. C. 136-127) and Arsaces VIII. (B. C. 127-124) were uneventful. Mithridates II. (or Arsaces IX.), called the Great, was a powerful king and a great warrior. He beat back the Turanian tribes from his northern frontier, and broke their spirit. In a long series of wars he extended the Parthian power in every direction. Parthia now became next to Rome the most powerful state of the ancient world. He reigned from B. C. 124 to B. C. 89.

From this reign Parthian history is uneventful and uncertain until the accession to the crown of Phraates III. or Arsaces XII. He came to the throne in B. C. 69,

at the time when Rome had driven Mithridates the Great out of Pontus and had included Armenia in the war. Both combatants sought his alliance, but for a while he maintained a strict neutrality between them. Pompey, upon assuming the command in the east, succeeded in drawing him into an alliance. Phraates invaded Armenia, and so occupied Tigranes that Pompey was left free to conquer Pontus, as has been related. The object of the Romans being accomplished, they made terms with Tigranes, and even assisted him against Parthia, B. C. 65. The province of Gordyêné, which had been occupied by Phraates, was wrested from him by the Romans and given to Armenia. Phraates remonstrated with Pompey against this breach of faith, but the Roman was deaf to his remonstrances. Phraates then made terms with Tigranes, and the war came to an end; about B. C. 63. In B. C. 60 the Parthian king died, poisoned, it is believed, by his two sons.

By the war with Pontus, Rome absorbed all of Syria, and thus extended her dominions to the western border of the Parthian empire—the Euphrates. A collision between the two great powers that now divided the ancient world became from this period merely a question of time.

Mithridates III. (Arsaces XIII.) succeeded his father. Tigranes I. having died in Armenia, the throne was seized by his second son. Mithridates at once invaded Armenia to restore the rightful heir, who was his brother-in-law. He was unsuccessful in his efforts, and alienated the reigning King of Armenia. A few years later, Mithridates was deposed by the Parthian nobles, who made his brother king. He threw himself into Babylon, where he held out for some time, but was finally captured and killed, B. C. 55.

Orodes (Arsaces XIV.) was made king in the place of his brother. He had scarcely mounted the throne when he became involved in a war with Rome. The wars of Parthia with Pontus and Armenia had shown the Romans that the Parthian kingdom was a richer and more powerful state than any Oriental monarchy with which they had yet come in contact. It was, indeed, the only power that had not submitted to Rome, and the jealousy of the republic was aroused at the presence of so formidable a rival. War was determined upon, and was declared by Rome, without any pretext whatever, in B. C. 55. In B. C. 54 Crassus

invaded Parthia at the head of a powerful army, but was defeated by Orodes and slain. In B. C. 52 and again in B. C. 51 a strong Parthian army, under Pacorus, the son and heir of Orodes, crossed the Euphrates and ravaged the Roman territories. Upper Syria was quickly overrun, and Cilicia and Antioch were made to feel the Parthian vengeance. Orodes having become suspicious of the loyalty of his son, recalled him and withdrew his army behind the Euphrates. Eleven years afterwards, in B. C. 40, the Parthians once more crossed the Euphrates, under the command of Pacorus, who was aided by the Roman refugee Labienus, and invaded Syria. A Roman army, under Decidius Saxa, which sought to bar their way, was destroyed, and Antioch, Apamea, Sidon, and Ptolemais were occupied. Jerusalem was captured



PARTHIAN HORSEMAN.

and plundered. All Syria, Palestine, and Phœnicia fell into the hands of the Parthians, who now turned into Asia Minor and subdued the whole south coast as far as Caria. Here they were checked by the Romans under Ventidius, who in B. C. 39 routed and killed Labienus. The next year he gained a great victory over Pacorus, who was slain. The Parthians now abandoned Syria and retreated behind the Euphrates.

Orodes did not long survive these disasters. He died in B. C. 37, and was succeeded by his second son, Phraates IV. (Arsaces XV.) In B. C. 36 the Romans under Mark Antony invaded Parthia. Antony, after gaining some trifling successes, suffered almost as great a disaster as Crassus, and was driven back into Syria. The Parthians made no effort to pass that river, which remained the boundary between them and

Rome. They were content to hold their own dominions. The Romans on their part had come to understand the formidable nature of the Parthian power.

From this time until the early part of the first century after Christ, Parthian history is unimportant and uneventful. It is simply the recital of a succession of kings, and of the family intrigues and quarrels which disturbed their reigns. Though the Romans did not undertake any formal war against Parthia during this period, they steadily encouraged and fostered the internal troubles of that country. During this period also Armenia, with the aid of

Tigris to the sea, and received the submission of Meséné, the Parthian province on the Persian Gulf. He pushed his conquests as far eastward as Susa. Here he was compelled to pause by numerous revolts which broke out in the countries he had conquered. He was obliged by these dangers to withdraw into Syria, and Parthia recovered all her provinces except Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria, which Trajan held with a strong force. Hadrian, who became Emperor of Rome in A. D. 117, at once relinquished all the conquests of Trajan and withdrew his army within the line of the Euphrates. Parthia then re-

sumed her former limits, and maintained friendly relations with Rome until the death of Chosroës, A. D. 121.

Chosroës was succeeded by his son Vologeses II. (Arsaces XXVI.), who reigned from A. D. 121 to A. D. 149. He continued the friendly relations his father had established with Rome, and made no effort to deprive her of Armenia. He was succeeded by Vologeses III., Arsaces XXVII., who is believed to have been his son. This king reigned from A. D. 149 to A.



DEFEAT OF CRASSUS.

the Romans, revolted from Parthia and became tributary to Rome.

In A. D. 107 Chosroës (Arsaces XXV.) came to the throne. His first act was to re-establish his authority over Armenia. This drew upon him the vengeance of Rome. The Emperor Trajan rapidly overran Armenia, and made it a Roman province almost without striking a blow. Then, at the head of a strong army, he marched into Mesopotamia and Assyria, captured their cities in quick succession, and added those countries to his empire. Wheeling to the southward, he captured Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and Babylon; descended the

D. 192. He at first continued on friendly terms with Rome, but in A. D. 161, upon the accession of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, made an attempt to wrest Armenia from the Romans. He was successful at first; Armenia was overrun; a Roman army under Severianus, the prefect of Cappadocia, was defeated and its commander slain, and dense masses of Parthians crossed the Euphrates and ravaged Syria. The Romans, under Verus, now put forth great efforts. The Parthians were driven from Syria and Armenia, and were followed into their own country. Seleucia Ctesiphon (the Parthian capital) and Babylon were taken, and the royal

palace at Ctesiphon was burned, A. D. 165. Parthia now made peace, and ceded Mesopotamia and restored Armenia to the Romans.

Vologeses IV. (Arsaces XXVIII.) succeeded to the throne of his father in A. D. 192. He became involved in a war with Rome through his support of Pescennius Niger, A. D. 193, and a Roman army entered his kingdom, captured and plundered Seleuceia, Ctesiphon, and Babylon, and withdrew without serious loss.

Vologeses IV. died in A. D. 213, leaving several sons, among whom a dispute arose concerning the succession. The crown fell to Vologeses V. (Arsaces XXIX.), who reigned three years. His successor was his brother Artabanus (Arsaces XXX.), the last King of Parthia. His reign lasted until A. D. 226. The Roman Emperor Caracalla, who had sought to pick a quarrel with his predecessor, was determined to force Artabanus into a war. He demanded the daughter of the Parthian king in marriage, and was refused. Caracalla thereupon crossed the Euphrates, A. D. 216, and advancing through Mesopotamia to the Tigris, took Arbela, and forced the Par-

thians to retire to the mountains. The next year Caracalla was murdered by order of Macrinus, who succeeded him upon the throne. Macrinus undertook to continue the war, but was twice defeated by Artabanus, and was obliged to purchase a peace by the payment of a large sum of money and the surrender of all the Roman conquests east of the Euphrates. The old limits of the Parthian empire were thus restored, and even Armenia came once more under Parthian rule.

At this moment, when the fortunes of the empire seemed to have been fully restored, it received its death-blow. A formidable insurrection, led by Artaxerxes, the son of Sassan, broke out in the Persian provinces in the southern part of the empire. The Persians defeated the Parthian forces in three great battles, in the third of which Artabanus was slain. These victories made Artaxerxes and the Persians masters of the Parthian dominions. On the ruins of the Parthian empire Artaxerxes erected the new Persian kingdom of the Sassanidæ, the history of which will be related in another portion of this work.

BOOK XV.

THE HISTORY OF ROME.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY HISTORY—THE REGAL PERIOD.

Position of Italy—Description of the Country—The Alps—The Apennines—Northern and Southern Italy—The Rivers—Ancient Fertility of the Country—The Ancient Political Divisions of Italy—The Original Inhabitants—Settlement of the Italians—The Etruscans—The Romans—Legendary History of Rome—Story of Romulus and Remus—Rome Founded—Seizure of the Sabine Women—War with the Latins and Sabines—Peace Restored by the Women—Translation of Romulus—Numa Pompilius—His Laws—End of the Legendary Period—The True Story of the Founding of Rome—Tullus Hostilius King—His Constitutions—Conquers Alba Longa—Ancus Martius—Wars with the Latins—Origin of the Plebs—Rapid Growth of Rome—Tarquinius Priscus Increases the Roman Territory and Improves the City—His Changes in the Constitution—Religion of the Romans—Their Gods—Religious Festivals—The Sibylline Books—The Sacred Colleges—The Priests—Servius Tullius King—His Laws—The Military Organization—New Tribes

Instituted—The Walls of Rome—Tarquinius Superbus King—Sets Aside the Servian Constitution—His Tyranny—Lucretia Outraged by Sextus Tarquin—Revolt of the Romans—The Tarquins Driven Out—Royalty Abolished and the Republic Established.

THE Peninsula of Italy is the central and smallest of the three great peninsulas of southern Europe. Its extreme length from the Alps, on the north, to Cape Spartivento, on the south, is 720 miles, and its greatest width, from the Little St. Bernard to the hills north of Trieste, is 330 miles. Its total area is about 90,000 square miles, as the ordinary width of the peninsula is only about 100 miles. It is bounded on the north by the Alps, on the east by the Adriatic, on the south by the Mediterranean, and on the west by the Mediterranean and the Alps. The peninsula is

irregular in shape, and its general direction is to the southeast. It has often been compared to a boot, the principal portion forming the leg, and the southern part the foot. In consequence of this peculiar shape, its coast line is of very great extent. Italy is inferior to Greece in the number of its bays, its harbors, and its littoral islands. The ancient inhabitants of Italy, though to a considerable extent a nautical people, do not take rank with the Greeks in this respect.

The mountains of Italy consist of two great chains—the Alps and the Apennines. The Alps form a lofty barrier along the whole of the northern and a part of the western border of Italy, and shut it off from the rest of Europe. At their lowest point they rise to an elevation of 4,000 feet above the sea, and from this attain an altitude of 15,000 feet. They are passed only by ten or twelve difficult mountain defiles, which were anciently almost impassable.



COIN OF BRUTH.

The Alps thus formed a barrier, regarded as insurmountable, which protected Italy from the barbarous nations to the north and west, and left her free to work out her destiny. The Apennines break off from the Alps near Mont Blanc, and run in a generally southeasterly and southerly direction to the extreme end of the peninsula. In northern Italy the range consists of but a single chain, which throws off twisted spurs to the right and the left. In central Italy it becomes more complicated, and sends off its branches and spurs, of unequal elevation, in various directions, producing a great and most pleasing variety of surface, which is the peculiar charm of Italy.

The peninsula is naturally divided into northern and southern Italy, the former consisting of the great plain of the Po, and the mountains which enclose it, and the latter of the peninsula proper. It is usual, however, to subdivide southern Italy by an artificial line drawn from the mouth of the Tifernus to that of the Silarus. The region between this line and northern Italy is called central Italy, the name of southern

Italy being restricted to the extreme lower part of the peninsula. Northern Italy, or the region of the Po, is almost all plain, and was not reckoned as a part of Italy until the period of the empire. Italy contains a number of rivers, the principal of which are the Po (the ancient Padus) and the Adige (the ancient Athesis, or Atagis). Of these the Po is the larger.

The soil of Italy is fertile, and anciently yielded a rich return to the labor bestowed upon it. The climate is varied and delightful. The valley of the Po has a temperate climate, which resembles that of central France. Ice forms in the winter in the lakes and the lagoons of Venice. In southern Italy the climate is warmer; snow falls only on the slopes of the mountains, and the olive, orange and citron ripen in the open air. In the extreme south the plants of the tropics grow luxuriantly. The country is generally healthy, except in the marshy districts. The atmosphere is singularly clear, and gives to every object a brightness of coloring and distinctness of outline unknown to the more northern countries of Europe. This imparts to the Italian landscape its peculiar charm. The country is rich in minerals, but has few metals save iron and lead. Its marble is famous the world over. The finest quality is the beautiful Carrara marble, which is procured from the Apennines.

Northern Italy plays no part in Roman history until the formation of the empire. It anciently contained three countries, Liguria, Venetia and Gallia Cisalpina. Central Italy contained six countries, viz.: Etruria, Latium, and Campania, lying west of the Apennines, and Umbria, Picenum, and the country of the Sabines along the Adriatic side of the peninsula. Southern Italy contained four countries, viz.: Lucania and Bruttium, on the west, and Apulia and Calabria on the east. Three large islands lay off the Italian coast in the Mediterranean. These were Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. They were important for their products of the soil as well as their military value.

In the most ancient times Italy was occupied by five principal races—the Ligurians, the Venetians, the Etruscans, the Italians proper, and the Iapygians. The Ligurians and Venetians were weak and unimportant races which confined themselves to the country north of the Apennines, and exercised no influence upon the

general history of Italy. The Iapygians were the earliest of the three remaining races to settle in Italy. They appear to have been of Greek origin, as is proved by their language, their worship of Greek gods, and the ease with which they were Hellenized at a later day. They spread themselves over the extreme south of Italy.

The Italians proper appear to have been the next to settle in the peninsula. They are believed to have come from the north, and to have pressed heavily upon the half-Greek population of southern Italy. They comprised four principal races, the Umbrians, the Sabines, the Oscans, and the Latins. The first three were closely connected, but the Latins were a distinct race. They formed a confederacy of thirty cities. Their country was known as Latium.

The Etruscans, or Tuscans, were the most powerful nation of the north, and were an entirely different race from all the other inhabitants of the peninsula. Notwithstanding the researches of modern scholars, little or nothing is known of their origin. The most trustworthy authorities regard them as Pelasgi, a race which spread itself over Greece and Italy in prehistoric times. These people called themselves Ras, or Rasena, while they were named by others Etruscans. Their country was called Etruria. They were physically very different from the graceful and slender Italians, being a brawny, stout race, short in stature, with large hands and thick arms. They were equally marked by their strange and gloomy religion. They were given to auguries, the mystical handling of numbers, and the practice of an elaborate and extremely minute ritual. They were evidently a wealthy and luxurious race, and had made a considerable advance in the arts, as their castings in bronze, terra-cotta figures, vases, gold chains, bracelets and other ornaments show; though it is still an open question how much of these was the product of native genius, and how much was imported from Greece. The massive walls of their city show them to have excelled in architecture. They were the earliest of the inhabitants of Italy to engage in maritime enterprises, and the only early Italian race that showed a marked fondness for them.

The Romans belonged to the Latin branch of the Italian race. In later times they gave great credence to a tradition that they sprang from a colony of fugitives from

Troy led by Æneas, upon the fall of that ancient city. Whether such an emigration actually took place or not is immaterial, for it is certain that it exercised no influence upon the ethnic character of the Roman people. Their language and early traditions all prove incontestably that the Romans were of the pure Latin race.

The legendary history of the founding of Rome is as follows: Among the descendants of Ascanius, the son and successor of Æneas, was Procas, the King of Alba Longa. He left his dominions to his two sons, Numitor and Amulius. The latter seized the kingdom, caused the only son of Numitor to be slain and compelled his only daughter to become a vestal. Beloved of Mars, she became the mother of twins, Romulus and Remus. Upon the birth of her children



INTERIOR OF A TOMB.

she was thrown with them, by order of her uncle, into the Tiber. The children were washed ashore at the foot of the Palatine Hill, where they were found by a she-wolf, who took them to her cave and suckled them, while a wood-pecker brought them food, until they were discovered by one of the royal herdsmen named Faustulus. He reared them with his own sons on the Palatine Hill, on which the elder, Romulus, founded a city when he came to man's estate, and called it after himself. Finding his people too weak, Romulus made his city an asylum for criminals and fugitives of all kinds, who flocked to him in large numbers. These needed wives to make them permanent citizens, and the surrounding nations would not give them their daughters in marriage. Romulus accomplished the desired result by a stratagem. He arranged a great festival to which he invited the

Latins and the Sabines as spectators. In the midst of the festivities the Romans rushed into the crowd and seized each man a maiden and bore her away. War followed. The Latins were defeated three times. Then Titus Tatius, King of the Sabines, took up the quarrel. Through the treachery of Tarpeia, daughter of the chief commanding the Capitoline fortress, the Sabines gained possession of that post. Tarpeia, attracted by the golden bracelets of the Sabines, agreed to open the gates of the fortress if they would give her "those bright things they wore upon their arms." As they marched into the fortress they threw upon her their bright shields, which they wore upon their arms, and crushed her to death. The Sabines, following up this advantage, attempted to capture the city, but as they were near taking one of the gates a mighty

After the death of Tatius, Romulus reigned alone over the united people. After a reign of thirty years, Romulus was one day reviewing his troops in the field of Mars. Suddenly the sky became darkened and a tempest swept over the earth. When it had ceased Romulus was not to be found. His people mourned him as dead, but he appeared in a glorified form to one of them, and assured him that he had been taken to dwell with Mars, his father, in heaven, and that the Romans would become one day the masters of the world. He himself, under the name of Quirinus, would be their guardian.

There was an interregnum of a year after the translation of Romulus. Then the people chose Numa Pompilius, a Sabine, esteemed for his wisdom and virtuous character, to be their king. The date of his

accession to the throne, according to the received chronology, is B. C. 715. He established the religion of the Romans upon a firm basis, and gave to it the distinctive characteristics by which it is known. He was beloved by the nymph Egeria, and from her he drew his inspiration in his interviews with her in her sacred grove "by the spring that welled out from the rock." These counsels he embodied in his laws. He taught his people habits of industry and peace, and endeavored to plant in their hearts a love of right and justice. His reign was



THE WOLF OF THE CAPITOL.

stream of water burst out from the Temple of Janus, and swept them away and saved the city. In memory of this the Romans always kept the gate of the Temple of Janus open in time of war, that the god might ever be able to go out and assist the people of Romulus, as on this memorable day. Another battle was fought, but was interrupted by the Sabine women who had been carried off by the Romans. These, now reconciled to their lot, threw themselves between their fathers and brothers and their husbands, and prayed them to cease their quarrel. The result was a lasting peace. The two people were united. Romulus reigned over the Romans on the Palatine Hill, and Titus Tatius over the Sabines on the Capitoline and Quirinal Hills.

one of peace; the gates of the Temple of Janus were never opened, for the Romans had no enemies to combat. When he died, at the age of eighty years, he was buried under the hill Janiculum, on the opposite side of the Tiber, and the books of his sacred laws and ordinances were buried near him in a separate tomb.

He was succeeded by Tullus Hostilius, with whose accession the purely legendary period may be said to end.

Let us now glance at the facts in the history of Rome which modern scholars regard as certain.

According to the received chronology, Rome was founded in B. C. 753. Modern writers, led by Dr. Mommsen, believe that several tribes, the Romnians, the Leuceres,

and the Tities, dwelling together in this region, had a common stronghold "on the Roman hills, and tilled their fields from the surrounding villages," and that around this stronghold a city grew up by slow degrees. "The founding of a city in the strict sense, such as the legend assumes," says Mommsen, "is of course to be reckoned altogether out of the question. Rome was not built in a day." Whatever may be the correct theory respecting the founding of Rome, it is certain that the story of Romulus and his immediate successors belongs to the domain of fiction. We do not reach the period of certainty until the commencement of the reign of Tullus Hostilius. There is good reason to regard this king as a veritable personage and the leading events of his reign as facts. The date of his accession is B. C. 672, according to the received chronology. He conquered Alba Longa, destroyed the city, and transferred its inhabitants to Rome, settling them upon the Caelian Hill. This conquest doubled, perhaps tripled the Roman territory, and made Rome the principal city of Latium, and the protectress of the Latin league, as a distinct power in alliance with it. The federal army was commanded alternately by a Roman and a Latin general, and all its conquests were divided equally between Rome and the Latin confederacy, thus giving to Rome a share equal to that of the whole league.

In the reign of Tullus, some changes were made in the Roman constitution. In order to understand these, we must examine the first constitution under which the early period of Rome had been passed. The government was a monarchy. The head of the state was a king, called "rex," that is "ruler" or "director." He exercised a great, though not an absolute power over the citizens. The monarchy was elective. The death of the king was followed by an

interregnum, during which the government was administered by the senate or council, whose ten chief men, called "Decem Primi," exercised the royal authority, each in his turn, for five days. The senate elected the king, and the people confirmed their choice. Next to the king were the Patricii, or hereditary nobility, who derived their rank from their descent from noble ancestors. These noble families or houses, or "gentes," were originally one hundred in number, but were subsequently increased to two hundred upon the union with the Sabines. Each was represented by its chief, who was by virtue of his position a member of the senate or council of the king. All the members of a house had a single clan-name, all might participate in certain sacred rites, and all had certain rights of property in common. All males of full age of the noble



ANCIENT BANQUET.

order had the right of attending the "Comitia," or public assembly. In this assembly they were divided into ten "Curiae," each of which was composed of members of ten houses. Each *Curia* had its chief, who was called "Curio." The chief of the ten Curiones was the presiding officer of the assembly, and was called "Curio Maximus." No law could be changed without the consent of both the senate and the assembly. The senate could both discuss and vote public measures; the assembly could only vote upon them. The assembly determined on peace or war, and was a court of appeal from the decisions of the king or a judge. Besides the patricii there was the mass of

the people, divided into two orders of clients and slaves. The clients were the dependents of the noble houses. They bore the clan-name of their patron. Though personally free, they had no political power. They usually cultivated the lands of their patrons or carried on a trade under their protection. They followed their patron to war, contributed to his ransom, or to that of his children in case of their captivity, and assisted in defraying the expenses of any law-suit in which he might be engaged, or the cost of his serving in any of the honorable offices of the state. The patron on his part was bound to protect the interests of his clients, if necessary, at the legal tribunals. The relation of patron and client descended from father to son, and it was considered a great distinction for a noble house to have a numerous clientage. The slaves were situated similarly to those of all countries, but were not numerous in the earlier periods.



ASSARION.

The addition by Tullus of the Albans to his subjects increased the patrician order by the union of the Alban nobles. The tribes became three in number, the "gentes" or "houses" three hundred, and the "curiæ" thirty. The senate retained its old number at first, the Alban gentes not yet being given the privilege of forming a part of it. The college of Vestal Virgins was increased from four to six, as Rome had now become the home of the Albans, but no other changes were made in the religious organization.

The successor of Tullus Hostilius was Ancus Martius, who came to the throne, according to the received chronology, B. C. 640. He is said to have been one of the Sabines or Titius. He made war upon the Latin towns, conquered several, and transported their inhabitants to Rome, whose power and importance were thus greatly increased. Many of the new settlers became clients of the noble houses, but the richer and more independent class refused to assume this position, and at length these became so numerous as to make it necessary to assign them some definite place in the

state. They were organized by Ancus Martius, according to the belief of the later Romans, into a distinct class of freemen, dependent on the protection of the king, and known as the "Plebs" or Commonalty. They consisted of several elements: 1. Free settlers; either political refugees, mercenary soldiers, or merchants. 2. Forced settlers, composed of the conquered people transported to Rome, except those who were admitted into the patrician order, or who became the clients of a noble house. 3. Clients whose patrons had been lost by the extinction of the gens to which they were formerly attached. 4. The issue of marriages of inequality, or the children of patricians by wives of a lower grade with whom their marriages were illegal, and who could not attain the rank of their fathers. Rome had grown so rapidly that it had become necessary to grant a formal recognition to this class of freemen at this early period. Ancus settled them upon the Aventine Hill, and having thus granted them an entire quarter of the city must unquestionably have given them fixed institutions, as he could not have left them without a government.

In the reign of Ancus Rome made rapid strides towards civilization and power. The Roman territory was extended to the sea; the port of Ostia was built; salt works were established in its vicinity; a bridge of piles, the "pons sublicius," was built across the Tiber; the hill Janiculum was strongly fortified; the low lands about the seven hills were drained by the "Fossa Quiritium;" and the first prison was erected.

The successor of Ancus was Lucius Tarquinius Priscus, whose accession is placed by the received chronology in B. C. 616. His reign extended to B. C. 578. Tarquinius was of Etruscan origin, but had long been settled at Rome. He repulsed the Sabines, who had crossed the Anio and threatened Rome itself. He then attacked the Latin towns on the upper Tiber, and in the angle between the Tiber and Anio, and conquered all of them except Nomentum. In the latter part of his reign he invaded the territory of the Etruscans, and gained important advantages over them. By these conquests he added very greatly to the population and to the dominions of Rome. He did much also for the improvement of the city. He built the great sewer, called the "Cloaca Maxima," and restrained the overflow of the Tiber by the erection of a strong

quay of massive masonry along the left bank of the river. This drain and quay redeemed the marshy valley lying between the Palatine and Capitoline Hills, and here Tarquin erected the Forum, with its surrounding rows of porticos and shops. Between the Palatine and Aventine Hills he built the race course known as the Circus Maximus for the amusement of the people. He began the erection of a temple to Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill, but the work was mainly performed by his son.

Two important constitutional changes are attributed to Tarquin. 1. He increased the number of the senate from 200 to 300, by adding to it the representatives of the "Gentes Minores" or "Younger Houses," who are supposed to be the "houses" adopted into the patrician order from the Alban nobility upon their removal to Rome. 2. He "doubled the equestrian centuries;" or in plainer terms doubled the actual number of patrician "Houses." The number of patrician houses had actually dwindled down to 150. From the noblest of the conquered people, Tarquin formed three half-tribes of fifty "Houses" each, attaching them to the old Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres, but on terms of inferiority.

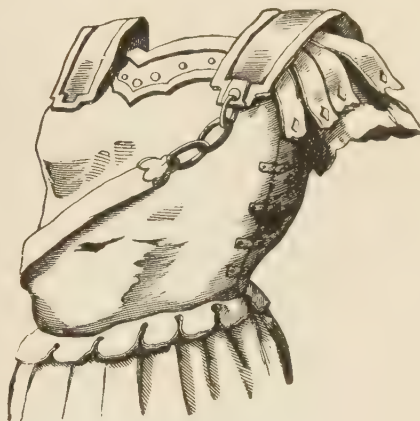
Before passing to the events of the next century, it will be best to pause here and examine the religious belief of the Romans, a knowledge of which is necessary to the student of their history. For at least 170 years from the foundation of the city the Romans had no images of their gods. Idolatry was a later corruption of their system, which was designed mainly to keep alive the simple virtues of the household, and to regulate the transactions of everyday life by a series of principles pure in themselves.

The chief gods of the Romans were Jupiter and Mars. The former was the supreme deity, but the latter was the especial god of this warlike people. Quirinus, under which name Romulus was worshipped, was only a duplicate Mars. March, the first month of the Roman year, was sacred to, and named in honor of Mars. The great war festival occupied a portion of this month. This festival was introduced with horse-racing on the 27th of February. Its principal days were known as the day of the shield forger (March 14th), the day of the armed dance at the Comitium (March 19th), and of the consecration of trumpets (March 25th). During the first days of

the festival, the twelve priests of Mars, chosen from the noblest families, and called Salii or Leapers, marched through the streets singing and dancing and beating on their brazen shields. Wars were begun with this festival. The close of the campaign was followed in the autumn by a second festival in honor of Mars, called the consecration of arms (October 19th). Quirinus also had his festival, the Quirinalia, which was celebrated on the 17th of February, with similar ceremonies.

All the days of the full moon were sacred to Jupiter, besides all the wine festivals, and various other days.

The next festivals in importance were those which related to corn and wine, and marked the various periods of the farmer's year. The first of these was held on the



COAT OF MAIL.

15th of April, when sacrifices were offered to Tellus, the nourishing earth. The second was on the 19th, and sacrifices were offered to Ceres, the goddess of germination and growth; on the 21st, sacrifices were offered to Pales, the patroness of flocks; on the 23d to Jupiter, as the protector of the vines and the vats of the previous year's vintage, which were opened for the first time on this day; on the 25th, a deprecatory offering was made to Rust, the bad enemy of the crops. In May, the twelve priests called the Arval Brothers held a three days festival in honor of Dea Dia, invoking her blessing in the maintenance of the fertility of the earth and the giving of prosperity to the whole Roman territory. In August the harvest festivals were celebrated; in October the wine celebrations in honor of Jupiter. In December there were

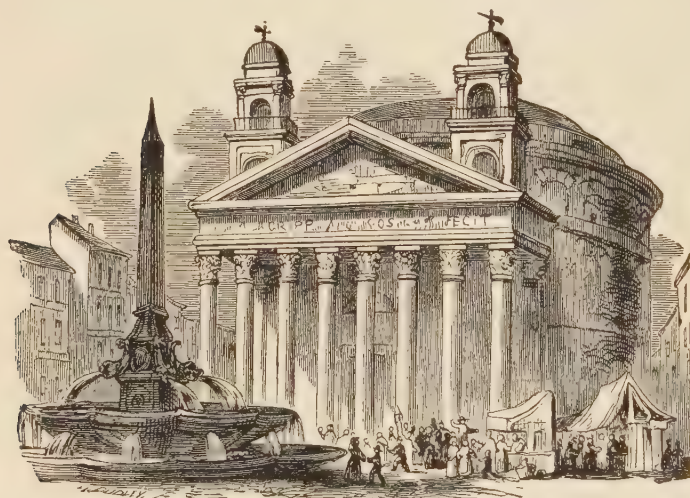
two thanksgivings—one in gratitude for the full granaries; the other, the Saturnalia, or seed-sowing festival, on the 17th. There was a third celebration in this month in honor of the shortest day of the year, which brings in the new sun (December 21st). The close of the ceremonial year was marked by the singular festival called Lupercalia, or the wolf festival, during which a certain class of priests ran about the city, girdled with the skins of goats, and lashed the spectator with knotted scourges; and by the Terminalia, instituted in honor of Terminus, the god of boundaries or landmarks.

One of the most thoroughly Roman divinities was Janus, the double-faced god of beginnings. The morning, all gates and

tended prosecuting during the year. The temple of Janus stood at the foot of the Capitoline Hill, between the old Roman and Sabine cities. Armies leaving the city marched out through its gates, and returning passed through them into the city. These gates stood open during the continuance of war, as has been already stated.

Vulcan, the god of fire and of the forge, was another of the principal gods of Rome. He was accorded two festivals, the consecration of trumpets in May, and one in August called the Volcanalia.

Vesta, the goddess of the hearth, or the household, was of inferior rank to those named, but was very dear to the Romans, who regarded her as the source of their domestic happiness and prosperity. Every Roman hearthstone was a shrine to her, and every meal a sacrifice in her honor. Over the principal entrance of every dwelling was a small chapel dedicated to the Lares. Here the father of the family performed his devotions upon returning home before attending to any other duty. The Lares were supposed to be the spirits of good men, and especially of the ancestors of the family. Each city had its protecting divinities, or public Lares, which were worshipped in a temple and numerous chapels, generally



THE PANTHEON—ROME.

doors, the beginning of all solemnities, and the month of January (which, however, was originally the eleventh month of the Roman year), were sacred to him, and he was always invoked before any other god. January, though next to the last month, was dedicated to him because in southern Italy it witnessed the beginning of the labors of the husbandman. Sacrifices were offered to him on twelve altars, and prayers at the opening of each day. The first of March, the Roman New Year's Day, was especially sacred to him. That day was supposed to give tone to the whole year, and people were especially careful of their thoughts and conduct. They exchanged gifts and good wishes with their friends, and usually began some work which they in-

located at the intersection of the streets. Their names were kept secret, for the Romans deeply cherished the "belief that the name of the proper tutelary spirit of the community ought to remain forever unpronounced, lest an enemy should come to learn it and calling the god by his name should entice him beyond the bounds." Rural Lares and Lares Viales were worshipped by travellers.

The Romans, after their intercourse with the Greeks began, regularly consulted the Delphic oracle, and valued its utterances highly. There was but one Roman oracle—that of Faunus, the Favorable god, on the Aventine Hill. There were a number of oracles in Latium, but none of them gave an audible response. The will of

the gods was generally ascertained by augury.

The Sibylline Books, which constituted one of the most precious possessions of the Romans, were believed to have been purchased by one of the Tarquins from a mysterious woman who brought them to Rome and demanded an exorbitant price for them. There were nine books at first. The king refused to purchase them, and the Sibyl carried them away, destroyed three volumes and returned with the other six, for which she demanded the price she had asked for the nine. Tarquin again refused to purchase them—she then destroyed three more of the books, and offered him the remaining three at the same price. His curiosity was aroused, and he bought them, and found them to contain important predictions as to the future destiny of Rome. They were placed in charge of one of the four sacred colleges, and kept in a stone box under the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. They were consulted only by order of the senate, and in times of great public calamity.

The sacred colleges bore an important part in the Roman system. They were three in number. The *Augurs* were charged with the duty of ascertaining the will of the gods from the flight of birds and the appearance of the entrails of victims. The *Pontifices*, or "Bridge Builders," were the Roman engineers. They were charged with the regulation of the calendar, and it was their duty to see that every festival and religious ceremony and every judicial act took place on the right day. They proclaimed to the people the time of the new and full moon, and were consulted by all classes as to the propriety of performing important actions on certain days. They kept the "book of annals," and were thus the state historians. The *Fetiales*, or "Heralds," were charged with the preservation of the treaties concluded with the neighboring nations, and were required "to pronounce an authoritative opinion on alleged infractions of treaty rights, and in cases of need to demand satisfaction and declare war. They had precisely the same position with regard to international, that the Pontifices had with reference to religious, law; and were, therefore, like the latter, entitled to point out the law, although not to administer it."

The priests of especial gods were called *Flamens*, or "Kindlers," because they offered sacrifices by fire. The most impor-

tant of these was the *Flamen Dialis*, or priest of Jupiter. Next in rank were the priests of Mars and Quirinus. Many restrictions bound the priest to a life of purity and protected his dignity.

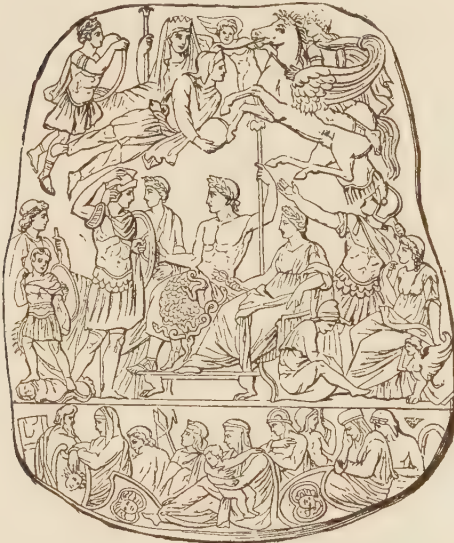
Such were the principal features of the Roman religion in its purely national form. With the beginning of intercourse with the Greeks, Greek ideas crept into the system; and finally many of the gods of Hellas became naturalized at Rome.

The reign of the first Tarquin was brought to a close in B. C. 578 by his murder by hired agents of the sons of Ancus Martius, who hoped to secure the crown for themselves. Their efforts were unsuccessful, and Tarquin was succeeded by his son-in-law, Servius Tullius, an Etruscan general, who boldly seized the throne. Having gained some important successes over the Etruscans, Servius resolved to put into effect a series of radical changes in the Roman constitution.

Until this reign all the powers of the state not vested in the king had been reserved to the nobility. Servius decided to extend the franchise to all free citizens. Taking the existing organization of the army as a basis, he formed a new Popular Assembly, which he named the *Comitia Centuriata*. He divided the entire body of Roman citizens into classes according to their wealth, and subdivided these classes into centuries according to the total amount of property represented by the class. Each century, no matter how great the number of persons composing it, had but a single vote in the assembly. "The result was that a decidedly preponderating power was given to the richer classes; but if they differed among themselves, the poorer classes came in and decided the point in dispute." Each citizen owning property was obliged to serve in the army, and his position in the military service was accurately fixed by his rank in civil life, or, in other words, by his wealth. The highest class established by Servius were the *Equites*, or horsemen. It was divided into eighteen centuries. The first six—two for each of the original tribes—were patricians; the remaining twelve consisted of the wealthier and more powerful plebeians.

With the exception of the equites, the Roman soldiers fought on foot. The mass of the people were divided into five classes. The first consisted of eighty centuries, and was made up of those who were able to

equip themselves in complete brazen armor. These perfectly armed soldiers constituted the front rank of the phalanx. Forty of these centuries were formed of young men, from seventeen to forty-five years of age, the flower of the Roman infantry. The remaining forty consisted of men over the age of forty-six. These were usually reserved as a garrison for the city. The second class consisted of twenty centuries, as did all the others save the fifth, in which the number of centuries was thirty. The second class fought immediately behind the first. They did not wear the coat of mail, and bore wooden instead of brazen shields. The third class wore no greaves; the fourth



ANCIENT CAMEO.

was without shields. The fifth class did not form a part of the phalanx, but served as light-armed infantry, and was armed with javelins and slings. All these classes were required to equip themselves for war. Below them were the poorest people, who were only called upon in times of great emergency, when they were armed at the expense of the state. The meeting place of the centuries was without the city walls, on the Field of Mars.

Until the reign of Servius the only Roman tribes were those of the patrician order—the Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres. Servius now divided the city into four tribes, and the country into twenty-six, constituting each tribe of property-holders, without regard to nobility of rank. The

place of meeting of the tribes was the Forum, though it is probable that the rural tribes did not enjoy this right until a later period. To each tribe he accorded the right of meeting and of self-government. Each appointed its own tribunes and ædiles, and perhaps its judges. By this arrangement Servius not only contented the plebeians by giving them the right of self-government, but provided for the proper assessment of the land tax, which was levied and collected by the tribunes, and paid by them into the treasury. He provided for the needy plebeians by assigning them a portion of the public lands on the Etruscan side of the Tiber, which had been gained in his early wars. These lands were assigned them in full ownership. This act greatly exasperated the patricians, who had previously leased these lands from the state for the pasturage of their cattle and flocks, and were unwilling to surrender them.

Servius also extended the limits of the city of Rome. The original “Roma Quadrata” stood on the Palatine Hill, but the Esquiline, Cælian and Aventine Hills were now covered with suburban settlements, while the Sabines occupied the Capitoline, Quirinal and Viminal Hills. Servius enclosed all these eminences and a considerable space beyond them within a new wall. This continued to be the city wall without change for more than eight centuries, until the time of Aurelian.

Having completed his reforms, Servius determined to secure their continuance by abdicating his royal power, and causing the people, assembled in their centuries, to choose by their free votes two chief magistrates who should administer the government. These were to be elected for a single year only, and at the close of their term of office were to secure the choice of their successors in like manner. But the change from royalty to popular government was not to be effected so easily and bloodlessly. Before the king could put his resolve into execution, the members of the patrician order, disgusted by his changes, revolted under the leadership of Tarquin, the son of the first monarch of that name, murdered Servius in the senate house, and placed Tarquin upon the throne. The date assigned to this event is B. C. 534.

Lucius Tarquinius Superbus was the last King of Rome. He began his reign by setting aside the whole of the Servian constitution, and restoring the laws which had

existed under the earlier kings. Although he owed his crown exclusively to the patricians, he oppressed them in common with the other classes of the people. He compelled the poorer classes to labor upon the public works which his father had begun, and those originated by himself. He took away the property of the citizens without consulting the senate, and laid upon all classes, civil and military, labors beyond what was due by law. He built a new system of sewers in the city, and the great Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill, and constructed stone seats in the Circus Maximus. He made a treaty of friendship and commerce with Carthage, and gave other evidences of a capacity to rule, but his tyranny increased yearly. Becoming suspicious of the patricians he caused charges to be made against a number of them, and took cognizance of them himself, sentencing some to death, and some to exile without the right of appeal. Finally matters were brought to a crisis by a dastardly outrage by his son Sextus upon a noble patrician matron named Lucretia. The relatives of Lucretia appealed to the people to avenge her, and a general revolt ensued. The monarchy was overthrown. Tarquin fled from the city, and he and all his clan were banished from the Roman dominions, B. C. 508. Some modern writers have doubted the charges of tyranny brought against Tarquin by the Roman historians; but, as Mommsen well says, they are proved in the main "by the formal vow which they (the Romans) made, man by man, for themselves and for their posterity, that henceforth they would never tolerate a king;" and "by the blind hatred with which the name of king was ever afterwards regarded at Rome." Even Julius Cæsar, centuries later, did not venture to assume the kingly title, though it was thrice offered to him, and Augustus, in setting up an empire, was obliged to avoid the outward appearance of a revival of royalty. The king, however, had been charged with the duty of offering certain sacrifices, and the name was accordingly retained in the office of the "king for offering sacrifice." It was enacted that this "king"—"whom they considered it their duty to create that the gods might not miss their accustomed mediator—should be disqualified from holding any further office, so that this official was at once the first in rank and the least in power of all the Roman magistrates."

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC TO THE WAR WITH THE VEIL.

The First Consuls—Republican Institutions Introduced—Rome Loses Prestige by the Establishment of the Republic—Wars with the Latins and Etruscans—Perfidy of the Patricians—They Oppress the Common People—Imprisonments for Debt—Secession of the Plebeians—Mons Sacer Occupied by them—Concessions to them—They Return to Rome—Spurius Cassius Consul—The First Agrarian Law—It is Nullified by the Patricians—The Plebeians Excluded from the Consulship—Revenge of the Plebs—The Fabii—Murder of Genucius—Volero Publilius Chosen Tribune—The Publilian Law—Wars with Oscans and Etruscans—Struggle of the Commons for their Rights—Cincinnatus—Is made Dictator and Defeats the Æqui—The First Decemvirs—The Laws of the Twelve Tables—Appius Claudius—He Seizes Virginia, a Roman Maiden—She is Slain by her Father—Revolt of the Romans—Fall of Appius Claudius—Second Secession of the Plebeians—The Decemvirate Abolished—The Plebs Return to Rome—Measures of Reform—Defeat of the Sabines—The People Accord the Consuls a Triumph in Spite of the Opposition of the Senate—Short-sighted Policy of the Patricians—Third Secession of the Plebeians—Concessions to them—Their Return—Appointment of Censors and Military Tribunes—The Census.

THE Tarquins being expelled, the leaders of the revolution proceeded to lay the foundations of the Roman republic. They not only restored the constitution of Servius, but added to it. Two consuls, Lucius Junius Brutus, the principal leader of the revolution, and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia, were chosen by the free votes of the centuries according to the laws of Servius. Collatinus represented the patrician order, but Brutus was a plebeian. The senate, which had fallen away under Tarquin, was brought up to the ideal number of 300 by the addition of 164 life-members, chosen from the richest members of the order of Equites, of whom many were plebeians. Tarquin had suspended the right of appeal. It was now revived and extended to all freemen. These arrangements produced a spirit of harmony between the various orders of the state. The patricians were not satisfied, however. Their hatred and fear of Tarquin had made it necessary for them to conciliate the plebeians in order to secure their powerful aid in the revolution. Hence they made important concessions to them which they meant to recall at the earliest opportunity.

The immediate result to Rome of the change from the monarchy to the republic

was a loss of power and prestige in Latium. The internal affairs of the Romans occupied their entire attention for a long period, and left them no time to maintain their supremacy. Consequently Rome fell from the first to a very low position among the central Italian nations. The Latins threw off their dependence, and the Etruscans made war upon Rome. Lars Porsenna, the Etruscan king, appears to have actually held Rome in subjection for a number of years. Although the Etruscan yoke was ultimately shaken off, the Roman lands west of the Tiber were lost. The hostile Latins and the Sabines and Oscans ravaged the other lands of the Romans without restraint, sweeping away the crops and farm buildings, and carrying off the cattle. These losses resulted in a general impoverishment of the Romans, the chief suffering naturally falling upon the poorer people, whose little patches of land constituted their sole possession and their only means of support.

As has been stated, the concessions of the patrician order to the common people of Rome at the establishment of the republic were such as they meant to recall at the first opportunity. Their lack of sympathy with the people is strikingly shown by the events now to be related.

The loss of the lands west of the Tiber, and the ravages of the hostile nations in the Roman territory after the establishment of the republic, had produced a general poverty. At the same time the taxes were increased, and these were levied upon the scale of former assessments and not upon the reduced values prevailing at the time. Besides this the state required the payment at once of the taxes for five years. To meet their needs the poorer classes were obliged to borrow money at exorbitant rates of interest from the rich. The debtor class was unable to discharge its obligations, and the nobles availed themselves of the opportunity thus afforded them to put into execution the cruel laws concerning debt, and thereby to increase their own power and diminish that of the commons. The Roman law gave the creditor absolute power over the person of his debtor. He could either appropriate him to his own use or sell him as a slave, and it is believed could even put him to death. Many persons sold themselves as slaves to discharge their obligations, and thus condemned their posterity to the same fate. Those who refused to do this were seized by their creditors and im-

prisoned and tortured to make them sign away their liberty. There was scarcely a patrician mansion but had its captives thus imprisoned.

At length, a call being made for troops, the plebeians refused to enroll themselves unless the prisoners for debt were released. This was conceded by the patricians, but the danger had no sooner passed by than the barbarous measures against the debtor class were again put in execution. Driven to despair, the plebeians, in B. C. 494, abandoned Rome in a body, and occupied a hill on the opposite side of the Tiber, known in later times as Mons Sacer, or the Sacred Mount, where they declared their intention to build a city of their own in which they could live under just laws. The patricians now saw their error. They could not afford to have Rome weakened by the withdrawal of this large and useful class. They entered into negotiations with the plebeians, and allowed them to dictate the terms upon which they would return to the city. These were, 1. The cancellation of the debts of all persons who could prove themselves insolvent. 2. The release of all prisoners for debt. 3. The appointment of officers called "Tribunes of the Commons," to be annually elected by the people at large, whose persons should be sacred, who should be recognized as magistrates of the nation, and whose especial business should be the protection of the rights of all plebeians appealing to them. Two such tribunes were at first appointed. The number was afterwards increased to five, and finally to ten. Two plebeian *Ædiles* were also appointed, whose duties were to superintend the streets, buildings, markets, and the general peace and order of the city. They had also the superintendence of the public games and festivals, and were judges in minor cases. At a later period they were made the guardians of the decrees of the senate, which were not always safe in the hands of the patricians. The plebeians having won this great battle for popular rights returned to their old homes at Rome.

In B. C. 485 Spurius Cassius, the consul, proposed to divide certain of the public lands among the plebeians as a means of preventing future suffering. He also proposed that the common people when serving in the army should be paid for their services, and that the tithe of produce levied by the state upon the lands leased to the patricians should be applied to this purpose. The

other consul opposed this measure, and charged Cassius with seeking to gain popularity, in order to make himself king. Nevertheless the measure—the First Agrarian Law—was passed. When Cassius retired from office at the end of his year, the patrician influence was powerful enough to secure his condemnation and execution as a traitor. The real crime of Cassius was his generous attempt to protect the poor against the rich.

The patricians now boldly unmasked their policy. They excluded the plebeians from the consulship, and asserted their right to choose these officers themselves, requiring the commons simply to ratify their choice. The consuls thus chosen refused to execute the agrarian law. The people had



ROMAN SHIELDS.

but one means of redress. They refused to be enrolled in the army, and were protected in their refusal by the tribunes. The consuls then held their levy outside of the walls of the city, where the tribunes had no jurisdiction. They ordered the confiscation of the landed property of those who refused to enlist, and the commons were thus obliged to enter the army to save their possessions which lay beyond the jurisdiction of the tribunes. Still, though they could be forced into the ranks, they had their revenge. Esteeming the patricians their worst enemies, they suffered themselves to be defeated by the Veientians.

For six years the Fabii, the most devoted champions of the aristocracy, had held the consulship. In B. C. 479 Kæso Fabius, being made consul, demanded the execution

of the agrarian law of Cassius, as he was convinced that a further refusal to do justice to the common people would be productive of serious trouble. The patricians haughtily refused his demand, and the Fabii abandoned Rome in disgust and formed a little colony in Etruria. Two years later their settlement was overpowered by the Veientians, and every man slain. The execution of the agrarian law being still prevented by the consuls, they were impeached in B. C. 473 by the tribune Genucius. The patricians, alarmed at the danger which threatened them, caused Genucius to be murdered on the night previous to the trial. This action greatly increased the popular indignation, and when the consuls ordered a new levy of troops, Volero Publilius, who had served as centurion, refused to be enrolled, and appealed to the tribunes for protection. They, alarmed by the fate of Genucius, hesitated, and Volero called on the people to assist him in maintaining his rights. A tumult ensued, and the consuls and their retinue were driven from the forum. The next year, B. C. 471, Volero was chosen tribune. Until now the tribunes had been chosen by the entire people in the centuries, and the patricians, by controlling the votes of their clients, had been able to secure the return of men of their own selection. Volero now procured the passage of a law which gave to the people the selection of their own champions by requiring that the tribunes should be elected by the plebeians alone in the assembly of the tribes in the forum. This measure is known as the Publilian law, and was an important gain for the cause of the people, but it was so stoutly resisted by the patrician party, under Appius Claudius, one of the consuls, that Rome narrowly escaped a civil war.

While the two orders were thus engaged in struggling for power within the city, war was being waged against Rome by the Volscæ and Æqui, two Oscan nations which had conquered a large part of Latium, and had pushed their advance to within a short distance of Rome itself. At the same time the Veii, or Veientians, an Etruscan people, had advanced to the opposite side of the Tiber and had threatened the hill Janiculum. The rural population were obliged to fly before these invasions, and they took refuge within the walls of Rome, where a plague broke out and added its horrors to the sufferings of the war.

Within the city party spirit raged so bitterly as to be often stronger than patriotism. The exiled noble, sent away from Rome, thought himself justified in leaguings with the enemies of his country in order to defeat the commons and extend the power of his order.

The plague once more broke out at Rome and swept away large numbers of citizens. At the same time the Æqui and Volsci extended their ravages to the walls of the city, and a famine broke out within the walls. All this while the patricians maintained their pretensions unabated, and the commons watched eagerly for an opportunity to place their rights upon a secure footing. These internal troubles weakened Rome so greatly that she could barely maintain herself against the attacks of her enemies. It was evident that a thorough reform was necessary. In B. C. 462 Terentilius Harsa, the tribune, proposed the appointment of a board of five patrician and five plebeian commissioners, who should be charged with the task of codifying the existing laws, limiting and defining the authority of the consuls, and framing a constitution which should secure justice to both orders. The patricians bitterly opposed this measure, and for ten years the opposition to it kept Rome on the brink of ruin. Several times the city came near falling into the hands of the Volscians. Once, a band of slaves, led by a Sabine named Appius Herdonius, seized the capitol and demanded the restoration of all the exiled citizens. The citizens drove out the invaders and regained the capitol.

One of the most prominent of the exiles was Kæso Quinctius, the son of Lucius Quinctius. The father was called Cincinnatus because he wore his hair in long curling locks. Kæso had been banished for his ungovernable violence, and is believed to have been slain in the struggle at the capitol, in which the consul who led the attacking party was also slain. Cincinnatus was chosen the successor of this consul, and in revenge for the fate of his son, he declared that the law of Terentilius should never pass while he was in office, and that he would exercise all his power to prevent the meeting of a properly qualified assembly. The senate and the more prudent of the patrician party, seeing that such an exercise of the consul's power would tax the patience of the commons too far, prevailed upon him to desist. Cincinnatus, at the

end of his year of office, went back to his farm, which he cultivated himself, though a patrician. Two years later, Rome being hard pressed by the Æqui, B. C. 458, the senate sent to summon Cincinnatus to undertake the task of defeating the enemy. The messengers found him at his plow, and formally communicated to him the resolution of the senate creating him Dictator, with absolute power. He accepted the trust, hastened to Rome, raised an army in a single day, marched the following evening against the Æqui, inflicted upon them a crushing defeat, and returned home in triumph the next day. He made use of his power, however, to cause the banishment of the man who had secured the exile of his son Kæso. Then he surrendered the dictatorship and returned to his farm.

The passage of the law of Terentilius was delayed six years longer, but in B. C. 452 the patricians yielded, and ten commissioners were chosen. They were all patricians, but were men of known moderation, and enjoyed the confidence of both orders. All the powers of the state were intrusted to them for the time. They are known as the first Decemvirs. During the debate upon the bill, commissioners had been sent to Greece to study the laws of the states of that country. These now returned, bringing with them a learned Greek, Hermodorus of Ephesus, who rendered such important aid to the decemvirs in their task that he was honored with a statue in the Roman Comitium. The code which the decemvirs prepared is known as the "Laws of the Twelve Tables," and became the basis of all Roman law and practice for many centuries. The existing offices of the state were swept away, and a new government established, consisting of Ten Men, or Decemvirs, half patricians and half plebeians, in whom was lodged the executive power. They were elected by the centuries and confirmed by the patrician assembly, and held office for one year. The provisions of the code extended to every department of life. They gave satisfaction to all parties, and for several centuries the Romans were content to live under them.

The change in the form of government did not work so well. The people soon found that they had simply made ten consuls instead of two, and had swept away the protection which had formerly been afforded them by their tribunes. Appius Claudius, one of the new decemvirs, made

his influence over his colleagues so powerful, that he was really master of Rome. He now became the oppressor of the people, and in the end drove them to rebellion.

Among the pupils who attended the daily school in the forum was a beautiful maiden named Virginia, who came attended by her nurse. Appius Claudius became enamored of the maiden, and determined to obtain possession of her. He seized her in the forum and declared that she was the slave of one of his clients, that she had been born of a slave woman in his house and sold to the wife of Virginius, who had no children of her own. The friends of Virginia denounced the insolent falsehood, and rallied to her rescue in such numbers that the consul's officers were obliged to release her, her friends giving bonds for her appearance at the consular tribunal the next day, where it would be shown that she was the daughter of Virginius. Her father, who was a distinguished centurion, was absent with the army before Tusculum. He was at once summoned, rode all night, and reached Rome the next morning. He appeared in the forum with his daughter and friends, but to his amazement and indignation Appius declared that the maiden should be considered a slave until proved free, notwithstanding the existence of a law which he had himself proposed, that no one should be deemed a slave until proven such. Seeing that justice was denied him, and knowing well the fate that was in store for his daughter, Virginius drew her aside, under pretence of speaking to her, and snatching up a butcher's knife from one of the stalls of the forum, stabbed her to the heart, exclaiming: "Thus only, my child, can I keep thee free." Then, turning upon Appius Claudius, he cried, "On thy head be the curse of this innocent blood." The consul ordered his instant arrest, but not a hand was raised to stay him. He hastened from the forum to the army at Tusculum, which arose at his appeal, and marched upon Rome. Icilius, to whom Virginia had been betrothed, roused the other army near Fidenæ. The army under Virginius entered Rome and marched through the streets to the Aventine, calling upon the people to elect ten tribunes to defend their rights. The army under Icilius overthrew the decemvirs who were with them, and also elected ten tribunes and marched to Rome, where they joined their comrades. The twenty tribunes chose two of their

number to act for the rest, and placed a strong garrison in the Aventine. Then the entire plebeian class, accompanied by the army, abandoned the city and occupied the Sacred Mount, where they began the construction of a new plebeian city.

The senate until now had refused to take any action against the decemvirs, but the secession of the plebs compelled them to act. Rome was split in two, and thus divided could not hope to resist her foreign foes. The senate yielded, and the plebeians consented to return on condition of the abolition of the decemvirate, B. C. 449. Appius Claudius and his colleagues were removed. He and one of his colleagues were thrown into prison, where they died. The remainder fled from Rome, and their property was confiscated. The decemvirate was succeeded by a government composed of two consuls, who were freely elected by the centuries. The tribunate of the plebs was restored as it had existed previous to the decemvirate, the number of the tribunes being increased to ten. The people were given the right of appeal to the comitia from the sentence of the consuls. The ædiles were made the keepers of the decrees of the senate in order to prevent them from being ignored or falsified by the magistrates. It was furthermore distinctly enacted that the tribunes should have the right to initiate legislation by consulting the tribes on matters of public importance.

The first consuls chosen under this settlement were Valerius and Horatius, patricians, who possessed the confidence of the plebs. Their first act was to lead the army against the Sabines, who had been encouraged by the internal troubles of Rome to invade the Roman territory. They inflicted such a crushing defeat upon them that the Sabines did not renew their efforts against Rome for a century and a half. Returning home, the consuls were denied the triumphal entry to which they were entitled, by the senate, which, true to its aristocratic spirit, refused to bestow any honors upon the friends of the people. Upon this, the people met in their tribes, and decreed a "triumph" to the consuls in spite of the senate, which was again obliged to yield to the popular will.

An aristocratic reaction now set in, and the patricians opposed the execution of the new laws so energetically, that the plebs again withdrew from the city, this time seizing the Janiculan Hill across the Tiber, B.

c. 444. A compromise was again effected and the plebs returned home. A law was passed legalizing marriages between patricians and plebeians, and providing that the children of such unions should inherit the rank of their father. The consulate, however, was still closed against the plebeians, and its powers and honors were divided among five persons of unequal rank—two censors and three military tribunes. According to Mommsen, the number of these officials was *eight*—two censors and *six* military tribunes. These officials were chosen by the free vote of the tribes, but the censors could only be selected from the patrician order. The military tribunes might be chosen from either order. The patricians managed to prevent the election of the tribunes for six years, and during this time the censors alone were regularly elected. The choice of tribunes took place for the first time in B. C. 438, and it was only with great difficulty that the people secured their election during the three succeeding years. The excuse of the patricians was that the auspices were irregular or unfavorable. In B. C. 433 Æmilius, having been made dictator, caused the passage of a law limiting the term of the censors' office to eighteen months. They were appointed once in five years, and thus the office was vacant during the greater part of the time. The powers of the censors were very great. They caused the general registry of citizens to be made once in five years, immediately after their appointment. The taking of the census was followed by a ceremonial purification of the people, called a *lustration*. Hence the period of five years between the taking of each census was called a *lustrum*. The censors had authority to erase from the registry the name of any citizen they chose, their power being regulated only by their convictions of duty. They were expected to erase only the names of the unworthy, and they had also the right to add the names of those who in their opinion merited the honor. They were the sole judges of the evidence in the cases brought before them. They punished the citizen who tyrannized over his family, wasted his fortune, or maltreated his slaves, by degrading him from his rank, whatever that might be; and such degradation was equivalent to disfranchisement in the case of a private citizen. It will thus be seen that their powers were designed for good; the abuse of them worked great trouble in the future.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE WAR WITH THE VEII TO THE
EXPULSION OF PYRRHUS FROM ITALY.

Commencement of the War with the Veii—Capture of Veii by Camillus—Discontents of the Romans—Irruption of the Gauls into Italy—Capture and Destruction of Rome—The Capitol Besieged—"Rome Saved by a Goose"—The City Ransomed—Withdrawal of the Gauls—Successes of Camillus—Rome Rebuilt—Errors of the Romans—Hard Terms of the Government—Sufferings of the People—The Licinian Laws—Second Invasion of the Gauls Defeated by Camillus—The First Samnite War—The Army Marches upon Rome and Demands Redress for the Plebeians—Concessions by the Government—The Latins Conquered—The Second Samnite War—Defeat of the Romans at the Caudine Forks—Reverses of Rome—She Recovers from them—The Samnites Conquered—Rome Supreme in Italy—The Latins Conciliated—The Æqui Subdued—The Third Samnite War—Self-Sacrifice of the Consul Decius—Final Conquest of the Samnites and Sabines—Distress of the Common People of Rome—Curius Dentatus Proposes the Second Agrarian Law—Fourth Secession of the Plebeians—The Patricians Yield—The Hortensian Laws—The War with Tarentum—Pyrrhus in Italy—First Conflict between the Romans and the Greeks—The Tarentines find a Master in Pyrrhus—His Early Successes—Fails to Induce the Latins and Romans to Join him—Rome Refuses to Treat with him—Events of the War—Pyrrhus becomes Disheartened—Goes to Sicily—His Successes there—Returns to Italy—His Disasters—Abandons Italy and Returns to Greece—Conquest of Southern Italy by the Romans—It is Settled with Roman Colonies—Roman Roads—The Appian Way—The Roman Colonial System—The Plebeians Admitted to Political Equality at Rome.

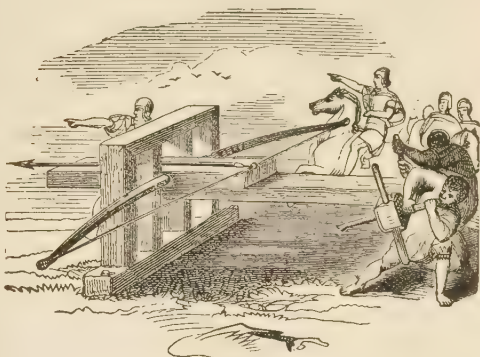
IN B. C. 405 Rome made war upon the Veientians, who had harassed her sorely during her period of internal trouble. This war lasted ten years, and was brought to a close in B. C. 392 by the capture of Veii by the dictator Camillus. The continuance of hostilities made it necessary to keep the army in the field during the entire year. This continuous service of the troops gave rise to the employment of a standing army, which soon became an important part of the Roman state. To quiet the discontents of the people the senate made important concessions to them, among which was the doubling of the number of the military tribunes. All disputes were suddenly hushed by a new danger which now burst upon Rome.

The Gallic hordes which had begun to pour over the Alps about B. C. 400 had conquered northern Italy and the greater part of Etruria. They now advanced into the valley of the Tiber, in irresistible numbers, defeated the entire armed force of Rome on

the banks of the Allia, and advanced to the city. The mass of the people and the fugitives from the beaten army took refuge in Veii, while the priests and the vestal virgins fled to Cæré in Etruria. The noblest of the patricians threw themselves into the capitol, resolved to defend it to the last extremity. The Gauls found the city deserted except by the senators, who had remained to sacrifice themselves to the infernal gods for their country's safety. They were massacred by the barbarians, who burned the city, and laid siege to the capitol. The siege lasted eight months. Towards its close the Gauls attempted to surprise the garrison by night. The foremost man of their storming party had reached the summit unobserved by the sleeping sentinels, when his movements startled a flock of geese sacred to Juno, which the garrison, although suffering from hunger, had spared. The shrill cries of the geese aroused Marcus Manlius, who rushed forward, hurled the foremost assailant from the cliff and defended it until his comrades could come to his aid and repulse the attack. At length, when the garrison was on the point of starvation, and when the Gauls, who had lost many men by their intemperate living and their exposure to the malaria, and who were alarmed by the news that the Venetians were attacking their possessions in northern Italy, were anxious to depart, peace was made. The Romans ransomed their city by the payment of a thousand pounds of gold, and the barbarians retired. They were followed by Camillus, who had again been made dictator. He cut off a number of stragglers, and seems to have recovered a part of the booty carried away by the enemy, but the stories once credited of his annihilation of, or even of a great victory over, the Gallic host, must be regarded as fictions.

One would naturally suppose that such a calamity as had befallen her would have destroyed the power of Rome in Italy, and doubtless it would had not Rome been but one of many sufferers. The Gauls had not crippled her alone. They had first crushed the Etruscans, and had thus relieved Rome from any danger at their hands; and had then extended their ravages to the Umbrians, Sabines, Latins, Æqui and Volsci, who had all suffered severely, and almost as much as Rome. Consequently the enemies of the republic were not in a condition to take advantage of its weakness.

The immediate result to Rome from the invasion of the Gauls was a wide-spread and general distress. The city was in ruins, and the rural districts were in quite as bad a plight. The first duty was to restore the houses of the city and the dwellings of the farmers. The government provided materials for the roofs, and permitted the people to take wood and stone from the national forests and quarries, exacting from each person thus aided a pledge to complete his house within a year. Many were unable to comply with this promise, and thus forfeited their security. The poor were obliged to borrow money at ruinous rates of interest from the rich, to meet the cost of rebuilding, and to pay the heavy taxes levied by the state for the purpose of restoring the fortifications and the temples. The rich again became the absolute masters of the poor, and the severe laws against debtors were once more put in general operation. The haste with which the state sought to



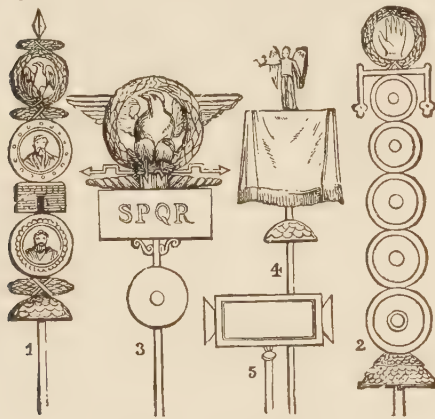
THE CATAPULT, A MACHINE FOR THROWING HEAVY DARTS.

secure the restoration of the city was productive of great confusion. The lines of the former streets could not be traced, as they were covered with rubbish, and the government took no measures to lay off others. "Men built their houses where they could, where the ground was most clear of rubbish, or where old materials were most easy to be got. Hence, when these houses came to be joined together by others so as to form streets, these streets were narrow and crooked, and, what was still worse, were often built across the lines of the ancient sewers, so that there was now no good and effectual drainage. This irregularity continued till Rome was again rebuilt after the great fire in the time of the Emperor Nero." Another evil which threatened the city was the general desire

of the plebeian class to remain at Veii, where they could live free from the oppression of the patricians. Through the influence of Camillus a general secession was prevented, but still the number who refused to return was so great that many Etruscans were settled in the city, provided with Roman lands, and admitted to the rights of citizenship.

The distress of the people was very great, and Marcus Manlius exerted himself to relieve it. Unfortunately he endeavored to use the popularity which he thus gained to advance his own ambitious schemes, and was arrested. The people refused to sentence the man who had saved the capitol; but he was afterwards condemned for treason and hurled from the Tarpeian rock.

At length the popular distress became so great that it was evident that it would be



ROMAN STANDARDS.

the cause of serious misfortunes to Rome if not alleviated. C. Licinius Stolo, a wealthy plebeian, connected with the patrician order by intermarriages, and L. Sextius, also a plebeian, were made tribunes in B. C. 376. They proposed a scheme for the relief of the general suffering. They sought to remedy first the wide-spread poverty, and secondly the political inequality which bore so hard on their own order. They proposed, 1. That the enormous interest which had been paid by the debtor class should be regarded as a payment of an equal part of the principal, and should be deducted from the sum still due. 2. That the balance due upon such debts should be demandable only in instalments which should be spread over the space of three years. 3. For the prevention of future poverty they proposed to throw open the public lands to plebeian

occupation; that no proprietor should hold more than 500 jugera or about 300 English acres; and that each landholder should employ a certain proportion of free labor in the cultivation of his farm. To remedy the political inequality, they proposed the restoration of the consulship, with the proviso that one of the consuls should each year be a plebeian; and in order to make the gain of the commons still more secure, they proposed to increase the number of the keepers of the Sibylline books to ten, five of whom should be plebeians. The patricians bitterly opposed these changes, and it was not until B. C. 367 that they were formally accepted and ratified by the Senate and the Comitia Curiata. The first plebeian Consul under these laws was L. Sextius. At the same time two new offices were established, that of Prætor, which was restricted to the patrician order, and that of Curule Ædile. The friends of the people now hoped that their rights had been fairly secured to them, but the patricians illegally set aside the Licinian constitution, and for fully twenty years contrived to secure the election of patricians almost exclusively to the consulate. In fourteen of these years there were twenty-one patrician and seven plebeian consuls. As a matter of course the harmony which the Temple of Concord was supposed to represent did not exist between the two orders. The plebeians felt that they had been shamefully cheated, and the patricians were aware that on the slightest occasion the storm which they had so carefully prepared by their unjust and illegal course might break out. They endeavored to avert the danger by making peace with all their neighbors, and thus avoiding the necessity for calling out the army; but their ambition was too strong to be always controlled, and it at length involved them in war with the Samnites, which gave the people the opportunity for which they were watching.

In the meantime, however, the Gauls had attempted a second invasion of central Italy, in B. C. 367. They were defeated by Camillus. A few years later they again appeared and encamped within five miles of the city, but suddenly broke up their camp and marched into Campania without molesting Rome. Returning through Latium, they were attacked and defeated. In B. C. 350 they joined the Greek pirates on the coast in plundering the country, and were beaten and driven northward by L. Furius Camil-

lus, the son of the dictator. In B. C. 346 a treaty was made between the Romans and the Gauls, after which they invaded central Italy no more.

The Samnites had been since a period anterior to the expulsion of the Tarquins settled as conquerors in the possession of the hill country, which rises between the Apulian and Campanian plains, and commands them both. The Campanians were a highly civilized, luxurious people, who had adopted Hellenic culture and habits to a considerable extent, and they dreaded their ruder countrymen of the Samnian hills, who were constantly descending from their heights and ravaging the rich plains of Campania. They therefore sent to Rome and asked aid against the Samnites, offering to become subject allies of Rome if their request was granted. Rome was at peace with Samnium, but the Campanian offer was too tempting to be rejected. The Samnites were already the chief power in southern Italy, and the only rivals of the Romans in that quarter. To reject the proposed alliance would be to strengthen them; to accept it would be to about double the Roman territory. A treaty was made with Campania, and two Roman armies were sent into that country, B. C. 343. At the same time the Latin allies of Rome invaded the country of the Peligni, and threatened Samnium on the north. Thus began the *First Samnite War*. The Romans were successful in their operations, and wintered in Campania. The absence of the troops from home caused considerable suffering to their families, who were still struggling under the load of poverty, and great dissatisfaction prevailed in the army.

The next year this disaffection culminated in a mutiny, and the plebeian troops now determined to settle the long quarrel between themselves and the patricians. The consuls endeavored to disband the army by degrees before the mutiny came to an open outbreak, but the army prevented the execution of this design by rebelling at once, and marching upon Rome, where it made a formal demand for the redress of the grievances of the people. The government made a hasty levy to oppose the rebellious troops, but the latter army refused to fight, and the patricians were forced to come to terms. After a lengthy negotiation, a tribune of the people named Genucius secured the enactment of a series of laws which both sides accepted as the basis

of a reconciliation. The Licinian constitution was practically restored, and the patricians were punished for their long violation of it by a provision that while both consuls might legally be plebeians, both could not be chosen from the patrician order. It was also enacted that no plebeian should hold the same office twice within ten years, or two offices within a year. To relieve the general distress all outstanding debts were abolished, and it was made illegal to lend money upon interest.

During these troubles the Latins had been left to carry on the war with the Samnites. They were so successful that they declared their independence of Rome. Rome now made peace with Samnium, B. C. 341, and strengthened herself by an alliance with "the Marsian League," a confederation of Sabine towns. Latium secured for allies the Campanians, Sidicinians, and Volscians. The Samnites held aloof from the struggle, and confined their efforts to pushing their frontier forward into the Volscian territory. The war lasted three years, and was really decided by the events of the first campaign. The decisive battle was fought in this campaign at the foot of Mount Vesuvius. The Romans attributed their victory to the self-sacrifice of their plebeian consul, Publius Decius, who allowed himself to be slain, as the augurs had declared that the fates demanded the sacrifice of a general on one side and of an army on the other. The Latins and their allies rallied again, but were easily defeated, and had neither heart nor strength for another effort. The Latin Confederacy was broken up, and the local institutions were everywhere replaced by Roman laws and customs. The Latins being of the same race and language as the Romans, discarded their hostility, which was only temporary, and submitted to the sovereignty of Rome, after a little passing discontent.

The Romans were prevented, however, from undertaking any important war for the next twelve years by the first discontents of the Latins, and by the invasion of Italy by Alexander of Epirus, in B. C. 332. He was a nephew of Alexander the Great, and had come to attack the Samnites. The Romans made a treaty with him, and at the same time prepared to take the field against him if he ventured to attack their possessions, as he surely would have done had he been successful against the Samnites. He was defeated, however, and slain, in B. C. 326.

Rome was now mistress of Latium and Campania; had secured her Etruscan frontier from immediate attack by treaty, and she now felt strong enough to attempt the conquest of the Samnites, who alone disputed with her the possession of southern Italy. The *Second Samnite War* began in B. C. 326 and lasted until B. C. 304. It was begun by the aggressions of Rome upon the Samnian territory, and its undisguised object was the attainment of the supremacy in the peninsula. Nearly all the nations of Italy were ranged on one side or the other as allies of the principals.

For five years the war was prosecuted languidly; both parties seemed to be reserving their strength. The general advantage at first lay with the Romans, but in B. C. 321 the Samnites inflicted upon their adversaries one of the most disgraceful defeats ever suffered by a Roman army. The Romans, under the command of the two consuls, were surprised in the Caudine Forks, a mountain pass between Naples and Beneventum, and were defeated with the loss of half their number. The remainder surrendered. Pontius, the Samnite king, magnanimously spared these prisoners on condition that an honorable peace should be signed by the consuls and the two tribunes of the people who were present with the army. This was done, and the Romans were disarmed, made to "pass under the yoke" in token of surrender. Pontius then released them from captivity and sent them back to Rome. His generosity was thrown away, however, for the senate, having gotten back its troops, refused to be bound by the treaty, on the ground that it was informal. The signers of the treaty were delivered, bound and naked, to Pontius, who refused to receive them, as he did not regard them as responsible for the bad faith of the Roman government. The war went on.

In B. C. 315 the Samnites gained a second great victory at Lautulæ. The cause of Rome now seemed so hopeless that her allies deserted her with but few exceptions. Campania revolted, and the Ausonians and Volscians became allies of Samnium. In B. C. 314, however, the tide turned. The Romans by an extraordinary effort placed a powerful army in the field, and defeated the Samnites so terribly in the battle of Cinnna that the latter were crushed beyond hope of recovery. The war would have come to an end then but for the efforts of

the Etruscans, Oscans, and Umbrians, who sought to prevent Rome from becoming supreme in Italy. They acted apart from each other, however, and though they managed to prolong the war for ten years more, they were finally defeated in detail, and in B. C. 304 the Samnites were reduced to subjection to Rome. The other nations then made peace. Rome was now the first nation in Italy. The conquered Samnites were the superiors of the Romans in intellectual culture, for the former had long been subject to the refining influences of Greek civilization, but the latter had vindicated their right to the sovereignty of the peninsula.

In the second year of the war the discontents of the Latins broke out into open hostilities. The Romans adopted a policy of conciliation, and the discontented part of Latium was incorporated into Rome. To show that this was not a merely nominal union, the Romans made L. Fulvius, the leader of the rebels, consul for the year. These wise measures thoroughly identified Latium with Rome, and ended the trouble between the Latins and the Eternal City.

Towards the close of the Second Samnite War the Æqui made war upon Rome. In B. C. 304, as soon as the peace of that year had left them free to act, the Romans invaded the territory of the Æqui with 40,000 men, and in fifty days captured and destroyed forty-one towns. Many of the captives taken were sold into slavery; the rest were made subject to the Roman authority. Some years later they were made Roman citizens, and took part in the wars with the Samnites in the ranks of the Roman army.

The Second Samnite War closed in B. C. 304. The next five years were spent by Samnium in organizing the "League of Italy," a confederation of the Italian states, viz.: the Etruscans, Umbrians, and the Gauls on the north, and the Samnites, Lucanians, and most of the Greek cities on the south, all animated and bound together by a common hatred of Rome.

In B. C. 298 the *Third Samnite War* began. The Romans invaded both Etruria and Samnium. They defeated the Etruscans at Volaterra, and about the same time captured Bovianum and Aufidena in northern Samnium. In the next year the Consul Fabius gained a victory over the Samnites, and Decius, the other consul, defeated the Apulians, and Lucania was compelled to

submit to Rome. The movements of the next year were unimportant, but in B. C. 295 the combined forces of the Gauls, Etruscans, Umbrians and Samnites advanced upon Rome. The boldness and decision of the Romans now saved them. They retained one army at home to meet the invasion, and sent another into Etruria. The Etruscans and Umbrians, alarmed for the safety of their own country, recalled their forces. The allies then retreated across the Apennines, and were followed and attacked by the second Roman army at Sentinum. A bloody struggle ensued, and the Consul Decius solemnly devoted himself to death, as his father had done at Vesuvius. The victory was won by the Romans, who inflicted a loss of 25,000 men upon the allies. The battle was really decisive of the war. It broke up the confederacy. The Gauls withdrew to their own country, and took no further part in the struggle. Rome now carried on the war separately in Etruria and Samnium. The Samnites resisted bravely, and in B. C. 292 Pontius, the Samnite king, defeated the Roman army under Fabius Gurgus. In order to appease the wrath of the Romans, who threatened to de-

prive Fabius, who was the consul, of his command, his father Fabius Maximus offered to serve as his lieutenant. The result was a great victory the next year, in which the power of the Samnites was finally broken, and Pontius was taken prisoner. The war languished a little longer, but Samnium was obliged to submit unconditionally. A portion of the Samnite territory was annexed to Rome, and Samnium thus weakened became a subject ally of the republic. The Romans stained their victory by compelling Pontius, who had spared their whole army twenty-nine years before, to walk loaded

with chains in the triumph of the consul, and then putting him to death, B. C. 290. In the same year the Sabines, who had espoused the Samnite cause, were conquered by the Consul Curius Dentatus, and their country, rich in forests of oak, and abounding in oil and wine, passed into the possession of the republic.

These wars, though successful, brought serious suffering to the commons. In order to ransom the prisoners ruinous sacrifices had to be made by their relatives, and the prolonged absence of so many men from the



ROMAN MATRONS.

farms brought the agricultural population to the brink of ruin. To relieve the general distress, Curius Dentatus proposed a new agrarian law, which provided for the division of the public lands among the Roman poor. The aristocratic party opposed this measure with so much bitterness that the life of Curius was in danger, notwithstanding his great services. As the opposition of the patricians increased, the demands of the people rose higher, and at last they seceded from Rome and established themselves on the Janiculan Hill. Even then the aristocrats refused to yield,

and only the danger of a foreign war, which seemed imminent, induced the senate to grant the popular demands. Hortensius, a plebeian of ancient family, was appointed dictator. He proposed the famous "Hortensian Laws," which were solemnly ratified by the vote of the people. He either abolished or made a great reduction in all outstanding debts, allotted seven jugera of land to every citizen, deprived the senate of its veto, and declared the people assembled in their tribes to be the supreme legislative power, B. C. 286.

A new danger now burst upon the republic. To reward the Lucanians for their services in the Samnite war, the Romans gave up to them the Greek cities in their territory; but when, in alliance with the Bruttians, they began the attempt to reduce



ROMAN CUIRASSES.

these cities, the inhabitants of Thurii appealed to Rome for protection. Their request was granted, and the Lucanians and Bruttians were forbidden to secure the spoil that had been promised them. The inhabitants of Tarentum, who had long been jealous of the Roman power, and who had been for some time exerting themselves to organize a new coalition against Rome, now took advantage of the anger of the states thus deprived of their prey, to draw them into an alliance with themselves. The efforts of Tarentum were successful. Nearly every nation of Italy was induced to join the league against Rome, and in B. C. 283 Rome found herself menaced by the Etruscans, Umbrians, and Gauls, in the north, and the Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttians, in the south. Arretium alone remained faithful to Rome, and was besieged by a

combined army of Etruscans and Gauls. Metellus, the consul, was sent to its relief, but was beaten and lost his entire army. The Romans then sent ambassadors to remonstrate with the Senonian Gauls for their violation of the treaty, but these messengers, held sacred by even the most savage tribes, were brutally murdered. Their fate was sternly avenged. A Roman army, under the Consul Dolabella, invaded and ravaged the territory of the Gauls, burning every village, putting all the men to the sword, and carrying off the women and children into slavery. This tribe was literally erased from the list of Italian nations. The Boian Gauls, alarmed and exasperated by the fate of their brethren, now took up arms to avenge them, and united their forces with those of the Etruscans. The combined armies marched at once upon Rome, but were defeated by the Romans with fearful loss at their passage of the Tiber, near the little lake of Vadimo.

In the south a small Roman army had with difficulty maintained itself in Thurii. In B. C. 282 the Consul Gaius Fabricius Luscinus raised the siege and defeated the Lucanians in an important battle, which was followed by defeats of the Samnites and Bruttians. These successes broke up the coalition in the south, and placed the Romans in possession of an amount of spoil sufficient to defray the entire expense of the war, to allow each soldier a large share, and to leave a surplus in the Roman treasury equal to half a million of American dollars.

Tarentum, the real originator of the war, had taken no part in it, but had contrived to throw all the danger and labors of the struggle upon her allies. Rome was not to be deceived by this appearance of neutrality, and a fleet was sent to cruise around the southern end of the peninsula to watch the Tarentines. In proceeding to the Adriatic it cast anchor in the harbor of Tarentum, which was still at peace with Rome. The long-cherished hostility of the Tarentines now flamed up, and they proceeded in a mob to the harbor, attacked the Romans, who were unsuspecting of danger, and sunk their vessels. They then marched upon Thurii, expelled the Roman garrison, and severely punished the inhabitants for having submitted to the republic. The Romans, with surprising moderation, offered to refrain from making war upon Tarentum on condition of the release of the prisoners

taken, the restoration of Thurii, and the surrender of the originators of the attack upon the fleet. These terms were rejected, and the Tarentines, in behalf of all the Greek cities of Italy, invited Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, to their aid. The invitation was promptly accepted by Pyrrhus, whose restless ambition never allowed him to remain quiet, and in B. C. 280 he crossed the Adriatic and invaded Italy with an army of 22,500 infantry, 3,000 cavalry, and twenty elephants. The latter were now seen for the first time in Italy.

Pyrrhus had already won and lost the Macedonian crown for the first time, and his army was disciplined in the Macedonian school. He was himself the most accomplished general of the time, and his personal character was superior to that of every monarch who then sat on the throne. "He was the first Greek that met the Romans in battle. With him began those direct relations between Rome and Hellas, on which the whole subsequent development of ancient, and an essential part of modern, civilization, are based. The struggle between phalanxes and cohorts, between a mercenary army and a militia, between military monarchy and senatorial government, between individual talent and national vigor—this struggle was first fought out in the battles between Pyrrhus and the Roman generals; and though the defeated party often afterwards appealed anew to the arbitration of arms, every succeeding day of battle simply confirmed the decision." The Tarentines had supposed that the Epirote king would fight their battles for them and leave them to enjoy the ease which they had secured during the first part of the war; but Pyrrhus soon showed them that they had found a master instead of a servant. He put a stop to the performances in the circus and theatre, and compelled the citizens to do garrison duty day and night. They soon became disgusted, and attempted to make terms with Rome, but Pyrrhus tightened his grasp upon them and treated Tarentum as a conquered city. He also sent a number of the leading men to Epirus as hostages.

Having secured the city of Tarentum, which provided him with an excellent base of operations, Pyrrhus took the field against the Romans, and with a smaller army defeated them at Heracleæ. Had not one of the officers of the retreating army wounded an elephant, and thereby thrown the pur-

suing troops into confusion, not a man of the fugitives would have escaped. As it was the Romans lost 15,000 men, 7,000 of whom were killed. Pyrrhus, however, purchased his victory with the loss of 4,000 of his best troops and several of his ablest commanders, and he had not the advantage which the Romans possessed of being able to replace his slain.

Pyrrhus had thus shown himself an able general, and he now proceeded to reap the reward of his victory. Many Italian cities joined him, and the Greek cities, with scarcely an exception, went over to him. He endeavored to recruit his army from the prisoners he had taken in battle, and whose courage he had recognized by his generous treatment of them. He explained to them that this was a frequent practice among the Greeks; but to his surprise not a single Latin or Roman joined him. He "learned that he was fighting not with mercenaries, but with a nation." He appears to have been deeply impressed with this conviction, and with the difficulty of the task he had undertaken, and dropping the role of the warrior, he endeavored to gain his end by the exercise of the acute statesmanship of which he was a master. He hoped that their first reverse would so thoroughly dishearten the Romans that they would be inclined to accept an honorable peace, and he sought to secure the freedom of the Greek cities of Italy and to protect it by erecting between them and the Roman territories a series of states of the second and third order as dependent allies of the new Greek power. In plainer terms, he demanded as the conditions of peace the release of all the Greek towns—and therefore of the Campanian and Lucanian towns in particular—from allegiance to Rome, and restitution of the territory taken from the Samnites, Dannians, Lucanians, and Bruttians. His demand was sent to Rome by his confidential minister Cineas, a Thesalian, a master of eloquence, who was charged by the king to lose no opportunity of impressing the Romans with the admiration he really felt for their conduct in battle. Cineas performed his part ably, and won over so many of the Romans to his proposals that the senate began to waver. At this juncture Appius Claudius, who had been censor thirty years before, but who was now old and blind, was told of the mission of Cineas, and of his success with the senate. Filled with patriotic indigna-

tion at the mere thought of making peace with a foreign conqueror on Italian ground, the old man caused his attendants to convey him in a litter into the senate house, where he burst into such a torrent of eloquent and indignant denunciations of the proposals of Pyrrhus that the senate rose to a true sense of its duty, and answered the messenger of the Epirote king that Rome never negotiated so long as there were foreign troops on Italian soil. Cineas was at once conducted from the city, and he went back to Pyrrhus so deeply impressed with the manly patriotism of the Romans that he declared to his master that every Roman citizen had seemed to him a king. The war then went on; Pyrrhus seeking glory only, the Romans fighting for their country.

Pyrrhus had moved into Campania while these negotiations were in progress. As soon as he received the answer of the senate he advanced upon Rome, intending to act in concert with the Etruscans. To his surprise he found the Romans ready to resist him with a fresh army, under the Consul Publius Lævinus, whom he had defeated at Heracleæ. The Roman commander protected Capua against the king, and put a stop to his efforts to communicate with Neapolis. Moreover, the attitude of Rome was so firm that none of her allies of any note—save the Greek cities of southern Italy—ventured to desert her. On his march through the country towards Rome, Pyrrhus encountered no army, but the Latin cities one and all closed their gates against him. The flourishing condition of the country astonished him, and gave him a better idea of the resources of Rome than he had ever had before. The Consul Lævinus followed him closely, ready to attack him at the favorable moment, and a second Roman army under the other Consul Tiberius Cornucanius, who had just concluded a peace with the Etruscans, marched rapidly from the north to meet the enemy, while in Rome itself a third army was organizing. Pyrrhus advanced to within forty miles of Rome, and then withdrew to Tarentum, where he passed the winter. The Romans also went into winter quarters. The Romans during the winter endeavored to effect an exchange of prisoners, but Pyrrhus refused to consent to the measure. He generously allowed all his captives to return home to take part in the saturnalia on their word of honor to return after the holidays if

peace were not made before. No treaty being effected they fulfilled their promise.

In B. C. 279 Pyrrhus gained a second victory, this time at Ausculum, in Apulia. He brought into the field, besides his Macedonian troops, upwards of 50,000 Italians provided by his allies. The Romans were driven from the field, but their army was neither demoralized nor broken up. It was plain to Pyrrhus that he might go on achieving such victories, but as each produced a diminution of his Macedonians, the only troops upon whom he could depend, while the Romans filled the gaps in their ranks with fresh levies, the more victories he should gain the weaker he would be in the end. The courage and patience of the Romans were barriers against which he dashed his army in vain. His allies, except the Samnites, were of no use to him, and he despised them. Still his military honor did not allow him to abandon the struggle just yet. The next year an opportunity presented itself to him to withdraw from the peninsula, and he was so thoroughly disgusted with the results of the war, that he at once embraced it.

The wife of Pyrrhus was the daughter of Agathocles, the tyrant of Syracuse, and his son the grandson of Agathocles, and both were the natural heirs of that monarch. Agathocles having been murdered, and Syracuse being hard pressed by the Carthaginians, the inhabitants of that city invited Pyrrhus to come to their aid. They consoled themselves with the reflection that if Syracuse was destined to lose her freedom, she might, under the Epirote king, become the capital of a great Hellenic empire of the west. Pyrrhus accepted the invitation, and left Italy for Sicily in B. C. 278, leaving garrisons in Locri and Tarentum. Previous to his arrival the Carthaginians entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with Rome, and just before his departure from Italy Pyrrhus made another unsuccessful effort to secure peace with the Romans. Reaching Sicily he drove back the Carthaginians, and reduced them to such straits that they offered to make peace, notwithstanding their alliance with Rome, offering him ships and money which he sorely needed. Pyrrhus haughtily rejected their offer; but his good fortune was brought to a sudden close by a defeat which he suffered at Lilybæum. He remained two years altogether in Sicily, and at one time it seemed that he was about to succeed in his

plans; but he was seized with his old restlessness, and was hurt by the complaints of his Italian allies, who accused him of deserting them, and rashly returned to Italy near the close of B. C. 276. On his voyage his fleet was attacked by the Carthaginians, who captured a number of his ships. His Sicilian conquests immediately rebelled against him. Landing in Italy Pyrrhus attempted to take Rhegium, but was defeated. He succeeded in seizing Locri, which had massacred its Epirote garrison in his absence. He inflicted a severe punishment upon the inhabitants, and plundered the rich treasury of the temple of Persephone to replenish his own exhausted military chest. He then marched to Tarentum, where he arrived with 20,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry. These were mostly Italian mercenaries; nearly all of the tried veterans he had brought from Epirus having perished in his wars. The money taken from the Locrian temple was sent to Tarentum by ship, but the vessel was driven back by a storm upon the coast of Locri. Pyrrhus, believing that he had aroused the wrath of the goddess by his sacrilege, restored the treasure to the temple, and put to death the men who had urged him to the act. A little later he was defeated at Beneventum by the Consul Curius Dentatus, and towards the close of the year he abandoned the war and returned to Epirus, leaving a garrison in Tarentum, B. C. 275. The Romans now proceeded to reconquer southern Italy. In B. C. 272 Tarentum was taken, and Lucania and Bruttium were forced to submit. Rhegium was taken by storm in B. C. 270, and by the close of B. C. 265 all southern Italy had been conquered, and Rome was supreme mistress of the peninsula from the Macra to Tarentum and Rhegium.

The successful termination of these wars greatly increased the wealth of the Romans, and consequently made a change in their style of living. The state property of the conquered nations went to the Roman state. It consisted principally of public lands, valuable forests, mines, quarries, and fisheries. The senate now granted to each free Roman a sum of money or seven jugera of land, as he elected.

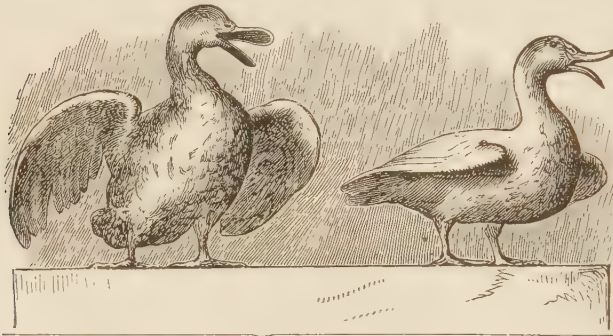
In order to hold her new territories Rome planted them with colonies. This system is said to have been begun as early as the days of the Tarquins, but it now received a powerful impetus by the great growth of the

Roman power. Several centuries later these colonies extended from the western coast of Europe to the Euphrates. They were of two kinds, "Roman" and "Latin." In the colonies of "Roman citizens," the inhabitants retained all their rights as citizens of Rome, they voted in the assembly, and were eligible to any public office to which they could be chosen if residents of Rome. In the Latin colonies, the inhabitants lost their rights as citizens of Rome, such as the right to vote and hold office, but retained the rest of their citizenship. The colonies were planted thickly through the peninsula, and as their interests lay with Rome rather than with the country in which they were located, they formed the great bulwarks of Roman power in Italy.

The colonies were connected with the capital by a system of roads, of which the first was the famous Appian Way, a solid, paved highway of such excellent construction that much of it remains to the present day. It was built at the instance of Appius Claudius, "the Blind," between the years B. C. 310-306. It left Rome by the Porta Capena or Gate of Capua, and passing through Aricia, Velitræ, Setia, Terracina, Minturnæ, Sinuessa, and Casilinum, reached Capua, from which it was continued about B. C. 291 to Venusia, and later on to Brundisium. As time passed on, other roads were built to other parts of the peninsula. Wherever Rome extended her power, a well-built road was constructed connecting the principal points of the country with some centre from which communication could be maintained with the Eternal City, so that it became a popular saying that "All roads lead to Rome."

The system by which the Romans maintained their authority over the conquered Italian states was very complex. In the management of her colonies, Rome granted them the right of self-government. They elected their own officers, and administered their own internal affairs. Every foreign city under Roman rule was regarded as a separate state, "and was placed on a certain definite footing with regard to the central community. The most highly favored were the *fœderatæ civitates*—states that had submitted to Rome upon terms, varying, of course, in different cases, but in all implying the management of their own affairs, the appointment of their own governors, and the administration of their own laws. Next to these in advantage of position were

the *municipia*, foreign states which had received all the burthens together with some or all the rights of Roman citizenship. Last of all came the *dedittii*, natives of communities which had surrendered themselves to Rome absolutely, and which had all the burthens without any of the rights of citizens. Roman law was administered in these communities by a governor appointed by Rome." Certain rights were reserved to Rome, which she esteemed sufficient for the protection of her sovereignty. She had the sole power to make war or peace; she alone might receive embassies from foreign powers, make treaties, or coin money. She had also the right to demand



GEESSE OF THE CAPITOL.

of her subject allies such troops, and the money for their equipment and support, as she needed in time of war. The property of the conquered states passed to her, as has been stated, and by B. C. 267 the public domain had increased so largely that it was necessary to appoint four "Italian quæstors" to collect the revenue from it. They were "the first Roman functionaries to whom a residence and a district out of Rome were assigned by law."

This period also witnessed the destruction of the last vestiges of patrician supremacy, and the admission of the plebeians to full political equality with that order. In B. C. 339 a law proposed by Publilius Philo had thrown open one place in the censorship, and the prætorship (most probably) to the plebeians. A law of Ovinus, the date of which is uncertain, gave to all ex-consuls, prætors, and curule ædiles, a right to seats in the senate. In B. C. 300 the Ogulnian law increased the number of pontiffs and augurs, and provided that half of each should be plebeians. These changes were in full operation at the period we are now considering, and exercised a marked influ-

ence upon the prosperity of the Romans. United and contented at home, they were able to show a solid front to Pyrrhus, and ultimately to triumph over him and to extend their power throughout Italy. Indeed the efforts of the censors had to be exerted to check the power of the commons. Appius Claudius, "the Blind," about B. C. 312, had extended the right of suffrage, which had hitherto rested upon the double qualification of free birth, and the ownership of a tract of freehold land, to two classes, each very numerous—freedmen who had been born slaves, and those who owned no land at all. Instead of assigning them to the tribes of the city, where they properly be-

longed, he spread them through all or nearly all the tribes in order to enable them to control the elections. His successors in the censorship succeeded in rescuing Rome from the danger of mob rule by confining these voters to four out of the thirty-one tribes, and these located in the city. By the first years of the third century before Christ the matter had been arranged. In this century also the Romans began to use

a silver currency; hitherto their coins had been made of copper.

CHAPTER IV.

THE STRUGGLE WITH CARTHAGE.

The Wealth of the Romans Increased by their Wars—The Republic Adopts War as a Means of Acquiring Riches and Territory—The Conquest of Carthage Resolved upon—A Pretext for War Found—The First Punic War begun—The Carthaginians Defeated in Sicily—Roman Expedition to Africa—The Home Territory of Carthage Ravaged—Defeat and Capture of Regulus—Loss of the Roman Fleet—Roman Reverses in Sicily—The Carthaginian Fleet Harasses the Italian Coast—The People of Rome Build a Fleet—Battle of Ægusa—Sicily and the Neighboring Islands Conquered by the Romans—Humiliation of Carthage—Close of the War—Rome a great Naval Power—The Romans Seize Sardinia—The Illyrian Pirates Exterminated—Conquest and Annexation of Cisalpine Gaul by Rome—The Roman Territory Extended Northward to the Alps—The Carthaginians in Spain—Their Wise Policy—Hannibal—He Succeeds to the Command in Spain—The Second Punic War—Hannibal Resolves to Invade Italy—Crosses the Alps—Defeats the Romans at the Trebia and at Lake Trasimene—Fabius in Command of the Roman Army—His Wise Policy—Battle of Cannæ—Hannibal Master of Southern Italy—Firmness of Rome—Hannibal Winters at

Capua—Victories of the Scipios in Spain—Marcellus takes Syracuse—Defeat and Death of the Scipios in Spain—The Younger Scipio Succeeds them—He Defeats Hasdrubal—Hasdrubal Ordered to Italy—Crosses the Alps and Enters Northern Italy—His Error—Hannibal Moves to Canusium and awaits the Arrival of his Brother—Hasdrubal Defeated and Slain by the Romans—His Head thrown into Hannibal's Camp—Retreat of Hannibal—Scipio Conquers Spain—Sails to Africa and Attacks Carthage—Battle of Zama—Carthage Conquered and made Tributary to Rome—Wars of Rome in Greece and Asia Minor—Conquest of Sardinia—Greece Conquered by Rome—The Third Punic War—Final Conquest and Destruction of Carthage.

THE earlier wars of Rome had brought pecuniary distress to her citizens. The war with Pyrrhus and those which followed it had actually increased the wealth of the people. They began to regard war as a means of profit, and after the subjugation of southern Italy, they sought a new quarrel for the deliberate purpose of increasing their riches. The wealthy republic of Carthage seemed to promise the most plunder, and as Rome had been forced by the necessities of her late struggle to become to some extent a naval power, it was decided to attack Carthage. A pretext for war was soon found. Under the pretence of aiding the Mamertines against Hiero of Syracuse, the Carthaginians had gotten possession of the citadel of Messana. The Mamertines appealed to Rome for help, and an alliance was made with them, notwithstanding their disreputable character. An expedition was despatched to their aid, and C. Claudius, the commander of the vanguard, succeeded in crossing with his troops from the mainland to Sicily. A little later he seized the Carthaginian Admiral Hanno in a public assembly in Messana, and in order to gain his liberty Hanno removed the Carthaginian garrison from the citadel, surrendered it to the Romans, and left Messana with his fleet. Upon his return home he was crucified by order of the Carthaginian government, and another officer of the same name was put in command of the fleet. At the same time Carthage declared war against Rome, B. C. 264. The struggle which now ensued is known as the *First Punic War*.

The Romans succeeded in throwing a force of 20,000 men into Sicily, to which island the war was at first confined. In B. C. 262 they inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Carthaginians, and captured Agrigentum. About the same time a Carthaginian galley was driven ashore on the Italian

coast, and furnished the Romans with a model, upon which they improved, and soon had a powerful fleet at sea, with which in the next two years they won important successes. In B. C. 256 a fleet of 330 ships, and an army of 40,000 men, under the Consuls Manlius and Regulus, sailed from Italy to Africa, defeating a superior Carthaginian fleet on the way, and landed near Carthage without opposition. They ravaged the Carthaginian territory; sent 20,000 captives, many of whom were of the highest rank, to the slave markets of Rome, and took an immense booty. The next year,

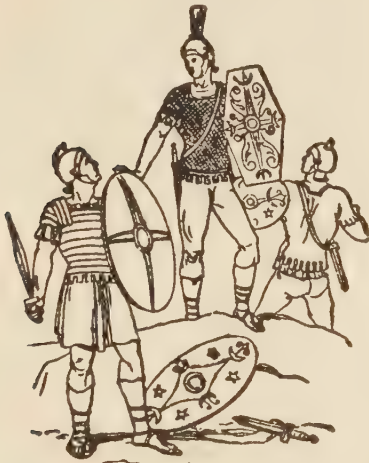


REGULUS.

Regulus being left in Africa with an inferior force, the Carthaginians took heart, and defeated him with the loss of the greater part of his army. Among the few prisoners taken was Regulus himself. Immediately after the battle a Roman fleet was despatched to bring back the survivors, which task it accomplished after defeating the Carthaginian fleet off the Hermæan promontory, with a loss of 114 ships. On the return to Italy the fleet was overtaken by a violent storm, in which 270 ships with all on board were lost. Only 80 ships escaped.

The Carthaginians were so elated at this

disaster that they ventured to renew the war in Sicily, expecting to find that island an easy conquest, but the Romans met them with a strong army, and in the spring of B. C. 254 sent a new fleet of 300 first-class ships to the Sicilian waters. The next year was one of disaster at sea, 150 ships being lost in a storm, and the war languished until B. C. 250, when the Consul Cæcilius Metellus won a brilliant victory over the Carthaginians under the walls of Panormus, capturing the entire Punic force of war elephants, 120 in number. This loss obliged the Carthaginians to quit the open field and retire to their fortresses, which were besieged by the Romans. For the next seven years the war went on, the Carthaginians being generally successful. The exploits of Hamilcar Barca, the Carthaginian leader,



LEGIONARY SOLDIERS.

greatly disheartened the Romans, and caused them severe suffering, as he ravaged the Italian coast at will, meeting with hardly any resistance. The Romans could bring forward no leader capable of defeating him, and the senate made scarcely an effort to resist the enemy. At last in B. C. 242 the citizens of Rome took the matter in their own hands, and by one of the most magnificent efforts of patriotism ever exhibited, brought the war to a close. In the twenty-third year of this exhausting war, they built and equipped a fleet of 200 first-class ships, manned by 60,000 sailors, and presented it to the state. The command was given to the Consul Gaius Lutatius Catulus. He drove the inferior force of the Carthaginians before him, reached Sicily, and seizing the harbors of Lilybæum and Drepana, laid siege vigor-

ously to those places by land and sea. Carthage hastily despatched a fleet to Sicily, which arrived off Drepana in the spring of B. C. 241. The Romans at once sailed out to attack them, brought them to action off the little island of Ægusa, now Favignano, and defeated them, sinking fifty and capturing seventy of their ships. The Carthaginians were so disheartened by this reverse that they consented to make peace, to abandon Sicily and all the neighboring islands, to pay an indemnity of 2,000 talents, or \$2,400,000, and release all the Roman prisoners without ransom.

Thus closed the first Punic war, after a duration of nearly twenty-four years. It was a great gain for Rome. Carthage was expelled from Italian waters, and Rome had grown into a first-class naval power.

In B. C. 238, Carthage being embarrassed by a mutiny of her mercenary troops, Rome seized the island of Sardinia, and not only refused to surrender it upon the demand of Carthage, but threatened to renew the war. Carthage, in no condition for such an encounter, consented to the cession of the island, and paid a fine of 1,200 talents for her remonstrance. In B. C. 227 Rome, encouraged by her success in Sardinia, annexed Corsica. In order to govern these islands and Sicily, she placed them under proconsuls, which officials were at once governor, commander-in-chief, and supreme judge. A proconsul was appointed for Sicily and another for Sardinia and Corsica. This was the beginning of this important branch of Roman rule.

A year or two previous the cities of Greece on the Adriatic coast besought aid from Rome against the Illyrian pirates, from whose ravages they had suffered severely. In B. C. 230 Rome sent an embassy to the Illyrians to demand a cessation of their outrages. The ambassadors were murdered, and war was at once declared by Rome. The next year a fleet of 200 ships was sent into the Adriatic and the pirates were exterminated. More important results to Rome were the establishment of Roman power over a part of Illyria and Dalmatia, and of a Roman protectorate over the Greeks of Apollonia, Epidamnus, and Corcyra. In return for these services the Romans were admitted by the Greeks to participation in the Isthmian Games and the Eleusinian Mysteries. What was more important to Rome was, that she had acquired a footing on the opposite side of the

Adriatic, and the right to interfere in the affairs of Greece.

During these years troubles had been going on with the Gauls and Ligurians in northern Italy. They made war upon Rome in B. C. 238, but were obliged to make peace at the cost of some of their lands two years later. In B. C. 232 Rome, being determined to put an end to the power of the Gauls, which measure would free her from a constant danger in that quarter, and at the same time extend her territory, began to push her colonies into the country of the Senonian Gauls. These colonies were pushed forward so steadily, and made so numerous in the next seven years, and the purpose of Rome became so clear, that the Gauls were obliged to take up arms. War began in B. C. 225, the Senonian Gauls being aided by their kindred beyond the Alps. The struggle lasted three years, and though at one time the Gallic army advanced as far as Clusium and threatened the Eternal City with the fate that had been inflicted upon it by Brennus, the Gauls were utterly routed in a great battle near Telamon in Etruria. The result of the war was that all Cisalpine Gaul was conquered and annexed to the Roman dominions. In order to hold it, it was planted thickly with colonies, which were connected with Rome by the great military road and its branches, known as the Flaminian Way. Rome was now mistress of all Italy, from the great wall of the Alps to the southern coast of Sicily, and from sea to sea.

During all this while Carthage, which had submitted to Rome only from necessity, and had consented to the aggressions of her rival only because of her inability to prevent them, had been energetically seeking to retrieve her losses and prepare for a renewal of the war, which she meant to bring about as soon as she was ready for it. As a means of increasing both her power and wealth, Hamilcar began in B. C. 236 the conquest of the Spanish peninsula. In B. C. 238, at his death, the work was taken up by his son-in-law Hasdrubal, and carried on with vigor and intelligence. These commanders not only sought to bring Spain under the control of Carthage, but exerted themselves at the same time to raise it to a condition which would enable it to become a useful ally. Towns were built, commerce and trade were fostered, the natives were taught the arts of civilization, especially

agriculture, and were trained as soldiers, and the newly-discovered silver mines were worked successfully. Thus the resources of Spain were developed and the country placed in possession of a prosperity greater than it had ever known before, and the revenue derived from it not only defrayed all the expenses of the province, but yielded a large surplus which went into the Carthaginian treasury.

An important change made in the Carthaginian system at the close of the first Punic war was the appointment of Hamilcar to the chief command of the army for an indefinite period, and the relinquishment to the army of the right to select his successor. He was slain in battle with the natives, B. C. 227, and was succeeded by his son-in-law Hasdrubal, who perished by the hand of an assassin in B. C. 220. The Carthaginian army at once chose Hannibal, the eldest son of Hamilcar, to be their successor, and the home government was obliged to confirm the choice.

The new general was a young man who had not yet completed his twenty-ninth year; but, though young, he was a tried soldier. His first recollections were of war. He had accompanied his father to Sicily when a mere child, and had witnessed the agony of that brave commander when compelled to consent to the disgraceful peace which closed the first Punic war. At the age of nine he had gone into Spain with his father, who had taken him before the altar of his country's gods and made him swear undying hatred to Rome. He had thus been trained to regard himself as the avenger of his country's wrongs, and he had been carefully prepared for his mission. Though the greater part of his life had been passed in the camp, his education was not neglected. Besides such culture as belonged to the Phœnicians of rank in his day, he was well acquainted with the Greek language. He was light and firmly built in body, an excellent runner, swordsman, and rider, and possessed of a remarkable power for enduring fatigue, hunger, and loss of sleep. He soon distinguished himself in the army, and was fighting by his father's side when the latter was slain. His brother-in-law gave him the command of the cavalry, and he quickly won the confidence of the army by his great skill as a leader and his brilliant personal courage, and when Hasdrubal was killed the troops turned instinctively to Hannibal as their natural

leader. He was one of the noblest as well as one of the most gifted characters of his day. "The power which he wielded over men is shown by his incomparable control over an army of various nations and many tongues—an army which never in the worst times mutinied against him. He was a great man; wherever he went he riveted the eyes of all."

Hannibal's first care was to complete the establishment of the Carthaginian power in Spain, and to train his army for the great enterprise for which he destined it by waging war for two years against the native Spanish tribes. He understood the peculiar weakness of Carthage in a defensive war, and he determined from the first to attack Rome in her own dominions and prevent her from assailing the home territory of her rival. At length, believing that the hour had come, he deliberately forced a quarrel with Rome. The Greek city of Saguntum had placed itself under Roman protection. Hannibal attacked it, and captured it after a siege of eight months. He then sent the spoil to Carthage for distribution. The Romans demanded the surrender of Hannibal and the restoration of Saguntum. The reply of Carthage was a declaration of war. Thus began the *Second Punic War*, B. C. 219.

Hannibal, like his father and brother-in-law, held the supreme command both in Spain and in Africa, and upon him devolved the defence of both countries. He had determined at the outset to secure both by invading Italy. His army was devoted to him, and as he had not a navy sufficient to cope with the Romans, he determined to invade Italy from the land. The Gauls had taught him by their repeated passages of the Alps that the great barrier could be crossed, and he resolved to enter the enemy's country from that quarter. Leaving his brother Hasdrubal in command of Spain, and having offered sacrifices to the Tyrian Hercules at the distant shrine of Gades, Hannibal set out from Carthage in the spring of B. C. 218, at the head of an army of 90,000 foot, 12,000 horse, and thirty-seven elephants. Two-thirds of the troops were Africans, and the remainder Spaniards—all subjects of Carthage. Hannibal placed no reliance upon his elephants, but carried them merely for the moral effect he expected them to produce upon the Gauls. The Spanish tribes between the Ebro and the Pyrenees resisted his march, but were

conquered, and a detachment of 11,000 men was left to keep them quiet. Arrived at the Pyrenees, Hannibal sent a portion of his force back home—a measure on which he had been resolved from the first, in order to show the remainder how confident he was of success. He retained a force of 50,000 foot and 9,000 cavalry. With these troops and his elephants he continued his march through the territory of the friendly Gauls to the Rhone.

The Romans in the meantime had been busy preparing an expedition against Carthage. When in readiness the troops destined to take part in it were called off to suppress an insurrection in the plain of the Po. When they returned it was decided to send them into Spain under the Consul Publius Cornelius Scipio, to assist the allies of Rome in that quarter. On the voyage Scipio touched at Massilia, which was in alliance with Rome, and to his astonishment learned that Hannibal was already on the banks of the Rhone. He therefore abandoned the expedition to Spain, and, aided by the Celtic tribes of the lower Rhone, who were friendly, undertook to keep his enemy on the right bank of that river; but Hannibal succeeded in passing his army over the Rhone by means of rafts and such boats as could be found, before Scipio could reach him. He crossed the river near the modern town of Orange, about twenty miles above Avignon. Once over the Rhone it was impossible to prevent the Carthaginian army from reaching the Alps. Hannibal had expected to find no lack of guides among the natives, and he was not disappointed in this expectation. He chose the pass now known as the Little St. Bernard, which, though the highest and longest, was the easiest of the ancient routes across the Alps, and permitted him to transport the baggage and stores of the army. His passage occupied fifteen days and was full of dangers and difficulties, for, besides overcoming the natural perils of the route, the Carthaginian leader had to fight his way through the territory of hostile tribes. At length, however, he overcame all his difficulties and descended into the plain of the Po, but with only half of the 59,000 men who had crossed the Pyrenees with him. Whatever may have been the faults of his plan, his passage of the Alps stamped him as a great general.

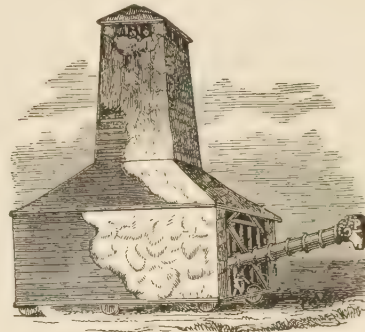
Hannibal was welcomed as a deliverer by the Insubrian Gauls, who embraced this

opportunity to get rid of their Roman masters. He spent a brief period in their territory to rest his troops, and then pressed on to the Ticinus, to meet the Roman army which had been assembled to oppose him under Scipio. He defeated the consul on the banks of that river, and in December of the same year routed the armies of the two consuls, Scipio and Tiberius Sempronius (commanded by the latter in consequence of a wound of Scipio) on the banks of the Trebia. This victory made the Carthaginian master of northern Italy, and he was joined at once by all the Gauls, who had until now held aloof to watch the issue of the conflict. In spite of these successes, however, he was greatly hampered by the sufferings of his African and Spanish troops, who were unable to stand the unusual cold of the winter.

The next spring, B. C. 217, he crossed the Apennines, passed the difficult marshes of the Arno in safety, and pressed on into the heart of Italy, thus anticipating the movement of the Consul Gaius Flaminius, who intended to dispute with him the passage of the Apennines. Failing to prevent this, Flaminius awaited him at Arretium. The consul was an arrant braggart, who regarded himself as more than a match for Hannibal; but the latter soon undeceived him. Instead of attacking Flaminius, he marched past him, and laid waste the country along his route, and at the same time, by his taunts, stung the consul into leaving his strong position and following him. Fully informed of his adversary's movements, Hannibal selected his field of battle—"a narrow defile between two steep mountain walls, closed at its outlet by a high hill, and at its entrance by the Trasimene lake." When Flaminius sought to dislodge him from this position, he turned upon him and demolished his army. There was no battle; it was a mere rout. Notwithstanding the bravery of the legions, the Roman army was almost annihilated, Flaminius himself being among the slain; and 15,000 were made prisoners. All Etruria was lost and the road to Rome was open. The Romans broke down all the bridges over the Tiber and made Quintus Fabius Maximus dictator, with full powers to meet the emergency. Hannibal, however, did not advance upon Rome, but turned aside into Apulia to rest and recruit his army. He sought to detach the Italian nations from the Roman alliance by re-

leasing the prisoners belonging to them that he had taken, and sent them away without ransom. His efforts were in vain, however; the Italian towns closed their gates against him, and not one joined him. He also undertook and successfully carried out in the month which elapsed between his great victory and the resumption of active operations, the entire reorganization of his army upon the Roman method. The arms taken in battle provided him with the means of equipping his troops, and the hazardous undertaking was accomplished with entire success in the very presence of the enemy.

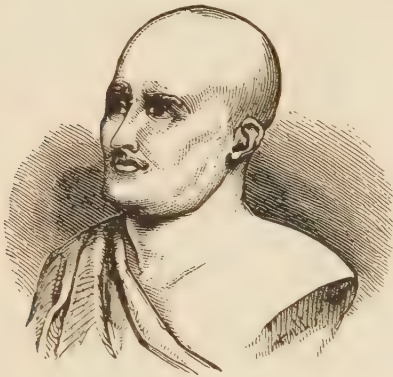
Fabius, upon taking command of the Roman army, put in execution a plan of operations entirely different from that pursued by his predecessor. He was determined to avoid a pitched battle with the invaders, whom he hoped to be able to wear out by starvation, dependent as they were on foraging for their supplies. He seems



ROMAN BATTERING-RAM AND TOWER.

to have thought that Hannibal would not dare to advance as long as he held the Roman army intact; but he was soon made aware of his error in this respect by the Carthaginian, who eluded him and descended into the rich plains of Campania. He had formed connections in Capua, the most important city of the republic except Rome, and he was hopeful that the Campanians would revolt from the Roman alliance and join him; but he was disappointed, and he was forced to content himself with ravaging the country and collecting provisions for the supply of his army during the coming winter. During all this while, the Roman army, under its cautious leader, was forced to look down from the hills upon the depredations of Numidian cavalry, who harried the country with fire and sword under their very eyes. The army was bit-

terly incensed against Fabius, and demanded to be led to battle. At length Fabius seemed to have secured the opportunity for which the troops were so impatient. He seized the road leading by Casilinum (the modern Capua), and lined the heights commanding it with his troops, and flattered himself that he had intercepted the retreat of his enemy. Hannibal, who had mastered the character of Fabius, now secured his safety by a characteristic stratagem. He waited until night, and sent his light troops to climb the heights. They drove before them a number of oxen, each of whom bore a lighted brand on each horn, so that it seemed to the Romans that their enemy was marching over the heights by torchlight. Fabius at once withdrew the force he had posted to hold the road, and followed what he supposed to be Hannibal's army. The latter, as soon as he



SCIPIO AFRICANUS.

found the road clear, marched his army rapidly by the point of danger, and the next morning extricated his light troops from their position on the heights, and inflicted a sharp loss upon the Romans. He then withdrew into Apulia, well-provisioned for the winter.

The policy of Fabius, though utterly distasteful to the Romans, was vindicated by the results of the next spring, B. C. 216. An army of nearly 90,000 men, under the Consuls Æmilius Paulus and Terentius Varro, was sent into Apulia. It was defeated by Hannibal near the little town of Cannæ, with a loss of from 40,000 to 50,000 men killed, among whom were the Consul Æmilius and eighty senators. The remainder of the troops were either fugitives or prisoners, except a small band under Varro, which had secured its retreat in good order.

It was the most terrible reverse Rome had ever suffered, and had been inflicted by an inferior force. It threw all of southern Italy into Hannibal's hands. With the exception of the Roman colonies and the Greek cities held by Roman garrisons, every town surrendered to him. Capua threw open its gates at his approach, and became his quarters for the winter. Philip V. of Macedon, and Hieronymus of Syracuse, became the allies of Carthage and compelled the Romans to divide their forces to meet them. Hannibal regarded his ultimate success as assured. Perhaps it would have been had Carthage pursued a less selfish and ungenerous policy in her treatment of the only man who was capable of defeating Rome.

The conduct of Rome at this crisis of her fate was admirable. By the greatest exertions another army was put in the field to face Hannibal, and Macedon and Syracuse were kept too much engaged at home to be able to send assistance to him. The Greek cities and the Roman colonies, undismayed by the result of Cannæ, kept their gates closed against the Carthaginians, and it was clear that Hannibal had gained every advantage which could be won without a new display of force. Moreover, new generals had succeeded to the control of the Roman armies. Led by such able commanders as Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and Marcus Valerius, and, above all, by Marcus Claudius Marcellus, who became the controlling spirit of the war, the Romans were able during the year B. C. 215 to defeat Hannibal under the walls of Nola, and to throw him on the defensive. His troops, weakened by their luxurious life in Capua during the previous winter, were no longer able to beat the Romans, and he was compelled to own that if he was to succeed in the conquest of Italy, he must have heavy reinforcements from Africa and Spain. Hasdrubal, however, had been beaten by the Scipios on the Ebro in Spain, and was so hard pressed there that the men and supplies raised in Carthage for Hannibal were sent to him, as it was of the first importance to hold Spain. In B. C. 215 Hieronymus of Syracuse was killed, and in B. C. 212 Syracuse was captured by Marcellus after a siege of two years. In Spain Hasdrubal had made a gallant struggle against the Scipios—Cneius and Publius—who endeavored to wrest that peninsula from Carthage. They had gradually succeeded in getting the better of

him, and had almost forced him out of Spain, but in B. C. 212 he succeeded in inflicting upon them a terrible defeat, in which both of them were slain. Gaius Claudius Nero, an able but unpopular officer, was sent to succeed them with a reinforcement of 12,000 troops. He succeeded in restoring the balance of arms, but he could not win over allies to Rome, though he came near capturing Hasdrubal in B. C. 210, and the next year the senate sent Publius Scipio, the son of the consul of that name who had fallen in Spain, to succeed him. The younger Scipio was the first of a long line of great Roman generals, and he soon showed his abilities by reducing Hasdrubal to severe straits, and taking his capital of Carthagera. In B. C. 208 he defeated Hasdrubal in Adalusia. Hasdrubal had received orders to march through Gaul into Italy to the aid of Hannibal, and after this last battle he left Spain in the hands of two of his subordinates, and set out on his march. He fought his way to the northern coast of Spain, crossed the Pyrenees at their western end, and entered Gaul. He advanced to the Alps without meeting any resistance. He was joined by many of the Gauls, so that his army increased as he advanced. He passed the Alps by his brother's road, and in the spring of B. C. 207 descended upon the plain of the Po. He had not been expected so soon in Italy, and the Romans were unprepared to meet him. Had he marched promptly upon Rome he might have captured the city and decided the war, but he turned aside to besiege Placentia, and his letter stating his plans fell into the hands of the Consul Nero.

In the meantime Hannibal, who had spent the time since the battle of Cannæ in completing the conquest of southern Italy, began to move to the north as soon as he heard of his brother's passage of the Alps. He was closely followed by Nero with an army of 40,000 men, but it seems clear that the Carthaginian was not hampered in his movements by this force, as he eluded it by one of his characteristic flank marches whenever he saw fit to do so. Reaching Canusium, he halted to await a despatch from his brother providing for the junction of their forces. This letter was intercepted by the Roman outposts and carried to Nero. It revealed Hasdrubal's intention to move southward by the Flaminian road, and named Narnia as the point where he

hoped to join Hannibal. Nero at once despatched a column of 8,000 men from his army to Narnia to secure that place, and with a force of 7,000 picked troops he left his camp and hastened to Sena Gallica, where the other consul, Marcus Livius, was awaiting the advance of Hasdrubal. Both consuls then marched upon Hasdrubal, whom they found crossing the Metaurus, forced him to battle, and after a severe struggle, defeated him. The Carthaginian army was destroyed, and Hasdrubal, scorning to survive his disaster, plunged into the Roman ranks, and met a soldier's death. Nero then marched rapidly back to Canusium, where he found Hannibal, as he had expected, waiting anxiously for a message from his brother. Two weeks had elapsed since the camp had been formed there, and still no tidings had come from Hasdrubal. The consul brought the message with him. It was the gory head of Hasdrubal, which he ordered to be thrown into Hannibal's camp, repaying in this brutal manner the generosity of the Carthaginian hero, who had given honorable burial to Paulus, Gracchus, and Marcellus. Hannibal interpreted the message aright. All was lost. He abandoned his camp and retreated into the country of the Brutians, whose mountain fastnesses enabled him to maintain his position in the peninsula, and whose ports afforded him the means of withdrawing from that country. For three years he held this position, but the events of the war in Italy were unsuccessful.

During this time Scipio had retrieved his error of permitting Hasdrubal to leave Spain by the conquest of that country. In B. C. 204 he resolved to attack the home territories of Carthage, and sailed from Italy for Africa with 30,000 men, 40 ships of war, and 400 transports, and, meeting no enemy on his passage, landed near Utica. He found the Carthaginians supported by a force of 50,000 Libyan infantry, and 10,000 cavalry, under Syphax, a native king, and he was obliged to confine himself to the coast. The next year, B. C. 203, he surprised the Carthaginian camp and defeated their army. A few weeks later they were reinforced by a force of Macedonian and Spanish auxiliaries, and were again defeated by Scipio. They could keep the field no longer after these defeats, and Hannibal was recalled from Italy to save Carthage. Without a murmur or a reproach for the treatment he had received

from his government, Hannibal returned to Carthage, and endeavored to execute the task assigned him. He collected an army and met Scipio at Zama in the spring of B. C. 202. He found in him an abler adversary than he had yet encountered. In spite of his skilful conduct of the battle and the bravery of his veterans, Hannibal was defeated, his army was annihilated, and he fled with a handful of men to Hadrumetum. Carthage was now at the mercy of Rome, and peace was made in B. C. 201. Carthage surrendered all her territories beyond the limits of Africa and restored all the lands taken from Numidia, whose king, Massinissa, had been a valuable ally of

her path a formidable rival, but gained the complete supremacy of the western Mediterranean. A Roman protectorate was established over the native African tribes, and the independent state of Syracuse was added to the Roman province of Sicily. The principal part of Spain was added to the Roman domain, and the wealth of the republic was greatly increased. The revolt of the southern Italian states was severely punished. In all Italy, except in Latium, the native races were depressed, and a Latin dominion was established over the entire peninsula. The war with the Cisalpine Gauls went on after the defeat of Carthage, but, by B. C. 191, they were en-

tirely and finally subdued, and became Latinized with a facility which is surprising even in this race.

While occupied with the Gauls, Rome was also engaged in her second war with Philip V., of Macedon, the events and results of which have been related in the Greek history of this period. This war was ended in B. C. 197. It was followed by the attempt of Antiochus the Great of Syria to add Macedonia and Asia Minor to his



ROMAN GALLEYS.

Scipio in the last campaign of the war. Her fleet and elephants were also given up to the Romans, and she agreed to pay a yearly tribute of 200 talents, and bound herself to engage in no war without the consent of Rome. In other words, Carthage lost her independence, and became a tributary of Rome. Returning home, Scipio was received with enthusiasm, and was honored with the most splendid triumph the city had ever witnessed. He received the surname of Africanus, in memory of his conquest.

By the successful result of the second Punic war Rome not only removed from

dominions. This struggle and the victories by which the Romans chased Antiochus out of Europe and Asia Minor, and brought him to their feet as a suppliant for mercy, have also been related in the Greek and Syrian histories of this period. By her victories Rome gained not a single inch of territory for herself, but gave all the conquered and surrendered territory to her allies, Pergamus and Rhodes. She was but carrying out a wise policy, which was to make it apparent to all the Eastern nations that her friendship was as profitable as it was powerful; and her influence and the terror of her name were spread far and

wide—results more valuable than the mere acquisition of territory.

During this period four other wars were carried on in western Europe. The Spanish peninsula was not yet entirely subdued, and the brave resistance of the inhabitants of Lusitania (Portugal) gave constant employment to a Roman army; wars were also maintained with the mountain tribes of Liguria, and with Sardinia and Corsica. Sardinia was conquered by Sempronius Gracchus about B. C. 176. He brought so many captives to Rome for sale as slaves, that the term "Sardinians for sale" became a synonym for cheapness.

The final wars in Greece, which resulted in the conquest of Macedonia and the suppression of the Achaean League, have been related, and the narrative need not be repeated here. By the final defeat of the Macedonian army at Pydna it was made plain to the world that the Roman army had no equal, and that it was useless to contend with it. Rome was now mistress of the world, having extended her power over Egypt as well as Asia by assuming the protectorate of that kingdom. None of the civilized nations dared to resist her commands.

Rome was fully aware of her power, but was not satisfied with it. Eighteen uneventful years passed away, marked only by petty wars with the Alpine and Spanish tribes, and then the senate began the execution of the great design which made the Roman empire and the civilized world one and the same. As the first step in this direction, it was agreed to destroy Carthage, the only city which, though reduced and weakened, was felt to be the rival of Rome. Carthage had more than faithfully complied with the conditions of the peace, and Rome had not the slightest cause for a renewal of war with her. It was resolved to make a pretext, but as Carthage had readily sacrificed everything in the interests of peace, it was difficult to manufacture a plausible ground for a quarrel. The bitter hatred of Rome to her rival was well exemplified by Cato, the sternest of Roman censors. When called upon for his vote in the senate on any question whatsoever, his invariable answer was, "I vote that Carthage no longer be." His answer suggested a pretext for war. The senate ordered the Carthaginians to destroy their city and remove to a site ten miles distant from the sea. The Carthaginians read the design of

the Romans in this demand, and naturally refused to commit the national suicide required of them. Rome at once declared war against Carthage, B. C. 149. Thus began the *Third Punic War*.

The Carthaginians maintained the unequal struggle for four years, for they fought with the courage of despair. There was no time at which they might have entertained a reasonable hope of success. They had no ships and were almost without arms, for, before stating the ultimatum of the senate, the Roman commanders in Africa had demanded and received the surrender of armor and weapons for 200,000 men as a measure of peace; and the Carthaginians had no allies. Yet, with a zeal and energy worthy of all admiration, these heroic people set to work to make up their deficiencies.

Catapults for the defence of the walls, and armor and arms for the troops were made; public buildings were torn down to provide wood and metal; and all classes and both sexes worked day and night to complete these instruments. The women cut off their long hair and gave it to make cords for the catapults, and in a marvelously short time the walls and their defenders were once more armed. All this while the Roman army lay at Utica, so that the work was carried on in the very face of the enemy. At length the Romans advanced, expecting to find the city defenceless. To their amazement they saw the walls armed, and lined with defenders ready to fight to the death. An assault being impossible, the siege of Carthage was begun by land and sea. In the third year of the war and of the siege, the Carthaginians built a fleet of 120 ships in their blockaded port, and cut a canal from the harbor across the land to the sea, and thus got their galleys to the ocean. Had they attacked the Roman fleet at once, which was at the moment of their appearance totally unprepared to meet them, the Carthaginians would most likely have destroyed it, but they contented themselves with a mere demonstration and retired. When they returned three days later to offer battle, the Romans were ready for them, and they were driven back, and crowding together into the canal inflicted such damage upon each other that it was equivalent to a defeat.

During the winter of B. C. 147-146, famine and pestilence made such sore ravages among the defenders of the city that

when the first assault was made in the spring of B. C. 146, they were unable to defend the walls with their accustomed vigor, and the inner port was gained. Six days of hard fighting were still necessary, however, to bring the Romans to the foot of the citadel walls. The Consul Scipio Æmilianus ordered the city to be fired in every direction, and large numbers of the people concealed in the houses perished in the flames. The defenders of the citadel then surrendered. The Carthaginian commander, Hasdrubal, had taken refuge with his family in the temple of the God of Healing. When it was fired by some of the Roman deserters who had taken refuge there with him, and who preferred death here to falling into the hands of their countrymen, Hasdrubal fled from it, and casting himself at the feet of Scipio begged for his life, which was granted him. His noble wife, beholding his cowardice from the roof of the burning temple where she was standing with her two children, called to him, in an agony of shame at his disgrace, to be careful to save his life, and then sprang with her children into the flames. The city was utterly destroyed. A tenth-part only of the population survived—about 30,000 men and 25,000 women. These were mostly sold into slavery. The ruins of the city alone remained standing, and the senate sternly ordered Scipio to destroy even these. They were set on fire, and burned for seventeen days, until no trace of the city was left, except the heap of ashes which marked where Carthage once stood. Scipio was horror-struck at his own work. The Carthaginian territories were reorganized by the Romans as the province of Africa, of which Utica was made the capital. It became a noted resort of Roman merchants and ships, and these succeeded to the flourishing commerce once enjoyed by Carthage.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF CARTHAGE TO THE DEATH OF MARIUS.

Final Conquest of Greece—It becomes a Roman Province—Wars in the Spanish Peninsula—Lusitania Subdued and made a Roman Province—The Numantines Conquered—The Romans Gain Pergamus and become Supreme in Asia Minor—Rapid Increase of the Population of Rome—Proportionate Growth of Pauperism—Reasons for it—Political Corruption—The First Servile War—Efforts to Remedy the Political and Social Troubles at Rome—Tiberius Gracchus—He Proposes an Agrarian Law—His Measures Carried—Opposition to the Law—Murder of Tiberius Gracchus—Scipio

Æmilianus Murdered—Discontents of the Latins and Italians—Caius Gracchus—Is made Tribune—His Measures to Improve the Condition of the People—The "Sempronian Granaries"—The Pauper Population of Rome Increased—Unpopularity of the Proposal to Extend the Roman Citizenship to all the Italians—Downfall of Gracchus—His Murder—The Plebs take a Lesson in Violence from the Aristocracy—The War with Jugurtha—Rise of Caius Marius—Brings the Jugurthine War to a Close—Is Re-elected Consul—Invasion of Gaul by the Cimbrians and Teutons—They Defeat the Roman Armies—Marius is sent Against them and Defeats them—The Cimbri Enter Italy, and are Exterminated by Marius—Ambition of Marius—His Opportunities and his Hesitation—The Second Servile War—Murder of Drusus—The Social War—Concessions of Rome to the Italians—Rivalry of Marius and Sulla—The Final Rupture between them—The First Civil War—Triumph of Sulla and Flight of Marius—Cinna Driven from Rome—Return of Marius—He Captures Rome—The Marian Massacre—Seventh Consulship and Death of Marius—Sertorius Slaughters the Marian Assassins.

DURING the third Punic war, Rome had been called upon to suppress an outbreak in Greece. A pretender, who claimed to be the son of Perseus, the last King of Macedonia and Greece, raised the standard of revolt in Macedonia, invaded Thessaly, and defeated the Romans in a pitched battle in B. C. 149. The next year, however, he was himself defeated and made a prisoner by Metellus. Availing herself of the opportunity thus afforded, Rome reduced Macedonia to the form of a province. In the same year the war with the Achæan league broke out, as has been related elsewhere. It was closed in B. C. 146 by the Consul L. Mummius, who captured Corinth, and plundered and destroyed it. A curse was pronounced upon whomsoever should rebuild it. Corinth was rich in works of art. The greater part of these were sent to Rome by Mummius to adorn that city.

In Spain the war still went on. The native tribes of the Spanish peninsula were hardy, brave, and devoted to their freedom, and their country was easily defended in consequence of its natural strength. In the northern and western portions of the peninsula the native tribes still maintained a gallant resistance to the Romans, who found it almost impossible to subdue them. The Lusitanians were especially noted for their bravery and their unconquerable spirit. They even inflicted a stinging defeat on the prætor Servius Sulpicius Galba in B. C. 151. The next year Galba avenged himself by an act of the most infamous treachery. He made a treaty with three Lusitanian

tribes on the right bank of the Tagus, and promised to transfer them to better settlements. Trusting to his plighted word, the Lusitanians, to the number of 7,000, came to him to receive the promised lands. They were separated into three divisions, disarmed, and a portion of them was massacred; the remainder were sold into slavery.

Among those who escaped from the treacherous Galba was a man named Viriathus, of humble origin, but of great daring. His countrymen now chose him as their leader. His great bravery and skill won their admiration, and his simple, frugal habits, unaffected manner, and unbounded generosity to his countrymen aroused their enthusiasm, and he was universally acknowledged as their king. "It seemed as if in that thoroughly prosaic age one of the Homeric heroes had appeared." He defeated the Romans in seven well-contested battles, and in the last of these compelled the Roman general, Servilianus, to surrender with his whole army. He made a generous use of his victory, and concluded a peace with the Roman commander by which the community of the Lusitanians was recognized as sovereign, and Viriathus acknowledged as king. The Romans promised to respect the kingdom of Viriathus, who, on his part, agreed to be their friend and ally. The senate ratified these terms, but with the deliberate intention of breaking them. The first pretext was made use of to renew the war. When Viriathus sent trusted messengers to remonstrate against the rupture of the treaty and to propose terms of peace, the consul bribed the envoys to murder their chief, and the Lusitanian hero was stabbed in his sleep by his most trusted friends. The Lusitanian army accorded their dead king a superb funeral, and went on with the war, but within a year it was decisively defeated and obliged to surrender, and Lusitania (Portugal) became a province of Rome.

The war still went on against Numantia in the north of Spain, the Romans supplementing the efforts of their armies with the usual perfidy of their commanders. The war continued for six years, and was finally brought to a close by Scipio Æmilianus, who starved Numantia into submission. Reduced to despair, the Numantines asked a few days delay in order that those who preferred to die rather than surrender, might end their lives, a privilege of which not a few availed themselves. The remain-

der then yielded up their city. Scipio chose fifty of the most eminent survivors to adorn his triumph, and sold the rest into slavery. The city was then levelled with the ground, and its territory distributed among the neighboring tribes. With the exception of the northern coast, all the Spanish peninsula was now in the hands of the Romans. It was divided into three provinces, Hither and Farther Spain, and Lusitania. Although the Lusitanian mountains continued for long years to be infested with brigands, a state of affairs which made it necessary for the farm-houses in this region to be built like fortresses, capable of defence in case of need, Spain eventually became the most flourishing and best organized country subject to Rome; the population was numerous, and the country was rich in corn and cattle.

About the same time the Romans came into the possession of the kingdom of Pergamus, by the bequest of Attalus III., the last king. Though the legacy was disputed by Aristonicus, his opposition was speedily crushed, and Pergamus was organized into the "province of Asia." The Greater Phrygia was detached and given to Mithridates IV., of Pontus, for his assistance in the war against Aristonicus. Thus Rome acquired the greater part of Asia Minor.

Towards the middle of this century Rome reached a point at which her foreign wars became few and unimportant, and her internal affairs demanded all her attention. The old trouble of the poverty of the masses now loomed up again, and more dangerously than ever. During the long period of war which elapsed between the close of the Second Samnite War and the final settlement of northern Italy, from B. c. 303 to 177, the repeated and heavy losses in battle had kept the population sufficiently decimated to prevent the pressure of poverty from being very generally felt. By the latter date (B. c. 177) these exhausting wars ceased, and the population began to increase rapidly. In B. c. 173 the number of adult male Roman citizens was only 269,015; by B. c. 136 this number had increased to over 320,000; and in B. c. 125 it was 390,736; and in B. c. 114 it was 394,336. The result was that the labor market of Rome became overcrowded; no new colony had been sent out since B. c. 177, no more plunder from conquered countries remained to be distributed, and as the lands

of Italy had all been assigned, and all the neighboring nations had been conquered, no further relief was to be expected from that source. With the increase of the population poverty became more wide-spread and deeper. The Licinian laws, which required the employment of a certain amount of free labor by landholders and restricted the amount of land held by a single proprietor, had been long disregarded in both particulars. The lands of the public domain had been taken up by capitalists, and had thus fallen into the hands of a small class, who preferred to cultivate them by slave labor, which was cheaper to them. The difficulty of earning a living at Rome was becoming greater every day, and the only means of acquiring wealth there lay in the occupation and cultivation of the public lands on a large scale, in the farming of the revenue, or the government of the provinces. These sources of wealth, however, were absolutely controlled by the ruling class, who assigned them only to the members of their own order; and so it had come to pass that the rich were growing richer while the poor were sinking deeper into poverty. It is true that the franchise was constantly being conferred upon freedmen, and that, now that the distinctions between the two great orders of the state were ended, many plebeian houses had become noble through their members having held high offices in the state, but the number of these was comparatively small, and they soon found that their new interests were identical with those of the patricians rather than with those of the order from which they had sprung. The common ties of wealth and future gains in riches and power united them. On the other hand the market was crowded with slaves, who could be purchased at so low a rate that free labor was being driven into beggary. To make the matter worse, the mass of the voters had become accustomed to being bribed by actual gifts of money, by distributions of corn, or by the exhibitions of splendid games at the private cost of the magistrates. This systematic training in corruption had made the populace ready to follow the bidding of any demagogue who should promise them relief from the evils which were evident to all. Moreover, it was plain that the sympathy of the troops was with their suffering fellow-citizens rather than with the government, and that in the event of a popular outbreak the army could not be relied upon. Let the people

be driven by hunger and despair to rebellion, and there were certain allies ready to join them—the immense mass of slaves whose brutal treatment kept them always ripe for revolt. The wisest of the Roman leaders recognized these elements of danger, but the bulk of the nobles shut their eyes to it; and, intent only upon their own selfish interests, defeated the few remedies proposed.

A foreshadowing of the danger which threatened Rome was given in the *First Servile War*, which broke out in Sicily in B. C. 134, and continued for two years. Two hundred thousand slaves, driven to despair by their treatment, rose in rebellion, and scourged the beautiful island of Sicily by their revengeful acts. Their revolt was with difficulty suppressed, and at one time it seemed likely to spread to the mainland of Italy. In several places, especially at Minturnæ and Sinuessa, servile outbreaks were attempted, but were promptly suppressed.

Among those who recognized the existing evils, and most earnestly sought to remedy them, was a member of one of the noblest of the plebeian houses, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, a grandson of Scipio Africanus, and a tribune of the people. In B. C. 133 he proposed a series of measures which sought to relieve the existing distress among the Roman citizens, and to improve the general condition of Italy by substituting free labor for that of the slaves in the cultivation of the soil, and thus giving employment to the bulk of the poorer class of freemen. He proposed, 1. To revive the long-neglected Licinian laws, and to limit the amount of land which a man might legally hold to 500 jugera, with a provision allowing him to hold 250 jugera additional for each adult unemancipated son. 2. The appointment of a permanent commission of three members to enforce this law. 3. The division among the poorer citizens of the lands of the state which would become vacant by the enforcement of the first measure. 4. The compensation of the large landholders thus dispossessed for their losses in improvements, etc., by making them absolute owners of the 500 jugera of land assigned them. 5. The proviso that the new enactments when once made should be inalienable.

There seems no reason to doubt that Gracchus was influenced by pure patriotism in proposing these measures. They were

fiercely opposed by the nobles, however, and their author was bitterly denounced. By the disregard of the Licinian laws many of the nobles and wealthier Italians had become holders of amounts of land largely in excess of the maximum limit proposed. These lands had been in the possession of such families for years, and great expense had been incurred in erecting buildings upon them, and the property had been transferred and used as though the holders were its absolute owners. The opposition to the laws was led by Octavius, a tribune, the colleague of Gracchus. When the measures were proposed in the assembly of the tribes, Octavius interposed his veto, and prevented the vote from being taken. In the hot dispute which ensued, Gracchus unfortunately lost his moderation, and appealed to the people to depose Octavius, which measure was carried. The laws were then passed by the tribes, and a commission of three, consisting of Gracchus, his brother Caius Gracchus, and his father-in-law Appius Claudius, was appointed to see to the enforcement.

The work of resuming the control of the public lands and redistributing them was begun. It proved a more difficult task than Gracchus had imagined. He had to meet not only the constant and unceasing hostility of the aristocracy, who declared that while they could not prevent the enforcement of the law, its author should not escape their vengeance, but also the increasing demands of the people, which forced him to measures of a more revolutionary nature. The Romans had just become the masters of the kingdom of Pergamus, which came to them with a full treasury. Gracchus proposed to the people that the Pergamene treasures should be distributed among the new landholders for the purpose of supplying them with funds to provide their lands with implements and stock, and based his proposition on the assertion that the citizens of Rome had the right to decide upon the disposition of the treasures which came to them under such circumstances. He is said to have proposed to shorten the term of military service, to take from the senators their exclusive right to act as civil jurymen, and to admit the Italian allies to the Roman citizenship. Matters were now at a crisis. When the election for tribunes for the ensuing year came on, the aristocratic party, roused to fury, sought by all means in their power to prevent the re-

election of Gracchus. Finding this impossible, the senators, headed by Publius Scipio Nascia, attacked Gracchus and his friends in the senate-house. Gracchus was slain on the steps of the capitol as he endeavored to escape, and three hundred of his supporters fell with him. His enemies barbarously refused to allow his body to receive decent burial, but flung it into the Tiber.

Political assassinations rarely accomplish their object; it was so in this case. The people were horror-struck at the open murder of one of their tribunes. So bold an outrage had never been committed before by the nobles, and the people were more than ever determined that the work of the reformer should go on. The party in the senate favorable to the reforms now came into power in that body, and by order of the senate the work of redistributing the lands was resumed. In B. C. 129 Scipio Æmilianus, who had been one of the first to recognize the need of reform, and who was a sincere friend of the people, seeing that the lack of moderation on the part of the agrarian commission was really defeating the object of the law, and stirring up fresh discontents, proposed and carried a measure which removed the distribution from the hands of the commission, and intrusted it to the consuls. He paid with his life for his effort to control the reform. He was found murdered in his bed on the morning of the day he had appointed for an oration before the senate respecting the rights of the Latins in the matter of the distribution of the lands. The murder was undoubtedly an act of the Gracchan party, and a most ill-advised one, as he was more their friend than their foe. The popular party opposed an investigation of the crime, and the aristocracy feeling that they had lost an opponent rather than a friend, were not unwilling that the matter should sleep. The loss to Rome was great. In Scipio Æmilianus perished "the first statesman and first general of his age," and one of the purest and most disinterested public men the republic ever produced. The senate, sustained by the general indignation of the more moderate citizens at the murder of Scipio, now suspended the operation of the disputed law. This did not amount to much of a gain, however, as the lands were nearly all distributed.

A new trouble was now created by the claims of the Latins and Italians to the

franchise. These claims were advocated by some of the popular leaders, who believed that such an accession to the tribes would enable them more effectually to control the senate. The claims were presented to the senate in the form of a law to which its assent was asked by Q. Fabius Flaccus, the consul, in B. C. 125. By sending him on a foreign mission the senate contrived to avoid the necessity of acting upon the measure. The town of Fregellæ vented its disappointment in an open revolt. The outbreak was quelled, the walls of the city were destroyed, and it was deprived of all its privileges and reduced to the rank of a village. This severe punishment frightened the other Latin and Italian towns into submission.

In the meantime Caius Gracchus, the younger brother of the murdered Tiberius, appeared in Rome. He had been detained in Sardinia as quæstor by the government, but had been recalled on the charge of being one of the instigators of the revolt of Fregellæ. He was triumphantly acquitted of this charge, and was joyfully greeted by the popular party, who made him their tribune by an unusually large vote. For the first time in many years the commons had a great man for a leader. Caius was in every respect the superior of his brother, and his measures, while more revolutionary and varied than those of Tiberius, were at the same time more statesmanlike, and better calculated to remedy the evils they attacked. His chief objects were to relieve the poorer classes, and to humble the senate, to benefit his friends and avenge himself on his enemies. His measures may be thus stated: 1. A renewal of the agrarian law of Tiberius Gracchus, with certain modifications. Caius diminished the size of the allotment, and provided that the landholders should be regarded as the owners of the lands on condition of paying an annual quit-rent to the state. He required that good character should be an indispensable condition to holding lands. 2. The state was required to sell corn to each citizen who should apply for it, at half the usual price. This was a most dangerous measure, but may have been justified by the urgent necessity of relieving the prevailing suffering. 3. The minimum age of enlisted men was fixed at seventeen years, and the state was required to provide the soldier's equipment which had formerly been deducted from his pay. 4. The equites or knights were assigned the exclusive privilege of furnishing juries. By

this measure the knights were elevated into a distinct order. 5. The senate was required to determine the consular provinces, and leave it to the consuls to decide among themselves, by agreement or by lot, which province each should administer. 6. The assessment of taxes for the new province of Asia was confided to the Roman censors. 7. The management of the public roads of the Italian peninsula was confided to the tribunes of the people. 8. The planting of colonies at Capua, Tarentum, and elsewhere in Italy, at Carthage and in Gaul.

By the last measure Caius sought to afford an outlet to the overcrowded population of Rome. A colony of 6,000 persons was sent to Carthage to build a city on the deserted site of the Punic metropolis; and another colony was sent to Aquæ Sextiæ (the modern Aix) in southern Gaul. Thus Caius may be said to have given new life to the colonial system of Rome, as he was certainly the originator of its extension into the provinces.

His second measure, while it may have been justified by the existing distress, was not productive of such happy results. The law limited the distribution of grain to residents of the city. An extensive series of storehouses, called the "Sempronian Granaries," was erected to meet the demand which set in. The law also caused the flocking to Rome of all the poor and incapable people from the surrounding country, who became residents of the city. Caius had designed this in order that he might thus increase the number of his friends, and be able to control the elections. He was successful, but the measure had a more far-reaching consequence. It filled Rome with a lazy, half-fed, and troublesome mob, which for centuries proved a real danger to the city.

By giving the censors the right to tax the province of Asia, it was made necessary to farm out the revenues of that province to a new class which now arose to supply the need for it. The privilege of collecting the taxes was sold to the highest bidder. The class thus charged with this collection became unpleasantly conspicuous in the future history of Rome under the name of "Publicans."

Caius desired to extend the Roman citizenship to all free Italians, and would have done so had he dared, but the mere proposal of it was fatal to his influence. Both the aristocracy and the commons were unwilling to grant this extension of the franchise,

and the latter, alarmed by the proposal, gave heed to the tales with which the former endeavored to poison their minds against Caius. Livius Drusus, the colleague of Caius, was encouraged by the senate to supplant him in the favor of the fickle populace, by proposing still more popular measures, which, however, were never meant to be adopted. He proposed that the landholders should be released from the quit-rent imposed upon them by Caius, and that there should be established twelve Italian colonies, each of 3,000 colonists, for the planting of which the people might nominate suitable men. The people ratified these laws as readily as they had done those of Caius, and when he offered himself as a candidate for the tribunate in B. C. 121, defeated him.

In the month of December, B. C. 121, Caius ceased to be tribune by the expiration of his term of office. The new consuls were bitterly opposed to him, and the aristocracy were determined to get

rid of him as speedily and as summarily as they had disposed of his brother. They began by attacking his establishment of the colony of Junonia on the site of Carthage, the most unpopular, but still the wisest of his measures. It was now asserted that the African hyenas had dug up the newly planted boundary stones of the colony. The augurs, when consulted, declared that such signs ought to constitute a

solemn warning against seeking to build a city or a site accursed by the gods. The senate, following out the programme, forbade the establishment of the Junonian colony. In the assembly convoked for the purpose of confirming this law, Caius Gracchus endeavored to secure its defeat. In the intense excitement which prevailed, an attendant of the priests was slain while the



A ROMAN HALL OF JUSTICE.

auguries were being taken. This brought matters to a crisis. The next day the aristocratic party occupied the forum and senate house, armed, and the capitol was filled with the Cretan mercenaries of the army. Caius and his followers, finding a conflict inevitable, though he had earnestly endeavored to give no occasion for it, retired to the Aventine, the old stronghold of the plebs. By threats and promises the consul induced

the commons to desert their leader, and offered a reward for his head. When the ranks on the Aventine had been thinned sufficiently, the nobles and the Cretans, assisted by the slaves, stormed the mount, and put to death all whom they found there, about 250 persons of humble rank. Caius was pursued, overtaken and slain, as was also his former colleague, Marcus Flaccus. The aristocrats then wreaked their vengeance upon the adherents of Caius by causing 3,000 of them to be strangled in prison by order of the senate. The memory of the Gracchi was officially proscribed. Cornelia, their mother, was forbidden to wear mourning for Caius. The people paid little heed to the mandates of the government, however, and cherished the memory



A ROMAN SLINGER.

of the brothers, especially that of Caius, and in spite of the precautions of the police, paid almost religious honors to the spots consecrated by their life-blood.

Nor were the Gracchi without their avengers. The corruption of the aristocracy increased every day, and became so apparent that they began to lose the power they had gotten so iniquitously. The commons, perceiving what success had attended the use of violence and armed tumult in the hands of the aristocrats, soon began to turn these weapons against them, and ere long found leaders who more than improved upon the lessons of their aristocratic teachers. As far as the corruption was concerned, however, both classes were at fault. If foreign princes bought their crowns from the nobles, the latter bought their offices from the people.

This state of affairs was made painfully prominent by the Jugurthine war, which began in B. C. 111. Massinissa, the Numidian king, who had been the ally of the Romans in the second Punic war, had been rewarded for his services by the gift of the major part of the territories of Carthage. His son Micipsa, caring little for power, had placed the control of his kingdom in the hands of his nephew Jugurtha, whom he raised to a footing of equality with his

own sons Adherbal and Hiempsal. At his death he divided the civil and military offices between the three princes. Neither was satisfied with the will. The two sons of the old king disputed Jugurtha's right to any share in the government, while the latter boldly claimed it all. During the quarrel, Hiempsal was assassinated, and a civil war ensued between Jugurtha and Adherbal, in which the latter was beaten by his cousin, who was a brilliant and competent leader, and a master of intrigue, having learned the latter art and his trade as a soldier in the Roman service. Adherbal escaped to Rome, and appealed to the senate to reinstate him in his authority. Jugurtha, knowing that every senator had his price, sent his envoys to Rome and supplied them with funds, which they used so well that the senate not only refused the demand of Adherbal to be put in the place of Jugurtha, but blamed him for the murder of his brother. A division of the Numidian kingdom was made by Roman commissioners. Jugurtha was given the better part, comprising the region afterwards called Mauritania; Adherbal received Cirta, the capital and a sandy tract stretching into the eastern desert. Jugurtha, dissatisfied with this arrangement, made war upon his cousin, took his territory from him, put him to death, and massacred the inhabitants of Cirta, many of whom were Italians. War was at once declared by Rome, and an army was sent into Numidia, which won so many successes that Jugurtha found it expedient to make peace. His gold was his great argument, and it was used liberally. He was obliged to surrender unconditionally, but his kingdom was restored to him on payment of a slight fine. The popular indignation obliged the Roman government to investigate the manner in which the peace had been obtained, and Jugurtha was summoned to Rome to answer concerning it. He obeyed. His cousin Massiva took advantage of his presence to advance his claim to the crown. Jugurtha caused him to be assassinated in Rome, and assisted the murderer to escape. The senate, enraged at this insult, cancelled the peace, and dismissed Jugurtha at once. He quitted Rome with the sarcastic but true remark, "If I had gold enough, I would buy the city itself."

The war went on. Jugurtha's gold now demoralized the army as it had done the government, and the Roman generals suffered themselves to be defeated and made a

peace, by the terms of which Numidia was evacuated. Rome refused to acknowledge the treaty, and banished the defeated generals. The native tribes of Africa, believing that in Jugurtha they had found a deliverer from the dominion of Rome, rallied to his standard in strong force.

Rome was now in earnest, however. A brave, able, and determined general, Quintus Metellus, was given the command of the army in Africa, and among the lieutenants assigned him was Caius Marius, a farmer's son, who had risen by his gallantry and talents from the ranks. Marius was a favorite with the troops, to whom he endeared himself by sharing their hardships and dangers. Metellus found an able adversary in Jugurtha, and the war dragged along so slowly that the Roman people began to suspect, most unjustly, that he also had been bought by the Numidian king. Marius, whose ambition now began to show itself, returned home in B. C. 107, and availed himself of this suspicion against Metellus to secure his own election to the consulship. The people also decreed that he should be commander of the African army. Marius, however, did not make much greater head against Jugurtha than Metellus. The war went on, and was only brought to a close by the arts of Sulla, who in B. C. 105 persuaded the Mauritanian King Bocchus, the father-in-law of Jugurtha, to surrender the Numidian king to the Romans. Bocchus accepted the offer, and lured Jugurtha into an ambush, where he was captured by Sulla and delivered to Marius. The captive king was taken to Rome, where he was made, with his two sons, to adorn the triumph of Marius. He was then thrown into a dungeon, where he died in a few days from cold and hunger.

Marius was regarded by the people as the conqueror of Jugurtha, and in spite of the prohibition of the law was re-elected consul in B. C. 104, and held that office for five consecutive years.

A great danger threatened Rome before the close of the Jugurthine war. The savage tribes of the north of Europe—the Cimbri and Teutones, tribes partly Celtic and partly German—moved down from the region beyond the Rhine and the Danube, and overran the district between those rivers and the Alps. As early as B. C. 113 a horde of the Cimbri passed the Alps, entered Istria, and defeated Papirius Carbo, the consul. In B. C. 109 the Cimbri ap-

peared on the borders of southern Gaul, and demanded that lands should be assigned them. The Consul Silanus answered by attacking them, but he suffered a terrible defeat and lost his camp. They did not follow up their victory, but applied themselves to the task of reducing the neighboring tribes. Three Roman armies were sent against them, one in B. C. 107 and two in B. C. 105, but all three were defeated with heavy loss. In the last of these battles the Roman army, 80,000 strong, was defeated on the Rhone near the modern town of Orange, and Italy seemed at the mercy of the barbarians, who had but the Alps between them and the Roman territory. They turned aside into Spain, however, but were driven back across the Pyrenees by the Celtiberians, B. C. 104. Returning into Gaul, they spread rapidly over the western part of that region towards the Seine. They were joined in B. C. 103 by the Teutones, a kindred tribe from the region of the Baltic, and the Helvitii from the Swiss Alps. The combined tribes now arranged a systematic invasion of Italy. The Teutones undertook to invade Italy by way of Provence and the western passes of the Alps, while the Cimbri entered Switzerland and sought the eastern passes, with which they were acquainted.

Marius in the meantime had been sent to southern Gaul with a large army, and was accompanied by Sulla as his legate. It was all important to beat the two invading columns in detail and prevent their junction. For this purpose Marius threw his army upon the advancing host of the Teutones near the modern town of Aix, and gained a great victory over the savages in the summer of B. C. 102. The Teutones were utterly destroyed as a nation; 150,000 men and a large number of women were slain, and 90,000 were made prisoners and sold into slavery. Gaul was thus entirely freed from the enemy.

The Cimbri crossed the Alps by the Brenner Pass, and advanced into the valley of the Po. The Consul Catulus endeavored to drive them back, but was routed. The Cimbri were so well pleased with the rich country around them that, instead of following up their advantage, they went into winter quarters. This delay gave Marius time to march from Gaul to the aid of his colleague, whom he joined in the spring of B. C. 101. Upon the resumption of their advance by the Cimbri, in the summer of

that year, they were met by the combined armies of Marius and Catulus, and were defeated as decisively as their brethren had been by the former in Gaul. Their slain amounted to 140,000, and the remainder of the nation, 60,000 in number, were made prisoners and sold as slaves. Italy was safe. "The human avalanche which for thirteen years had alarmed the nations from the Danube to the Ebro, from the Seine to the Po, rested beneath the sod or toiled under the yoke of slavery."

Marius was honored with a magnificent triumph, in which he was hailed as the deliverer of Rome in the most flattering terms. He was chosen consul for the sixth consecutive time in defiance of the constitution. Had he been a statesman as well as a great general he might have accomplished then what Julius Caesar did in the next century, and have made himself monarch of the Romans. His ambition was equal to the attempt, but his judgment and firmness were not. Indeed he does not seem to have understood exactly what position he wanted, or how to attain it. He chose as his most intimate friends and counsellors two worthless demagogues, Glaucia and Saturnius, who were encouraged by his countenance to attempt the passage of laws which were utterly distasteful to all the better class of Romans. Metellus opposed these measures and was driven into exile. Marius lent himself to the persecution of his old general, and thus drew upon himself the enmity of the senate and its adherents. The measures of the tribune Saturnius had already produced severe riots in the city. When the consular election came on the trouble increased. Mummius, the government candidate for the consulate, was beaten to death by the partisans of Glaucia and Saturnius, who were then declared public enemies by the senate. They seized the capitol; but Marius, being afraid to risk his popularity by defending them further, joined the senate against them. Trusting to his protection, they surrendered, and were confined by him in the Curia Hostilia. While he was endeavoring to secure them a regular trial, they were attacked by the partisans of the senate and slain, B. C. 100.

In B. C. 102 a second servile war broke out in Sicily. The slaves, driven to despair by the cruelty with which they were treated, took arms against their masters, whom they outnumbered. With the aid of the repub-

lic they were crushed after a struggle of three years, B. C. 99.

The fall of Saturnius was really the failure of Marius to overturn the government. A great general, but a poor statesman, he had used the wrong instruments to accomplish his ends, and had succeeded only in rendering himself unpopular. Quintus Metellus was recalled from banishment, and Marius, unwilling to witness the triumph of his rival, went on a journey to the East, ostensibly for the purpose of fulfilling a vow there. On his return he found himself deserted by the friends who had fawned upon him in his prosperity. Yet, having tasted the sweets of power, he was determined to become master of Rome. An oracle had promised him seven consulships, and he endeavored to profit by his experience and decide upon a surer plan of achieving his destiny.

In the meantime another reformer arose to trouble Rome. He was M. Livius Drusus, the son of him who had opposed Caius Gracchus. He was a man of good intentions but of small ability, and he undertook to remedy the evils from which the state was suffering by reconciling the Senatorian with the Equestrian Order at Rome, and doing justice to the Latins. He proposed, therefore, to deprive the equites or knights of the judicial power which they had abused, and restore it to the senate, and to admit all the Italians to the franchise. He succeeded in procuring the passage of a law which divided the right to furnish "judices" between the knights and the senate, but his bill to admit Italians to the franchise was stubbornly resisted, and the reformer himself was assassinated at his own door. The aristocrats had had recourse to their usual mode of warfare, but this time their blow was struck at one of their own order, B. C. 91.

The murder of Drusus was the signal for the civil war he had striven to avert. With him perished the last hope of the Italians that Rome would amicably settle their just claims. There was nothing left but to submit or rebel. They chose the latter alternative, and eight nations—the Marsi, Marucini, Peligni, Vestini, Picentini, Samnites, Apuli, and Lucani—took up arms, entered into a close alliance, formed a federal republic, which they named "Italia," and chose Corfinium, in the Pelignian Apennines, as their capital. Thus began the "Social War." They chose Pompædus

and Papius to be consuls. For a while it seemed as though the allies would be successful, and that Rome would be reduced to a petty state. Lucius Cæsar, one of the consuls, Paperna, his legate, and Postumias, the prætor, were defeated; Campania was overrun by the allies; and Cæpio, the consul, was defeated and his army destroyed in that region within a few months. Negotiations were then opened with the people of northern Italy, and it seemed that the whole peninsula would be drawn into the revolt.

Rome met the danger with an adroit concession, as her armies were unable to crush the revolt. A measure known as the "Julian Law" was adopted, conferring the Roman citizenship on all the Italians who had taken no part in the war, and on all who should withdraw from it. The measure was perfectly successful. It prevented further accessions to the ranks of the allies, and raised up a powerful peace party among them which clamored for an acceptance of the reconciliation offered by the "Julian Law." One by one the allies dropped away from the confederacy, and as it grew weaker the Romans began to be successful again. Sulla and the elder Pompey recovered Campania, and the capital of the allies was captured. At last only Samnium and Lucania remained in arms, and Rome once more tried the policy of concession. By granting all that the allies had ever claimed, these two nations were won over, and the "Social War" came to an end, B. C. 88.

During this struggle Marius had served as legate to the Consul Rutilius in the first year, which was so full of disaster to Rome, and his slow and cautious policy had added nothing to his credit. The honors had been carried off by Sulla, who in the campaigns of B. C. 89 and 88 had shown himself an able leader. Consequently, when the invasion of Asia Minor by Mithridates of Pontus demanded that a vigorous and competent general should be sent against him, Sulla, who was now consul, was assigned the command. The old friendship which once existed between Marius and Sulla had long ago given place to mutual jealousy. Marius bitterly resented the appointment of Sulla to his new command, and now set to work to neutralize the action of the senate. The government, with its usual bad faith, was endeavoring to render abortive the concession of citizenship to the Italians by confining them, in spite of their vast numbers, to eight tribes. Marius now

induced Publius Sulpicius Rufus, the tribune, to propose a law requiring the distribution of the new citizens among all the tribes. This arrangement would enable them to outnumber the old citizens, and they would naturally support Marius as their champion. The consuls endeavored to defeat the measure, but Marius and Rufus held the forum with an armed force and compelled the passage of the law. The vote conferring the command of the army on Sulla was reversed, and Marius was elected in his place, B. C. 88. The issue was thus sharply joined between the rivals.

Sulla was not the man to submit tamely to this outrage, and he had the advantage of being able to appear as the champion of the law. He appealed to his troops to sustain him, and at their head marched upon Rome. Marius had not expected such boldness from his rival, and was unprepared to meet it. Sulla became master of Rome, silencing opposition by threatening to burn the city over the heads of the people if resistance were offered. Marius was defeated and obliged to fly for his life. He passed through a series of romantic and stirring adventures, and at last reached Africa, an almost deserted fugitive.

Sulla, now master of Rome, put Rufus to death, repealed his laws, and put in force various measures calculated to strengthen the nobility. He was obliged to quit Rome soon afterwards to take command of the army in the east. His departure was instantly followed by a civil war. The people elected Cinna consul, and he endeavored to restore the laws of Rufus and to recall Marius. The aristocratic party flew to arms, and Cinna was driven from the city. He appealed to the army, and having won the support of the troops and of the great mass of Italians, invited Marius to return from Africa, and marched upon Rome, captured the city, and began the execution of a policy of vengeance, B. C. 87. Marius, returning to the city, was associated with Cinna in the consulship. The friends of Sulla were butchered. As Marius walked through the streets, attended by his guards, they cut down all whom he did not salute; and lists of those whom it was desirable to remove were made out every day, and given to assassins who had orders to despatch the persons named in the lists. The houses of the victims were plundered and their families given up to dishonor. Such a reign of terror had never been known in

Rome; and Marius wreaked his vengeance upon the nobility to his heart's content. In contempt for the law, he and Cinna declared themselves consuls for the year B. C. 86, without submitting to the usual form of election. Marius, deeply superstitious at heart, had now fulfilled the prediction of the oracle; and had entered upon his seventh consulship. He did not live to enjoy it long, however, but died eighteen days later, at the age of seventy-one, hurried to his end by his tardy remorse for his outrages upon his country. He left behind him his band of assassins, who, even after his death, attempted to continue their bloody work. Sertorius called them together under pretence of giving them their pay, and, having surrounded them with his troops, cut them down to a man. More than four thousand are said to have been slain.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE DEATH OF MARIUS TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EMPIRE.

Cinna in Power at Rome—Threats of Sulla—The First Mithridatic War—Return of Sulla—The Second Civil War—Triumph of Sulla—Captures Rome—Dictatorship of Sulla—The Proscription—Measures of Sulla—His Retirement and Death—Revolt of Sertorius in Spain—His Murder—Pompey Puts Down the Revolt—Gladiatorial War—Spartacus—Crassus and Pompey Consuls—They Change their Politics—Their Reform Measures—Cicero—Pompey Subdues the Cilician Pirates—Pompey Sent into Asia—He Conquers Mithridates and Tigranes and Adds Syria and Pontus to the Roman Dominions—Returns to Rome—Cataline's Conspiracy—Pompey Distrusted by the Senate—His Moderation—Is Driven into Hostility to the Senate—Julius Cæsar—His Career and Services—Character of Cæsar—The First Triumvirate—Banishment of Cicero—Cato Sent to Cyprus—Conquest of Gaul by Cæsar—Invades Germany—The War with Parthia—Defeat and Death of Crassus—Quarrel of Cæsar and Pompey—The Senate Sides with Pompey—Cæsar Driven into Hostile Measures by the Senate—His Position—Appeals to his Troops to Aid him—Crosses the Rubicon—Pompey's Troops Desert to Cæsar—Pompey Retires into Greece—Cæsar Master of Italy—His Moderation—Establishes his Authority in Italy—Subdues Spain—Follows Pompey to Greece—Battle of Pharsalia—Flight of Pompey—He Reaches Egypt—His Murder—Cæsar in Egypt—Establishes his Authority in that Country, Asia Minor, and Africa—Returns to Rome—Is Made Dictator for Life—Great Designs of Cæsar—What he Accomplished—Conspiracy Against him—His Murder—Its Effect upon Rome—Mark Antony Secures the Power—Arrival of Octavius Cæsar—Claims his Inheritance—Antony Repairs to Gaul—Rapid Rise of Octavius to Power—Forms with Antony and Lepidus the Second Triumvirate—Battles of Philippi—Division of the Roman Dominions Between the Triumvirs—Octavian Tri-

umphs Over Lepidus and Secures the Undivided Rule of Rome—Antony's Failure in the East—His Debauchery—Octavian Makes War upon him—Battle of Actium—Flight of Antony with Cleopatra—Octavian Conquers Egypt—Death of Antony and Cleopatra—Egypt Made a Roman Province—Return of Octavian to Rome—He Establishes the Roman Empire on the Ruins of the Republic.

THE death of Marius left Cinna sole consul. He held that position until B. C. 84, nominating himself, and associating with him whomsoever he saw fit. Yet he did nothing, and his government accomplished nothing. Sulla was outlawed, and a successor appointed in his place. At length a letter was received from Sulla, announcing the successful close of the war against Mithridates, and his speedy return to Italy. He stated that while he would protect the new citizens in their rights, he intended to secure the punishment of the authors of the revolution. Cinna was frightened out of his inaction by this letter, and undertook to march against Sulla, but his troops mutinied and murdered him at Ancona. The Consul Carbo, the colleague of Cinna, now abandoned the attempt to cross the Adriatic into Greece, and prepared to meet Sulla on his arrival in Italy.

During all these years the war against Mithridates had been successfully waged by Sulla, and the brilliant efforts of the Pontic monarch to stay the march of Roman conquest in the East had been defeated. The events of this war have been related in the history of Pontus, and may be passed over here.

Sulla regained Greece, Macedonia, and Asia Minor, compelled Mithridates to sue for peace and granted it upon the most humiliating terms. He had defrayed the cost of the war mainly from his private resources, and had deferred the settlement of his personal quarrel until after the defeat of the foreign enemy. He now returned to redress his own grievances with the prestige of his great victories, with a vast sum of money taken from the enemy, and at the head of an army enthusiastically devoted to him. He was unquestionably the first of living generals, and his troops were accustomed to victory. Still, while confident of success, he did not underrate his enemy. He knew the Marian faction to be formidable, and while he despised the Roman mob, he justly appreciated the power of the Italians, who constituted the chief strength of the party opposed to him. By his de-

claration that he intended to respect the rights of the new Italian citizens he succeeded in securing their neutrality at the opening of the struggle.

Sulla landed at Brundisium with 40,000 men in B. C. 83, and was joined almost at once by Metellus Pius, Crassus, and Pompey. He defeated the army of Consul Norbanus near Capua, and won over the troops of Scipio to his standard. Then, going into winter-quarters in central Italy, he devoted the winter to strengthening his cause. In the spring of B. C. 82, the Marian party put an army of 200,000 men in the field, commanded by the new consuls, Carbo and Marius the younger. Carbo took position at Clusium, in Etruria, as that region was friendly to his party. Sulla turned upon his younger opponent, Marius, defeated him in the great battle of Angiportus, and forced him to retreat to Præneste, where he left a force to blockade him. Then, marching through Rome, which was undefended, he attacked Carbo in his intrenched position, but failed to carry it. Young Marius, in the meantime, succeeded in inducing the Lucanians and Samnites to espouse his cause. They sent a force to the assistance of the Marians, which being unable to reach Præneste, joined Carbo, whose unskilful operations resulted in the repeated defeat of the army under him. The decisive battle was fought at the Colline Gate of Rome. The remnants of Carbo's army, reinforced by the Italians under Telesinus, attacked Rome with the deliberate intention of destroying it. After a desperate struggle they were routed by the troops of Sulla and Crassus. Four thousand prisoners were captured, and these were taken, by Sulla's orders, to the Campus Martius and put to death.

Sulla was now master of Rome, and the aristocratic faction was triumphant. A bloody vengeance was taken upon their enemies. The leaders of the late war and every relative of Marius, as far as they could be found, were put to death. Lists of the "proscribed" were made out, and any friend of Sulla was permitted to add to them. As the wealth of the victim went to his accuser, avarice was frequently the cause of the accusation. It is said that 3,000 persons perished at Rome, 12,000 at Præneste, "and numbers not much smaller at other Italian cities which had favored the Marians." The cruelties of Marius were more than equalled.

For three years Sulla remained master of the Roman state, first without any title, and then as dictator with unlimited power. He made a number of radical changes in the constitution, or more properly put in force a new constitution which was framed after his peculiar views and designed to strengthen his own order. Though his private character was notoriously bad, Sulla recognized the true source of the troubles of the state in the utter corruption of the people. He therefore undertook the hopeless task of reforming his countrymen by a series of severe enactments against crime and luxury, which were from the first practically disregarded. With respect to the government, he began by degrading the office of tribune of the plebs by stripping it of all its powers except that of protecting the persons of citizens against the other magistrates, and disqualifying the tribunes for the consulship. The senate was given the exclusive right of initiating legislation, and was once more placed in possession of the sole judicial power. The practice of electing any one to the office of pontiff or augur was abolished, and it was ordained that all candidates for the higher offices should be obliged to pass through the lower grades in regular succession and with fixed intervals of time between them. The senate was reorganized by the addition of 300 of Sulla's warmest partisans. The tribes were "purified" by the rejection of all Italians who had aided the Marian cause, and 10,000 slaves were liberated and given the franchise. The confiscated lands of the Marians were distributed among the veterans of Sulla, in many cases to the damage of the industry of the country.

After having held the dictatorship for three years, Sulla, to the surprise of every one, resigned it, and retired to his country-seat at Puteoli, B. C. 79. He devoted the remainder of his life to recreation and the composition of his memoirs. He died the next year, and was honored with the grandest funeral Italy had ever witnessed. Well might the senate mourn him; he had destroyed popular government, and restored the rule of the nobility.

But even the aristocratic party found his sweeping changes too great for them. The abolition of the election of pontiffs and augurs, and the law of succession in the offices of the state, placed an effectual check upon the ambition of the nobles, who coveted these honorable places, and objected to the

slow process by which they were now attained. In the year of Sulla's death, Lepidus, the consul, endeavored to procure the abolition of his laws, but failed. The time for the full reaction had not yet arrived.

The Marian factions in Sicily and Africa were crushed by Cneius Pompey, during the life of Sulla. In B. C. 77 Pompey was sent into Spain as proconsul, to put down the revolt of Sertorius. Sertorius was the ablest and the most upright of the Marian leaders, and had been given the command in Spain by Cinna chiefly to get him out of the way. During the Sullan proscription, many of the fugitive Marians repaired to him, and took service under him. Sulla's proconsul Annius drove him out of Spain, and he took refuge in Africa. At the invitation of the Lusitanians he returned in B. C. 81, at the head of a Libyan and Moorish force, and, defeating Sulla's forces on the Guadalquivir, made himself master of Spain. When Pompey arrived he had wrested almost the entire peninsula from the Romans. Even Pompey found it impossible to defeat him, and the war continued for five years more. At length, in B. C. 72, Sertorius was murdered by Perperna, one of his officers, who assumed the command of his army. Pompey defeated the murderer in the first engagement which followed, and captured him. It had been the design of Sertorius to restore the power of the Marians at Rome, and Perperna endeavored to secure his life by betraying the plans of this party in Rome; but Pompey put him to death. The war was soon ended, and Spain was brought once more under Roman rule.

Before the close of the Spanish war, a most formidable insurrection of the Gladiators broke out in Capua, in B. C. 73, under the leadership of Spartacus, a Thracian chief. He was joined by a large number of slaves and outlaws, and his force was increased to 100,000 men. He defeated four armies sent against him, and for two years ravaged Italy, and even threatened Rome itself. In B. C. 71 the Prætor Crassus was given the command of the army operating against him, and in six months brought the war to a successful close. The last remnant was beaten by Pompey, who came up with it on his return from Spain. The prisoners taken by Crassus, to the number of 6,000, were crucified along the Appian Way.

Returning to Rome, Crassus and Pompey demanded the consulship as the reward of

their services. The Sullan constitution forbade their election, as they had not passed through the requisite grades; but their services were too eminent, and they were too powerful for their demand to be refused. Consequently the laws of Sulla were set aside, and on the 1st of January, B. C. 70, Crassus and Pompey became consuls for the year. Until now they had been among the most devoted followers of Sulla, but upon entering upon their office, they changed their politics. It may be that they were convinced that a constitution so purely oligarchical could not be maintained; and it seems very evident that they were convinced that their own interests demanded its abrogation. They determined, therefore, to secure the support of the middle class, which would be very apt to bring with it that of the lower orders, and to crush the power of the aristocracy. Crassus, an eminently respectable man, and very rich, was easily led by his more daring and gifted colleague to take the desired stand. The consuls then proceeded to inaugurate their reforms. The tribunes were given back their old powers of which Sulla had deprived them, and the judicial power was again distributed in equal proportion between the senate, the knights, and the tribunes of the treasury, a class of moneyed men who collected the revenues and paid the wages of the troops. The government was purified of its grosser corruptions, partly by prosecutions, and partly by a revival of the office of censor, which Sulla had abolished. The senate was purged by the expulsion of sixty-four of its members. The senate and the nobility stubbornly resisted these measures, but were at length obliged to yield.

The movement for reform in the government won to the support of the consuls the first lawyer and greatest orator of Rome, Marcus Tullius Cicero. He came into prominence in the prosecution of Verres for the misgovernment of Sicily. By his untiring energy and his superb eloquence the guilt of Verres was established, and the criminal was driven into exile. More than this, Cicero so thoroughly exposed the rottenness of the system of provincial government that the senatorial party were left without defence, and were obliged to yield.

At the end of his term of office, Pompey declined to accept the government of a province as was usual with the retiring consuls, but remained quietly at Rome, taking

no part in public affairs, but awaiting the course of events. He was soon called upon to render the state another service. Since the destruction of the naval power of Carthage, Egypt and Syria, the Cilician pirates had become the lords of the Mediterranean. They had their strongholds on the Cilician coast, from which their ships ravaged the shores of Italy, swept the Mediterranean of merchantmen, plundered the Italian ports, and even extended their depredations as far inland as the Appian Way. Pompey was sent against them in B. C. 67, with unusual powers. He was given supreme authority over all the coasts of the Mediterranean and for a distance of fifty miles inland. In three months he swept the pirates from the sea, broke up their strongholds, and by his merciful and politic treatment of them converted many of the outlaws into peaceable and useful settlers in the Italian towns.

Returning from the war with the pirates, Pompey, on the motion of Manlius and Cicero, was intrusted with the command of the army in Asia, operating against Mithridates. He was placed in supreme control of the entire east "until he had brought the Mithridatic war to an end." He set out for his new command in B. C. 66, and in two years brought the war to a glorious conclusion, driving Mithridates into the regions beyond the Caucasus. He also compelled the Armenian King Tigranes to surrender Syria, of which he made himself master without a blow, and converted it into a Roman province. Proceeding southward, through Cœle-Syria, he captured Jerusalem, and generously spared the Temple and its treasures, but won the enmity of the Jews by entering the Holy of Holies. He then made war against the Idumæans, but did not continue the campaign, as the death of Mithridates closed the war. Pompey then spent the remainder of the year in organizing Bithynia and Pontus as Roman provinces, and settling the affairs of the neighboring nations. He allowed Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, to retain the Crimea, bestowed Cappadocia upon Ariobarzanes, increased the territories of Galatia, and made Hyrcanus King of Judæa. Over all these countries the Roman supremacy was established. In B. C. 61 Pompey returned to Rome, and enjoyed one of the most splendid triumphs the city had ever witnessed.

Before his arrival, Rome had narrowly escaped a civil war. Lucius Sergius Cati-

lina, a man of noble birth, but a broken-down profligate, drew to himself a following of adventurers and disreputable persons, and organized a conspiracy for the overthrow of the government. He expected to be supported by all the disaffected Italians, and by the criminals, slaves, and gladiators, and counted on the tacit acquiescence of the Marian party. The conspiracy was discovered by the vigilance of Cicero, who was then consul, and he denounced Catiline so mercilessly before the senate that the conspirator fled from the city into Etruria, where he rallied his followers. War followed. Catiline was defeated and slain in battle by the Proconsul Antonius, in B. C. 62.

The return of Pompey with the prestige of his great success, immediately after the suppression of Catiline's revolt, greatly

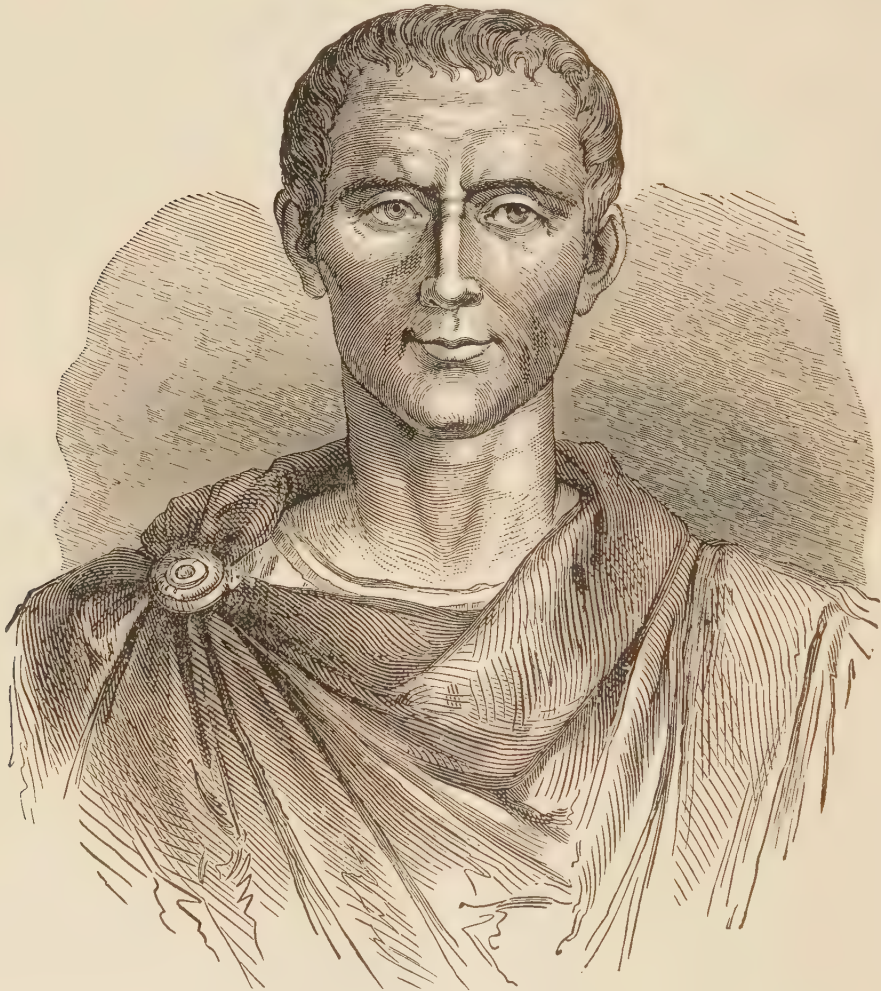


M. TULLIUS CICERO.

alarmed the senate and the aristocratic party, who feared he would follow the example of Sulla; but he quieted their fears by disbanding his army as soon as he reached Italy, and proceeded to Rome accompanied by only a few friends. His triumphal procession, which could not be refused him, occupied three days in passing through the city, though the army took no part in it. When he demanded a second consulship for himself, allotments of land for his veterans, and the confirmation of his acts while in command in the East, he was met with a blunt refusal from the senate. The aristocratic party had determined to punish him for his appointment to the command in the East against their wishes; and with their usual short-sightedness they simply drew ruin upon themselves.

A new power had arisen in Rome during the absence of Pompey in Asia. The control of affairs had fallen into the hands of three men, Cicero, Cato, and Caius Julius Cæsar. Crassus was too insignificant and indolent to count for much; his only power lay in his wealth. Cicero was bold, daring, and the first orator in the world. Cato, a

Cinna. Sulla had at the first recognized his abilities, and had been with difficulty persuaded to exempt him from the proscription. He granted his pardon with the prophetic remark: "That boy will some day be the ruin of the aristocracy, for I see in him many Marii." Cæsar was now upwards of thirty years old, having been born



JULIUS CÆSAR.

descendant of the old censor who had spurred Rome on to destroy Carthage, was a man of the same stern mould. He was the leader of the senatorial party.

Cæsar was the acknowledged chief of the Mariian party, and was regarded by the people as their champion. He was the nephew of Marius and the son-in-law of

in B. c. 100. Since the age of seventeen he had identified himself with the popular party, and, more than his noble birth, he prided himself on being the nephew of Marius by the marriage of his aunt Julia to that leader. He had seen his first service in the army at the siege of Mitylene, and had won a civic crown for saving a citizen.

Returning to Rome, he had distinguished himself by his speeches against Dolabella, whom he indicted for extortion in Macedonia. He then repaired to Rhodes to study eloquence under Molo, the preceptor of Cicero. On his way he was captured by the Cilician pirates. Redeemed by a heavy ransom, he collected a few ships, attacked his captors, made them prisoners, and crucified them. About B. C. 74, hearing that he had been chosen one of the pontifices, he repaired to Rome, where he spent the next seven years, without taking any part in politics, but winning many friends by his engaging manners. In B. C. 67, when Pompey sailed against the pirates, Cæsar was made *Quæstor*. In the same year his aunt Julia, the widow of Marius, died. Cæsar pronounced a noble oration over her remains, and in her funeral procession carried the waxen image of Marius in defiance of the law. In B. C. 65 he was made *Curule Ædile*, and increased his popularity by the magnificence with which he celebrated the public games. As curator of the Appian way he rendered a more substantial service by repairing it at his own expense. Sulla had caused the removal of the Cimbrian trophies and the statues of Marius, and the republic possessed no memorial of the services of her greatest soldier. Cæsar now ventured to restore them in a single night. The next morning the citizens flocked to behold them, and the old soldiers of Marius burst into tears of joy at the sight. As Cæsar had not actually violated the law, the senate was not able to prosecute him for his act, and from this moment the people idolized him as their chief. Honors now came to him rapidly. In B. C. 63 he became *pontifex maximus*; in 62, *prætor*; and in 61 he obtained the government of Farther Spain. Here he displayed his great military genius by the conquest of Lusitania, and won the enthusiastic devotion of his troops. Though absent from Rome, Cæsar's influence did not wane, and he continued to direct the movements of his party. His Spanish government also furnished him with the means of paying a large part of his debts.

He was now thirty-nine years old, and the dawn of his great career had come. A model of manly beauty, he was conscious of his personal attractions, and was accused of foppishness by his enemies. He had preserved through all his early dissipation the perfect bodily vigor which served

him so well in after life, and he had now taken up habits of temperance. He was a master of fencing, riding and swimming, and his capacity for performing sudden and arduous journeys was remarkable. For the sake of gaining time he usually travelled by night. His mental vigor rivalled that of his body. His power of intuition was astonishing, and his memory was faultless; he never forgot anything. But what endeared him above all to his friends was his warm, generous heart, which never turned against a friend, but was ever faithful through good and evil fortune. Nor was this from calculation. Cæsar loved his friends; no partisan of his ever had cause to complain of his coldness or ingratitude; and their feelings for him were evinced by their passionate outburst of grief at his death. He cherished the purest veneration for his mother during her whole life, and he bore an honorable affection for his wives and his daughter Julia, which were not without their reward.

Like all men of genius, Cæsar was capable of supreme anger, but he ruled his temper perfectly. He was an eminently practical man, and, discarding mere theories, rarely failed to seize upon the best and most suitable measure in the conduct of his operations. He never sought to hasten events, but waited with the calmness of genius the proper moment for the execution of his designs. Whatever he undertook was marked by clearness of judgment, unfaltering firmness, and a perfect independence of action, which no favorite or mistress could control. As a general he was quick in conception, rapid in execution, with unerring genius detecting the weakness of his enemy, and striking every blow in its true place. He shared the dangers and hardships of his troops, and was their generous friend and comrade, as well as their inflexible commander. No wonder then that victory followed where Cæsar led.

Such a man was of necessity a great statesman. "From his early youth Cæsar was a statesman in the deepest sense of the term, and his aim was the highest which man is allowed to propose to himself—the political, military, intellectual and moral regeneration of his own deeply decayed nation, and of the still more deeply decayed Hellenic nation, intimately akin to his own." His measures, while they seemed at times to affect the present only, looked far

into the future, and, though cut down at the very entrance upon his great mission, he lifted the world up out of its degradation and made it greater and nobler for his having lived in it. Amid all the gloom which enshrouds the history of this dim period, this great, grand figure stands out boldly, the most illustrious warrior, the most gifted statesman, the most perfect man of the ancient world.

It was to this man that Pompey turned for aid when denied by the senate the just price of his great services. Cæsar had for some time been seeking to detach him from the aristocratic party, and Pompey, sore from the injustice with which he was treated, accepted the offer. A private arrangement was effected between Cæsar, Pompey and Crassus, known as the *Triumvirate*, which enabled them to control the course of affairs at Rome.



POMPEY THE GREAT.

The first result of this agreement was the election of Cæsar to the consulate in B. C. 59. He at once brought forward a law for dividing the rich public lands of *Campania* among the Roman poor and the veterans of Pompey. The senate resisted bitterly, but was forced to submit, and the lands were divided. Pompey's acts in Asia were ratified, and the knights were won over to the triumvirate by granting them more favorable terms in the farming of the revenues of Asia. The alliance between the leaders was strengthened by the marriage of Pompey to Julia, the daughter of Cæsar. Cæsar, whose wife, Cornelia, had been dead for some years, married Calpurnia, the daughter of Piso. At the close of his term of office, Cæsar, who had been more of a dictator than a simple consul, obtained for himself the government of the two Gauls and of *Illyricum* for a term of five years, with instructions to "protect the friends and allies of the Roman people." He chose this position as it enabled him to build up a great military renown, to win the army more thoroughly to him, and to be at the same time near enough to Rome

to be able to seize the advantages that might arise there. He was now forty years old. Previous to his departure Cæsar was banished, and Cato was sent to deprive Egypt of Cyprus and to convert it into a Roman province, an actual exile since he was confessedly unsuited to the task. The senate was thus deprived of its leaders.

A few days after the departure of Cæsar from Rome, Cæsar received news from Gaul which compelled him to set out in haste for his province. Geneva, the extreme outpost of transalpine Gaul, was threatened by a strong body of Helvetians, who were advancing upon it for the purpose of crossing the Rhone at that point, and seeking new settlements in western Gaul. In eight days Cæsar reached Geneva. He secured the passage of the river by means of fortifications, and compelled the Helvetii to pass into Gaul by a longer route over the Jura. Then, following them across the Arar (or Saone) he inflicted a terrible defeat upon them at Bibracté (Antun in Burgundy) and compelled the survivors to return to their own country. They had begun their movement 368,000 strong, men, women and children. Less than a third went back.

Immediately after this victory Cæsar was implored by the *Ædni* and Gauls to help them against the *Sequani*, a Celtic tribe, dwelling north of the Helvetii, who had passed the Rhine and threatened to overrun all Gaul. They were led by their prince, Ariovistus, a gigantic German, who was esteemed invincible, and the men of the tribe themselves were all of such huge stature and so numerous, that the Roman army became panic-stricken at the mere prospect of engaging them. It required all Cæsar's genius to restore their confidence, and at length he shamed them into firmness by telling them that if they all deserted him, he would make the fight with the Tenth Legion alone. A desperate battle ensued near Bâle, in which the Germans were defeated and driven across the Rhine. Ariovistus himself fled over the river in a boat.

In B. C. 57 Cæsar invaded the territory of the Belgæ, north of the Seine, and after a stubborn campaign conquered it. The next year he built a fleet and reduced Brittany, which had given him considerable trouble; and in the same year chastised the maritime tribes. In three campaigns he had conquered the whole of Gaul, from the Rhine and Mount Jura to the Atlantic.

Cæsar spent his winters at his headquarters in Cisalpine Gaul, from which he could control the affairs of his party in Italy. In the winter of B. C. 56 he reconciled Pompey and Crassus, who were on the point of taking up arms against each other. He succeeded in bringing about a settlement of their quarrel at interviews held with them at Lucca and Ravenna, and arranged a plan of future operations for the three. He advised them to seek the consulship the next year. At the expiration of their term of office, Pompey was to receive the government of Spain, Crassus that of Asia, and the proconsular rule of Cæsar over Gaul was to be continued for another period of five years. Cæsar thus seemed to choose for himself the least advantageous position, but in reality it was that which enabled him to carry out the task to which he had devoted his life—the civilizing and harmonizing of Europe. More than this, he desired to be near Rome, when the course of events should compel him to take the decisive step.

In B. C. 55 the Germans again crossed the Rhine in considerable force. Cæsar defeated them on the left bank of that river, and then threw a bridge over the stream near Coblenz, and crossing into Germany inflicted a severe punishment upon the tribes of that region. In the late autumn of the same year he undertook a reconnoitring expedition into Britain, and obtained hostages from the tribes. The senate ordered a thanksgiving of twenty days for his victories, in spite of the opposition of Cato and the enemies of the great soldier. In B. C. 54 Cæsar invaded Britain a second time, and conquered the southern part of England. He took hostages of the native tribes, imposed tribute upon them, but established no garrisons to hold the island. In the winter of this year a revolt broke out in Gaul. A strong Roman detachment was defeated, and another, under Quintus Cicero, the brother of the orator, was in danger of a similar fate. Cæsar at once marched to Cicero's assistance, defeated a Gallic force of 60,000 warriors, and restored order to the country. The Germans having aided the Gallic revolt, he invaded their country again in the summer of B. C. 53; but the dread of his arms had now become so widespread that the Germans fled to the hills without offering any resistance. In B. C. 52 all central Gaul rose against Cæsar, led by the daring chief-

tain Vircingetorix, King of the Averni. By a series of daring and brilliant movements, and several hard-fought battles, Cæsar crushed out the rebellion and made its leader prisoner. By the year B. C. 50 he had succeeded by his wise and firm rule in bringing all of Gaul under Roman dominion and giving it something of a settled government.

In the meantime matters had hastened to a crisis at Rome. Crassus, ambitious of military glory, set out for his eastern government at the expiration of his consulship, and after plundering the Jewish and other temples to procure the funds for his project, plunged into a reckless and unprovoked war with Parthia. He was quickly defeated and was treacherously slain by the Parthians. The death of Crassus left Pompey the sole representative of the triumvirate at Rome. He had now become thoroughly jealous of Cæsar, and no longer pretended any friendship for him. He had not departed for Spain, but had remained at Rome to advance his interests, governing his province through his legates. He allied himself closely with the aristocratic party, and applied himself to the task of crushing and disgracing Cæsar. His wife, Julia, the daughter of Cæsar, was dead, and there was no longer any tie existing between the rivals. A law was passed by the senate requiring Cæsar to surrender his proconsulship, and return to Rome as a simple citizen, before standing for the consulate. To have done this would have been to place himself in the power of his enemies. Cato openly boasted that he would prosecute Cæsar as soon as he laid down his command. Not content with this, the enemies of Cæsar proceeded to compel him to take some decisive step. On pretence of providing troops for a war with Parthia, Pompey and Cæsar were required to furnish each a legion to be sent to Asia. Pompey had some time previous loaned a legion to Cæsar, and he now demanded its return for this service. By this shrewd trick he deprived his rival of two legions. Cæsar promptly dismissed the two legions, giving to each man the rewards that would have been his at the triumphal entry of the army into Rome. These troops were stationed at Capua within immediate reach of Pompey. Curio, a friend of Cæsar, now proposed that both Cæsar and Pompey should disband their armies, but the senate refused to act upon the proposition. Cæsar wrote to the

senate, expressing his willingness to disband his forces if Pompey would do likewise; but the only result of this offer was a decree of the senate that Cæsar should unconditionally disband his army by a fixed day, on pain of being declared a public enemy. Mark Antony and Cassius, the tribunes, vetoed the measure, but their veto was set aside, and they fled the next day to Cæsar's camp at Ravenna.

Cæsar was left no alternative. His enemies in their eagerness to destroy him had decided his course for him. Moreover, he knew that to submit would be to yield his country to incompetent men. Rome was a free government only in name, and was rotten to the core. The men who sought to brand Cæsar as an outlaw were false to the spirit of their laws, and sought only their selfish interests. Cæsar was the real champion of freedom, and upon his decision depended the very existence of the Roman state. A few days before, warned by the threatening aspect of affairs, he had hurried the thirteenth legion forward to Ravenna. Upon receiving the tidings of the tribunes who sought his protection, he resolved to march upon Rome at once and end the struggle. There was no other course for him to pursue. To save Rome it was necessary for him to overturn the worthless government in power. He drew up the thirteenth legion, and unfolded the state of affairs to them. "There spoke," says Mommsen, "the energetic and consistent statesman, who had now for nine and twenty years defended the cause of freedom in good and evil times; who had braved for it the daggers of assassins and the executioners of the aristocracy, the swords of the Germans, and the waves of the unknown ocean, without ever yielding or wavering; who had torn to pieces the Sullan Constitution, had overthrown the rule of the senate, and had furnished the defenceless and unarmed democracy with protection and with arms by means of the struggle beyond the Alps. And he spoke, not to the Clodian public whose republican enthusiasm had been long burnt down to ashes and dross, but to the young men from the towns and villages of northern Italy, who still felt freshly and purely the mighty influence of the thought of civic freedom; who were still capable of fighting and of dying for ideals; who had themselves received for their country in a revolutionary way from Cæsar the burgess rights which the government refused to

them; whom Cæsar's fall would leave once more at the mercy of the fasces, and who already possessed practical proofs of the inexorable use which the oligarchy proposed to make of these against the Transpadanes." The troops felt the truth and justice of Cæsar's appeal, and resolved to follow him to the death. Cæsar had but one legion with him, but the rest of the army was hurrying from Gaul by forced marches. At the head of the thirteenth legion he crossed the Rubicon, a little stream separating his province from Italy, and advanced rapidly upon Rome. The senate fled in dismay, leaving the funds of the treasury behind. The troops of Pompey deserted by the thousand, more than half of the ten legions under his command going over to Cæsar. Pompey threw himself into Brundisium, to which place Cæsar followed him. Seeing the impossibility of resisting his rival in Italy, the "eminently respectable Pompey" crossed over to Greece with the 25,000 men who remained faithful to him. He had contemplated this step from the first, hoping to be able to bring the entire power of the East against Cæsar in Italy, and crush him in the end. In so doing he surrendered to his rival the immense moral advantage of occupying the seat of government and ruling from Rome.

Cæsar, now master of Italy and Gaul, and of Sardinia and Sicily, devoted his first efforts to establishing his authority over the peninsula. He astonished his enemies by the moderation and justice of his course. He respected the property of his absent enemies, compelled his troops to conduct themselves as the fellow-citizens of the Italians and Romans, and not as their conquerors, and he won over the mass of the people, and especially the moneyed class, by the wise course which he pursued.

Italy being quieted, and his authority being submitted to, Cæsar passed into Spain, which remained faithful to Pompey, who had still seven legions there. He conquered it in a brilliant and severe campaign of forty days, and returned by way of Gaul, receiving on the march the submission of Massilia, which had held out stubbornly against his lieutenants, B. C. 49. During his absence he had been named dictator. He accepted the post, but held it only for eleven days. During this period he was elected consul, and passed laws restoring all the exiles banished by Sulla except Milo, and providing for the relief of debtors. He

took the first step in his great scheme of consolidating the provinces by extending the full Roman citizenship to the Gauls. Seeing that Pompey would not invade Italy, he crossed over to Greece with his army from Brundisium. Pompey's naval commanders allowed him to land in Epirus without opposition, and Cæsar succeeded in drawing his rival into the interior of Thessaly, where the latter could derive no advantage from his fleet, and forced him to a decisive battle at Pharsalia, on the 9th of August, according to the Roman calendar, B. C. 48. Pompey was defeated with a loss of 15,000 slain, and fled from the field; the next day 20,000 of his troops surrendered to Cæsar. Greece promptly submitted to the conqueror, and many of the fugitive aristocracy of Rome made their peace with him. Pompey fled to Egypt, which was now governed by the young Ptolemy XIII., who had driven his sister and wife, Cleopatra, into Syria. The Egyptian king was ruled by three Greek adventurers, who, fearing that Pompey would seek to make himself master of the kingdom, determined on his murder. The defeated general arrived off Alexandria with a few ships and a small force of troops, and announced his intention of landing. The Egyptians sent out a small boat for him, pretending that the water was too shallow for the ship to come near the shore. Pompey entered the boat alone, encouraged by recognizing in one of the crew an officer who had formerly served under him. As he was about to step from it on reaching the shore, he was set upon and stabbed. He covered his face with his mantle, and fell without a struggle. A few days later Cæsar arrived in pursuit of Pompey, bringing with him a force of 4,000 men. The ghastly head of Pompey was shown him, but he turned away weeping, and gave orders for the execution of the assassins. He spent five months at Alexandria, regulating the affairs of Egypt, and replaced Cleopatra, to whose charms he was not insensible, on the throne. This was an unpopular measure, and involved him in a struggle with the Alexandrians. In one of the battles on the Nile, his ship was sunk, and he was obliged to swim for his life to another, holding his "Commentaries" on Gallic war above his head, and his coat of mail between his teeth. He was successful at last, however. Ptolemy was drowned in the Nile, and Cleopatra's rule was established.

Leaving Egypt, Cæsar hastened to Asia Minor, where in a campaign of five days he defeated Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates of Pontus, who was seeking to recover his father's dominions. Then proceeding to Africa, he marched against the remnant of the Pompeian party, who had set up their senate and government at Utica, and though defeated by them in the battle of Ruspina, B. C. 47, he routed them in the greater battle of Thapsus, the next year. Cato, Scipio, and the King of Numidia committed suicide, and Africa submitted to the conqueror. In B. C. 45 he was obliged to repair to Spain to suppress a new revolt of the Pompeians. He was successful, but the settlement of Spain after the final victory was a difficult task and occupied him six months.

Cæsar returned to Rome for the fourth time since the commencement of the civil war, about the end of May, B. C. 46. Notwithstanding all his victories he had never triumphed before. He now enjoyed a triumph of four days—one for Gaul, one for Egypt, one for Pontus, and one for Numidia. The victories of Ilerda (in Spain) and Pharsalia were not commemorated, as they were won in civil strife. After the splendid shows were over each of the soldiers and every poor Roman received a gift of money and grain.

The work of the conqueror being now ended, that of the statesman began. He was made dictator for ten years and censor for three years, or in other words, absolute master of Rome. Though the forms of the republic were preserved, Rome was now a military monarchy, whose supreme law was the will of its great ruler; for after the last Spanish campaign he was made dictator and censor for life, with the power to make peace or war without consulting the senate, and the right of naming his successor. His person was declared sacred—to plot against him was treason.

In the brief period during which he held the dictatorship he inaugurated a series of measures which were at once popular, judicious, and moderate. He increased the senate to 900 members, and chose the new senators from the provinces as well as from Rome; he confined the judicial power once more to the senate and the knights; he conferred the full Roman citizenship upon the entire population of Transpadane Gaul, and upon many communities in Transalpine Gaul, in Spain, and elsewhere, and in every

possible way endeavored to break down the distinctions between Rome and the provinces, and to make the empire a harmonious whole. He rewarded his veterans with lands beyond the sea. He rebuilt Carthage and Corinth, and thus revived a valuable commerce which the selfish policy of the republic had destroyed. He thinned out the poorer population of Rome by planting 80,000 of the people in colonies in Europe, Africa, and Asia. He gave freedom to all professors of the liberal sciences, and endeavored to promote the cause of education in every part of the Roman dominions, and to civilize the world by the power of learning rather than by force. He arranged a settlement between the debtor and creditor classes on a basis which both acknowledged as liberal and just, and "which left financial honesty untouched." He revived the



M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.

old Licinian law requiring the employment of a certain amount of free labor in the cultivation of the lands. He encouraged an increase in the free population by granting exemptions to those who had as many as three children. He reformed the calendar, which had fallen into such confusion as to be worthless, by adding ninety days to the old Roman year, and adapting the new system to the sun's course; making the Roman year consist of 365 days, with an additional day every fourth year. This was a vast service to his country and to the world, and the senate gratefully ordered the month of his birth to be called July from his clan name. He proposed the codification of the Roman laws, a much needed work; presented a plan for changing the course of the Tiber so as to drain the Pontine marshes, and thus give to the city a large tract of land available for building;

and proposed to connect Rome with *Terracina*, a larger and more convenient port than Ostia. All this wonderful legislative activity was crowded into a period of five years, the greater portion of which was devoted to important foreign wars.

Cæsar was about to undertake another foreign war by invading Parthia, to avenge the death of Crassus, when his own career was suddenly brought to a close. His enemies charged that he intended to make himself king before his departure, and a conspiracy was organized against him. It was composed chiefly of his personal enemies, who succeeded in winning over to their side several honest republicans, who were influenced by their belief that the death of Cæsar would restore the freedom of the state. Unlike him they failed to perceive that the possibility of a republic in Rome had passed by. Cæsar "was monarch, but he never played the king. Cæsar was monarch, but he was never seized with the giddiness of the tyrant." At the festival of the Lupercalia (February 15), B. C. 44, Mark Antony offered Cæsar the crown, but he declined it. He received many warnings of the danger which threatened him, but his great soul could not suspect the Roman people, and he was too true a man to play the coward. On the 15th of March he repaired to the senate house, and had just taken his seat when the conspirators set upon him and stabbed him. The first blow was given by Casca. He defended himself with his stylus, wounding one of the assassins, hurling back another, and disarming a third. At this moment Brutus, whom he had loved and trusted and loaded with favors, struck him. This ingratitude seemed to paralyze his arm; he ceased his resistance, and exclaiming reproachfully, "*And thou, Brutus,*" covered his face with his toga and fell at the foot of Pompey's statue, pierced with wounds. So died the greatest of the Romans.

Brutus, the organizer of the conspiracy, raising aloft his bloody dagger, cried to Cicero, "Rejoice, father of our country, for Rome is free!" Alas for the honest but short-sighted enthusiast. He had slain his country in killing Cæsar, for he had destroyed the only man capable of carrying Rome through the dangers into which the deep-seated corruption of the Roman people had plunged her. The death of one man could not change the nation. It needed a strong arm to protect it against the effects

of its own corruption, and the conspirators had stricken that down.

The conspirators had hoped that the people would come at once to their support, but the Romans were thrown into utter consternation by the murder. All classes feared that Cæsar's death would be followed by a return of proscription and revenge. This hesitation gave Mark Antony time to possess himself of Cæsar's papers and treasures. He was now sole consul, and he exerted himself to prevent the assassins from profiting by their crime. He was aided by the procrastination of the conspirators, who failed to act with the decision their course required. Antony pronounced a noble funeral oration over the dead body of Cæsar, and in the course of it exhibited the will of the dictator, in which the Roman people were generously remembered, and succeeded in turning the crowd against the murderers. By securing the co-operation of Lepidus, who had been the chief of Cæsar's cavalry, and by entering into negotiations with the assassins, and professing to recognize the authority of the senate, Antony made himself actual master of Rome. Brutus and Cassius and their associates, fearing that he meant to destroy them, left Rome and appealed to the provinces to support them. Antony seemed on the point of realizing all his ambitious hopes, when there suddenly appeared a rival on the scene.

In his last will and testament Cæsar had named the grandson of his sister Julia, C. Octavius, as his heir and son by adoption. The young man had been educated with great care under the eye of the dictator, who was much attached to him. He was absent from Rome at the time of his uncle's murder, but as soon as informed of it hastened to the city to claim his inheritance. Coming into possession of Cæsar's estate, he distributed with scrupulous care the legacies left by the dictator to the troops and people, and so increased his popularity. Cicero embraced his cause, and in a series of orations known as the "Philippics," he destroyed the popularity of Antony, forced him to quit Rome, and freed the senate from his influence. Antony repaired to his province of Cisalpine Gaul and began the third civil war by laying siege to Mutina, which was held by Decimus Brutus. An army under the new consuls was sent against him, and at Cicero's instance Octavius was made prætor and associated with

the consuls in the command of the troops. Antony was defeated in two battles and driven across the Alps, two of his legions deserting to Octavius, B. C. 44-43. These victories were purchased at the cost of the lives of the consuls. Octavius being left sole commander of the army, which had transferred its love for his uncle to him, allowed Antony to escape, bluntly refusing to pursue him. He claimed the whole merit of the war, and sent a detachment of his troops to demand the consulship for himself. The senate refused his demand, and he at once marched upon Rome, plundering the country as he went. Sustained by his legions, he compelled the senate to confer the supreme power upon him, although he was but nineteen years of age. He called himself consul, and associated his cousin Quintus Pedius with him as his colleague. He caused the senate to confirm his adoption by his uncle, and to indict the murderers of Cæsar. As all these had fled from Rome at his approach, he had them condemned in their absence, and a similar sentence passed upon Sextus Pompey. Octavius was made sole commander of the forces of the republic, with power to make war or peace with Antony and Lepidus, who had now united their forces. The latter policy suited him best at present, as he needed the aid of his rivals to defeat the party of Brutus and Cassius. An interview between the three commanders was held on a small island in the river Reno, and resulted in the organization of the "Second Triumvirate," B. C. 43. By this arrangement Cæsar Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus agreed to share the government of the Roman dominions between them for five years. A proscription on a large scale was agreed upon and put in execution, partly to strike terror to their enemies and partly to enable the triumvirs to carry on the war. It was one of the cruellest campaigns of murder that had ever been waged in Italy, and among the victims was the orator Cicero, who, though a friend of Octavian (as he was now called), was sacrificed to the hatred of Antony. The property of the murdered man was invariably seized. Octavian and Antony then crossed the Adriatic into Greece at the head of 120,000 men, and defeated Brutus and Cassius in two battles at Philippi, in November, B. C. 42. Brutus and Cassius both committed suicide.

The death of Brutus and Cassius com-

pleted the destruction of the republic. Neither of the triumvirs wished to restore it; the struggles of each were now directed solely to obtaining the mastery over his rivals. The immediate consequence of the battle of Phillippi was a new distribution of the empire between the three. Antony received the East, Octavian Italy and Spain, and Lepidus Africa. The division had hardly been made, however, before the parties to it began to quarrel over it. The position of Octavian was rendered difficult by the attitude of Sextus Pompey, who had made himself master of Sicily, and intercepted the supplies of Rome, and also from the despair of the Italians, numbers of whom were driven from their lands to make room for the veterans. Many of the veterans, disappointed in not receiving as much as they had expected, turned against Octavian. Antony took advantage of these troubles to plot against his rival. Though absent in the East, his interests were confided to his wife Fulvia and his brother Lucius. These attempted to raise a revolt, but were soon obliged to submit. A new arrangement between Antony and Octavian followed. Antony was obliged to give up a part of the East, and Octavian received, in addition to Italy and Spain, both of the Gauls and Illyricum, or, in other words, the whole West. Fulvia having died, Antony married Octavia, the widowed sister of his colleague. In B. C. 39 this arrangement was modified by the admission to the agreement of Sextus Pompey, who was given Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, on condition of his supplying Rome with grain. He failed to execute his part of the agreement, and in B. C. 38 Octavian made war upon him, and after a struggle of two years defeated him, and compelled him to fly to Asia, thus adding the Western islands to his own dominions. The land forces of Pompey, which were considerable, transferred their allegiance to Lepidus, who assumed the title of Imperator. Octavian boldly entered the camp of his rival, and appealed to the troops to join him. His eloquence was successful; the entire army went over to him. Octavian degraded Lepidus from his triumvirship, but spared his life and allowed him to retain his office of pontifex maximus, with which arrangement Lepidus was content.

Antony was now the only rival left to Octavian, and had mortally affronted him by abandoning his wife Octavia, and

by giving himself up to the allurements of the beautiful Egyptian Queen Cleopatra. In setting out for his war against the Parthians, in B. C. 37, Antony had left his wife in Italy, and soon after arriving in Asia was joined by Cleopatra, whose slave he continued to be until his death. During the years B. C. 36, 35 and 34, Antony conducted the war against the Parthians in a feeble and halting manner, winning but few successes, and no honors. He devoted the autumn of 34 to debauchery and pleasure. He bestowed crowns upon his children by Cleopatra, and gave to her the Roman provinces of Cœle-Syria and Cyprus. Octavian, who had spent these years in consolidating his power, and extending his dominions in the region of the western Alps, had become as popular with the Romans as he was once feared. He greatly increased his popularity by adorning and improving the city of Rome. He had long sought a pretext to attack Antony, and he was now furnished with one by the treasonable conduct of the latter in alienating the Roman territory by his gifts to Cleopatra. War was declared against Antony and Cleopatra in B. C. 32. The first year was uneventful. Antony had collected a powerful army and fleet from the East, and was superior in force to his rival, but his indecision and slavish infatuation for Cleopatra disgusted his followers, and he found himself the leader of a half mutinous army. His officers and men deserted in large numbers to Octavian, who received them kindly, and Antony became so disheartened that he formed the fatal resolution of deserting his forces and flying to Egypt with Cleopatra. With this deliberate intention he put to sea with his fleet from the coast of Epirus, on which his army was encamped. He encountered the fleet of Octavian off Actium on the 2d of September, B. C. 31. A battle ensued, the advantage being at first with Antony, whose ships were more formidable than those of his rival. In the midst of the fight Cleopatra, with sixty Egyptian ships, drew off and sailed for Egypt. Seeing this, Antony sprang from the deck of his flagship to a swift galley, and followed the queen. His fleet, thus deserted by its commander, was defeated by the inferior vessels of Octavian. A few days later, the flight of Antony becoming known to his army, it surrendered to Octavian. Octavian followed his rival to Egypt, defeated his forces and reduced the Egyptian queen to such

straits, that she offered to betray her lover as the price of her crown; but her offer was declined, as Cæsar sought the conquest of Egypt as well as revenge upon Antony. Defeated before Alexandria, and deserted by all his followers, Antony ended his life by suicide, and Cleopatra, seeing that Cæsar could not be moved by her wiles, followed the example of her lover. Egypt submitted and became a Roman province. In B. C. 29 Octavian returned to Rome, where he celebrated a triple triumph. He was supreme and undisputed master of the world; and in token of the universal peace which reigned throughout his dominions, the brazen gates of the temple of Janus were shut—for the third time since the founding of Rome.

Octavian now set up on the ruins of the old Roman commonwealth an imperial monarchy under the forms of a republic. He dated his empire from the day of Actium, the victory which made him master of the world. He was thirty-two years of age at this period; and he reigned for forty-five years. This long reign enabled him to establish securely the empire he founded, and to settle it so firmly that it survived for centuries in spite of the great trials to which it was subjected. His prudence and sagacity enabled him to avoid the errors of his uncle Julius, and to secure the supreme power in his own hands while appearing to conform strictly to the forms of the law. He thus conciliated the republicans, who believed they saw the republic revived un-

der his rule, and delighted the monarchists, who beheld their dearest wishes realized in him. He prudently avoided assuming the title of dictator, or the rank or state of a king. He lived as a wealthy senator in his mansion on the Palatine Hill, and when he went abroad it was without the



OCTAVIAN VIEWING THE DEAD BODY OF ANTONY.

pomp or the retinue of a monarch. Yet in spite of this apparent regard for republican forms, he was absolute master of the empire, and he attained this end by uniting in his own person the most important offices of the state, which had previously been held by different individuals. His most unusual title was that of "Imperator," which

had formerly been borne by the consular generals during their official terms. As imperator or "Commander-in-chief," he had command of all the provinces. As "Prince of the Senate" he possessed the right of proposing laws to that body, which it promptly ratified. As Pontifex Maximus he was supreme in sacred affairs. As perpetual Tribune, Consul, and Censor, he was possessed of all the powers belonging to those offices. The senate conferred upon him the agnomen of Augustus, which was made hereditary in his family, but which brought with it no accession of power.

The senate continued to exist, nominally a check upon Augustus, but in reality his creature. All the bolder leaders had perished during the civil war, and the survivors cared more for the favor of the emperor than for their own rights or independence. The senators were 600 in number, and were composed of those persons whom Augustus, when censor, had suffered to remain, and of those whom he now appointed to the senatorial dignity. It comprised not only Romans and Italians, but also, to a certain extent, provincials. The latter were obliged to reside in Italy, and in later times were required to be landholders in Italy. No one could obtain a seat in it without being possessed of a property qualification, which was first placed by Augustus at 400,000 sesterces, and gradually advanced to 1,200,000 sesterces. Nominally the senate retained its old powers and privileges. According to the legal fiction of the times, the emperor derived his authority from it, and it was recognized as the ultimate seat of the civil power and authority, and Augustus was always most scrupulous to obtain its assent to his measures; an easy task, since all the senators were entirely subservient to him. At a later period the powers of the senate became insignificant and the emperors became absolute despots.

The wisdom of Augustus left to the Roman people some remnants of their ancient privileges. The consuls and one-half of the other magistrates were nominated by the emperor, but the remaining magistrates were elected from among candidates whom the emperor approved. "Legislation followed its old course, and the entire series of the *Leges Juliæ* enacted under Augustus, received the sanction of both the senate and the centuries. The judicial rights alone of the people were at this time absolutely extinguished, the prerogative of pardon which

the emperor assumed taking the place of the *provocatio ad populum*." But the tendency of the empire was, naturally, to infringe more and more on the remaining popular rights; and, though a certain show of election, and a certain title to a share in legislation, were maintained by the great assemblies up to the time when the empire fell, yet practically from the reign of Tiberius the people ceased to possess any real political power or privilege."

The vast extent of the empire and the multiplicity of its affairs made it necessary that the emperor should have the assistance of others in its government. He therefore called to his aid a regularly constituted council of state, in which all important affairs of state and all legislative measures were discussed and prepared. The council was composed of the chief annual magistrates and fifteen senators chosen by the senate for a term of six months.

The old offices were continued, and new ones instituted. The principal of the latter were those of prefect of the city, and commander of the prætorian guard. The prætorian guard was a force of 10,000 picked men who were quartered in the city for the protection of the emperor's person. In the later years of the empire, as we shall see, it played an important and unlooked-for part in Roman history.

The boundaries of the empire founded by Augustus may be generally stated as follows: The northern boundary consisted of the British Channel, the German Ocean, the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euxine; the eastern of the Euphrates and the desert of Syria; the southern of the great desert of Africa; and the western of the Atlantic Ocean. Its area was about a million and a half square miles, and included the countries now called Portugal, Spain, France, Belgium, Western Holland, Rhenish Prussia, portions of Baden, Wurtemberg, nearly all of Bavaria, Switzerland, Italy, the Tyrol, Austria proper, Western Hungary, Croatia, Slavonia, Serbia, Turkey in Europe, Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Idumæa, Egypt, the Cyrenaica, Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria, and nearly all of Morocco. The empire, exclusive of Italy, was divided into twenty-seven provinces. These were of two kinds. Those which were at peace, and did not require the exercise of the military power, were called senatorial provinces, and were governed by proconsuls appointed by the senate, the emperor's nominee of

course being confirmed. Those in which the presence of an army was required were imperial provinces, and were governed either by the emperor in person or by his lieutenants. The frontier provinces nearly all required the constant exertions of the army either to maintain them against the outside barbarians or to hold them in submission.

The army, upon whose good will the emperor depended largely for his support, consisted of 175,000 Italian soldiers, divided into twenty-five legions of 7,000 men each, infantry, cavalry, and artillery. The provinces supplied an equal number of auxiliary troops, making the total force of the standing army 350,000 or 360,000 men—hardy veterans all, armed, equipped, and disciplined after the best known method.

CHAPTER VII.

THE EMPIRE—FROM AUGUSTUS TO ELAGABALUS.

Rome the Mistress of the World—Reign of Augustus—Wars with the Germans—Successes of Drusus and Tiberius—Defeat of Varus—Grief of Augustus—Improvement of Rome—Glories of the Reign of Augustus—Tiberius Emperor—First Years of his Reign—Jealous of Germanicus—Cruelties of Tiberius—Sejanus—His Crimes—Tiberius Retires to Capræ—Fall of Sejanus—Tyranny of the Emperor—Growth of Christianity—Caligula Emperor—His Cruel and Shameful Reign—Reign of Claudius—Conquest of Britain by the Romans—Nero Emperor—His Profligacy and Cruelty—The Burning of Rome—Persecution of the Christians—Revolt of the Provinces—Death of Nero—Rome Rebuilt—Reigns of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius—The Jewish War—Vespasian Emperor—Revolt of the Germans—Jerusalem Taken—Titus Emperor—His Reign—Destruction of Herculaneum and Pompeii—Cruel Reign of Domitian—Nerva's Good Reign—Trajan Emperor—Spread of the Christian Religion—Vigorous Measures of Trajan—His Reforms—Subdues Dacia—The Parthian War—His Death—Hadrian Emperor—His Peaceful Reign—His Journeys—His Cruelties—His Wish for Death—Reign of Antoninus Pius—Marcus Aurelius—His Wars—Persecutes the Christians—Commodus Emperor—His Disgraceful Reign—Decline of the Empire—Pertinax Emperor—The Prætorians Sell the Imperial Dignity to Didius Julianus—Severus made Emperor—He Destroys the Power of the Prætorians—His Wars in Parthia and Britain—Caracalla Emperor—His Cruelties—Is Murdered—Macrinus Succeeds to the Throne—Is Defeated by the Parthians—His Murder—Elagabalus made Emperor—His Shameful and Dissolute Reign—His Murder.

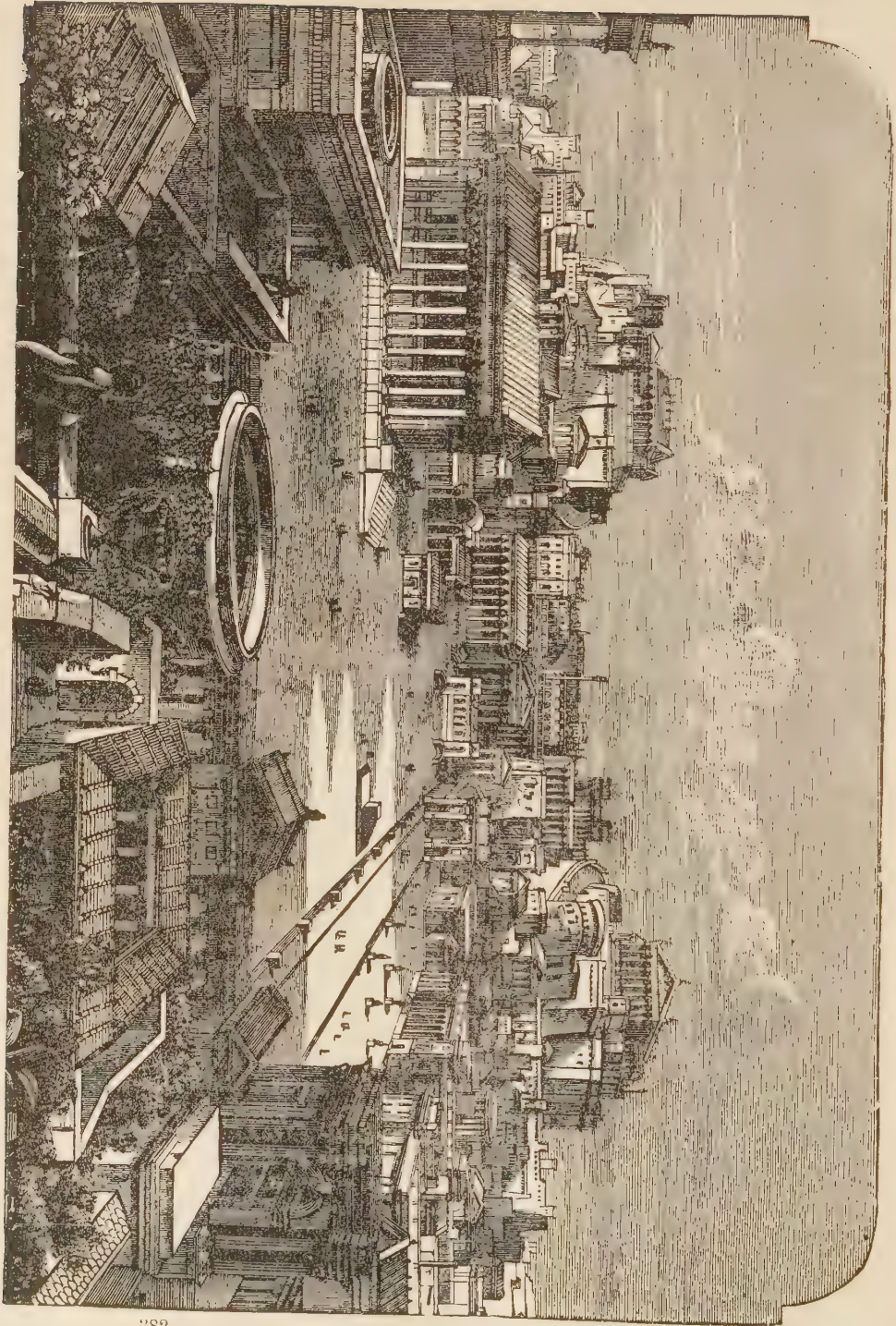
THE history of the ancient world is now that of the Roman empire. Whichever way the student may turn his gaze he will see nothing but Rome. The whole of the then known world, except the Parthian

empire, is embraced within the Roman dominions.

The reign of Augustus continued through the first fourteen years of the first century after Christ. The whole period of forty-five years from the battle of Actium to the death of the emperor was mainly one of peace. A few wars mark this reign, however, and must be noticed. Northern and northwestern Spain were completely subjugated between B. C. 27 and B. C. 19, partly by Augustus in person and partly by Agrippa and Carisius. In B. C. 24 Ælius Gallus attempted to conquer the spice regions of Arabia, but failed. Drusus and Tiberius, the step-sons of the emperor, in B. C. 16 and 15 reduced the region between the Lombardo-Venetian plain and the upper Danube. The tribes of the middle and lower Danube were also conquered, but with greater difficulty, and only after frequent revolts—between B. C. 12 and A. D. 9.

The most important of these wars was that waged by Augustus against the Germans. The comparative ease with which the Gauls and the tribes dwelling south of the Danube had been conquered, encouraged Augustus to believe that the great region of central Europe, between the Danube and the Baltic, could be subdued as easily. The conquest of this region would have advanced the Roman frontier to the Vistula and the Dneister, and would have been an important gain in a military point of view. In B. C. 12 Augustus began a series of systematic attacks upon the German tribes east of the Rhine and north of the Danube, his object being the entire subjugation of these races. Until B. C. 9 the Roman armies were commanded by Drusus, but upon the death of that prince the command passed to Tiberius. Germany was overrun by the vast armies of the Romans, aided by their fleets, which reduced the coasts and the banks of the navigable rivers. Forts were erected to hold the country in subjection, and the Roman language and laws were introduced. Augustus congratulated himself upon the complete subjugation of the region between the Rhine and the Elbe. The submission of the Germans, however, was only nominal; their spirit was unsubdued, and they were patiently watching a favorable opportunity to regain their independence. From A. D. 4 to A. D. 8 the Germans remained quiet and apparently submissive. Towards the close of this period Tiberius was succeeded by Quintilius Varus, who

ROME DURING THE EMPIRE—SHOWING THE FORUM AND THE CAPITOL.



had been Governor of Syria. He discontinued hostile operations, and applied himself to the organization of his province, forgetting however the difference between the free-spirited Germans and the slavish Syrians, whom he had ruled with a hand of iron. His measures were harsh and oppressive, and drove the Germans into rebellion. The revolt was lead by Arminius (Herman), a prince of the Cherusci, who had been educated at Rome, and who was well acquainted with the Roman tactics. Although he had been made a Roman citizen and a knight, his German patriotism was undiminished, and he had long contemplated the re-establishment of his country's freedom. When all his plans were in readiness, he caused Varus to be informed that a tribe in the north had revolted. Varus was then in the country of the Cherusci, near the Weser, and he at once set out at the head of a large army to punish the rebels. Arminius allowed him to penetrate with his legions into the depths of the Teutoburg wood, the difficulties of which were increased by the marshy nature of the ground, the result of heavy rains; and then suddenly attacked him with the dense masses of German warriors with which he had skilfully surrounded his force. Whichever way the Romans turned, the wooded heights were alive with the Germans, and escape was impossible. The battle was changed into a massacre; three entire legions were destroyed, and the few survivors were sacrificed upon the altars of the gods of the conquerors. Varus was wounded, and fell upon his sword to avoid being captured. It was the most terrible defeat the Roman arms had ever met with; and utterly destroyed the power of Rome in Germany. The Roman garrisons were speedily overcome and were put to the sword, and in a few weeks not a Roman remained alive in all Germany. The independence of that country was firmly established, never to be lost again. Though the Romans the next year renewed the war under the command of Tiberius, they did not venture upon anything more than mere retaliatory incursions across the Rhine. Germanicus, between A. D. 12 and 14, pursued a similar policy, but no attempt at conquest or permanent occupation was made. The news of the disaster to the army of Varus struck Rome with terror. Augustus, now an old man, gave way to the wildest grief, and for months would burst out into bitter lamen-

tations, crying in useless grief, "Quintilius Varus, give me back my legions!" By his will, which was adopted as the policy of his successors, the Rhine was regarded as the Roman frontier in this quarter, and so continued until the Germans themselves swept over it, and upon the ruins of the empire of Augustus laid the foundations of the states of modern Europe.

Apart from these wars the reign of Augustus was one of peace and prosperity. The internal tranquillity of Rome was never disturbed. The revolutionary elements had exhausted themselves in the civil war, and the prudent and far-seeing management of the emperor prevented new causes of trouble from arising. The Romans were consoled for their lost liberties by the rapid increase of prosperity which the wise administration of the emperor brought to them, and by the distribution of supplies in times of necessity. The city of Rome was so much improved by the erection of new and stately edifices that Augustus could boast with truth that he "had



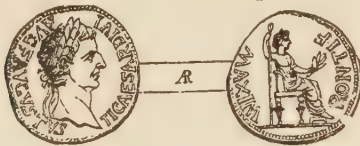
PENNY (DENARIUS) OF AUGUSTUS.

found Rome of brick and left it of marble." Commerce expanded with wonderful activity under him; all the arts of peace flourished; great improvements were made in agriculture, and the productiveness of the soil was increased in Italy and the provinces; and Rome reached her highest point of material prosperity in this reign. Augustus was also a wise and munificent patron of literature and art. Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Tibullus, Propertius, Varius, and Livy graced his court, and so brilliant were the intellectual achievements of this period that men have since termed the brightest epoch of the literature of a nation its Augustan age.

But the happiness of Augustus was confined entirely to his public life, and did not extend to his domestic relations. Personally he was a sufferer from ill-health, an affliction which marked the greater portion of his life. He ardently desired to be succeeded by an heir of his own blood, but though thrice married he had but one child, a daughter, Julia, who disgraced him by her excesses. The connections from whom

he would have chosen his successor were removed by death, and he was compelled from necessity to select as his heir his step-son Tiberius, whom he disliked. He required Tiberius to adopt as his heir the young Germanicus, the son of Drusus, the brother of Tiberius, and bestowed upon Germanicus the hand of his grand-daughter Agrippina. A son was born to this union during the life of Augustus, and subsequently ascended the throne as Caligula.

Augustus died in A. D. 14, and was succeeded by his step-son Tiberius, with the entire consent of the senate and Roman people. The only opposition to the new sovereign proceeded from the army, which desired to elevate its idolized leader, Germanicus, to the purple, but that prince, either from generosity or lack of ambition, refused to countenance the treason, and thus secured the undisputed accession of his uncle. In spite of this, however, Tiberius chose to regard him as a rival, and rewarded his fidelity with a hostility which was so open that it soon became apparent to the



DENARIUS OF TIBERIUS CAESAR.

courtiers that the shortest way to the favor of the emperor was to injure Germanicus either by word or deed.

For the first twelve years after his accession, A. D. 14-26, Tiberius reigned at Rome, and pursued a policy which was mild by comparison with his subsequent acts. During the first years of this period, Germanicus was engaged in conducting the war against Arminius in Germany. After several defeats he won some successes over the German leader, and in A. D. 17 was recalled to Rome, ostensibly to receive the honor of a triumph, but really to put an end to his success. He was met at a distance of twenty miles from the city by a crowd of Roman citizens, who thronged out to meet him. This evidence of the great popularity of the young prince so alarmed Tiberius that he removed him from his command, and sent him to conduct the war in Asia. With him to his new field of operations went Piso, an unscrupulous favorite of the emperor, who was charged with the task of thwarting the efforts of his leader and bringing him into disgrace. In spite of this

drawback, Germanicus succeeded in settling the affairs of Armenia and organizing Cappadocia and Commagéné as Roman provinces. He died in A. D. 19, near the Syrian Antioch, believing himself to have been poisoned by Piso.

Tiberius was fully conscious of his utter unfitness for the lofty position he occupied, but his jealousy of all the members of the Julian house and of his own relatives was so great that he was afraid to call any of them to his assistance in the difficult task of governing his empire. He was equally distrustful of all the great patricians, in each of whom he saw a rival. He therefore abolished the council of state of Augustus, and undertook the management of the empire unaided. Finding this task too great for him, he selected an assistant whose abilities he believed would make him useful, while his position was too insignificant to render him dangerous. His choice fell upon Ælius Sejanus, a Volsinian knight. He made him "Prætorian Prefect," and trusted him so entirely that Sejanus soon acquired the most unbounded influence over him. This man, whom Tiberius believed too obscure to be dangerous, appears from the moment of his accession to have conceived the ambitious design of becoming master of the empire. His first step was to seduce Livilla, the wife of Drusus, the son of Tiberius, and with her aid he removed Drusus by poison, A. D. 23. His crime being undiscovered, he had the audacity to ask the emperor's permission to marry Livilla. This bold request opened the eyes of Tiberius to the ambition of his favorite, but, though he refused to allow the marriage, he continued to submit himself to the influence of Sejanus. He was persuaded by Sejanus to retire to the island of Capræa, in the most delightful part of the Mediterranean, and leave the control of the empire in the hands of the favorite. Left master of Rome, Sejanus exerted himself to remove all the obstacles to the realization of his ambition. First of all it was necessary to destroy the remaining members of the family of Augustus. By intrigue and falsehood he procured the consent of the emperor to the arrest and imprisonment of Agrippina, the widow of Germanicus, and her sons, Nero and Drusus. By continually urging the subject, he induced Tiberius to sanction his marriage with Livilla, and was formally betrothed to her, and at the same time was made joint consul with the

emperor. Tiberius now suddenly changed his course. The ambition of his favorite alarmed him, and his favors ceased. Sejanus quickly detected the evidences of the changed feelings of his master, and to secure his own safety organized a plot for the murder of the emperor. It was detected, and the favorite was arrested, degraded from his command, and put to death, A. D. 31.

The treachery of the only man whom he had trusted embittered Tiberius against the whole human race, and he became more suspicious than ever. He did not return to Rome, but remained in the magnificent retreat he had constructed in the Mediterranean, dwelling "in the dreadful privacy of some fabled deity, and was only felt at the farthest ends of his empire by the unhappiness he occasioned." Learning for the first time that his son Drusus had been murdered, he became alarmed for his own safety, and influenced by a desire for revenge as well as the wish to remove all whom he considered dangerous to himself, he inaugurated a reign of terror such as Rome had never seen before. Livilla, the betrothed wife of Sejanus, Agrippina, Nero, Drusus, and all the relatives of Germanicus, were put to death; hundreds of patricians of both sexes were massacred, and even little children were numbered among the victims of the cruel tyrant. In the seclusion of his island retreat, Tiberius gave himself up "to strange and unnatural forms of profligacy." He died there in A. D. 37, at the age of seventy-eight.

In this reign the last vestige of the liberties of Rome disappeared. The emperor withdrew from the tribes the appointment of magistrates, and henceforth all these were appointed by the crown. He also extended the penalties of treason to words and even thoughts. Augustus had scrupulously conformed to the requirements of the criminal laws in the removal of those who were obnoxious to him, but Tiberius at a blow struck down the right of trial, and his victims were executed upon his own order alone. He quartered the prætorian guard in a camp immediately without the walls of Rome, for the purpose of overawing the citizens into submission to his tyranny.

While the Roman world was plunged in terror by the cruelties of Tiberius, there was growing up in a distant part of the empire the influence which was to change the destiny of the whole world. Jesus

Christ grew up to manhood in the latter part of the reign of Augustus and in the first years of that of Tiberius. In A. D. 27, at the age of thirty, he began his public ministry. In A. D. 29 he was crucified at Jerusalem, by order of the Roman governor, Pontius Pilate, and three days later gave the conclusive proof of his divinity by his triumphant resurrection from the dead. Forty days later he ascended to heaven, leaving his apostles to complete the great work of Christianizing the world in his name. His earthly career thus extended over a period of thirty-three years, and closed about the time when the power of Sejanus had reached its culminating point. In the latter years of the reign of Tiberius the first missionaries of the cross began their labors, going out from Jerusalem to the surrounding country, preaching the story of the crucified Christ, and laying the foundations of that great revolution which was to conquer even Rome itself. The year of the death of Tiberius witnessed a still more momentous event in the miraculous conversion of Saul of Tarsus to Christianity.

Tiberius died without naming a successor, but the senate, soldiers, and people unanimously chose one in Caius Cæsar, the only surviving son of Germanicus and Agrippina. He is better known as Caligula, a nickname bestowed upon him in his childhood by the legions in Germany, whose pet he was, in consequence of the little military boots (*caligæ*) which he wore to please them. He was twenty-six years old when he came to the throne, and was regarded by all as a young man of amiable and generous disposition. He soon undeceived his people, and degenerated rapidly into a cruel and whimsical tyrant. At his accession the imperial treasury contained a surplus of over one hundred million dollars; but he squandered this immense sum in a few months, and to supply his wants he resorted to oppressive taxation and to an arbitrary use of the laws concerning treason. The estates of the attainted persons being forfeited to the crown, it soon became apparent that to be a traitor in the eyes of the emperor it was only necessary to be rich. Executions and suicides were numerous, and the cruelty and wantonness of the emperor increased with each fresh victim. He had a peculiar way of nodding with his head or pointing with his finger at those whose death he wished. His executioners

at once seized and despatched the victims. He kept a box of a poisonous compound, which he offered to the more distinguished. These were expected to use the poison as snuff is taken. Whoever took a pinch died of the effects of the drug. Those who refused it were executed for treason. A monster of profligacy, Caligula lived in open incest with his sister Drusilla until her death in A. D. 38. About this time he was seized with a severe illness which unsettled his reason, and the Roman world had a madman for its master. He proclaimed himself a god, and built a temple to his honor as Jupiter Latiaris, and so low had the once proud patricians of Rome sunk that they contended for the privilege of ministering at this shrine. At the public games, when the supply of criminals was insufficient, spectators taken at random from the crowd were seized by order of the emperor and thrown to the beasts, and that they might not shock him with their dying curses, their tongues were cut out. At last this brief but terrible period of suffering was brought to a close by the murder of Caligula by two of his guards whom he had insulted beyond endurance, A. D. 41.

The sudden end of Caligula not only left the empire without a ruler, but also without any known means of choosing one. The senate claimed the right to nominate the successor to the throne, but instead of acting promptly, engaged in a long debate as to the proper course to be pursued. The prætorians, aware of the hesitation of the senate, settled the matter by proclaiming Claudius, the uncle of Caligula, emperor, and the senate did not dare to refuse to ratify the choice of the troops. This bold action settled the mode of procedure, and for more than half a century afterwards the emperor was chosen by the prætorians, and the senate was obliged to confirm the nomination.

Claudius had been found by the soldiers hidden in the palace, alarmed by the death of his nephew, and had been literally forced into the purple. From his childhood he had been regarded as half-witted, and had been kept out of public life. Shy, weak, and awkward, he was in every way unfitted to rule such an empire, especially at the period of its greatest corruption. Still, as he was honest and well-meaning, his reign might have been creditable had he been left to rule alone; but from the first he was under the control of his wives and his favor-

ites, who took advantage of his weakness to carry out their own infamous designs. Messalina, the infamous wife of Claudius, was a monster of wickedness, whose name has become a synonym for vice in woman. She gratified her jealousy and hatred of the patricians at the expense of some of the noblest lives in Rome. She had the audacity to go through the forms of a public marriage with one of her paramours, although the emperor was living. At last she was executed for her crimes by order of Claudius, and a law was passed by the senate enabling the emperor to marry his niece Agrippina. It was the good fortune of this princess to be the successor of Messalina, and her reputation is improved by contrast with that of her predecessor. That she was not wholly bad is shown by her recall of Seneca from exile. She made him the tutor of her son Nero, and advanced to power the honest Burrhus, and also protected many of the accused nobles. At last, however, fearful of being punished for her crimes, Agrippina, with the assistance of the emperor's physician, put an end to the life of Claudius by poison, A. D. 54.

The reign of Claudius is not memorable for its crimes alone. In A. D. 44 the island of Britain was conquered, partly by Aulus Plautius and partly by Claudius in person. The whole country as far north as the line of the Dee and the Wash was subdued and brought under the influence of civilization. The Romans "improved as well as conquered. They made roads and built bridges and cut down woods. They established military stations which soon became centres of education and law. They deepened the Thames, and commenced those enormous embankments of the river, to which, in fact, London owes its existence, without being aware of the labor they bestowed upon the work."

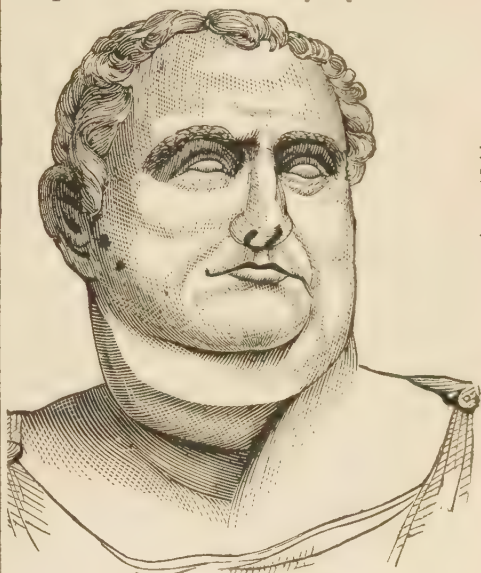
Claudius was succeeded by his stepson Nero, who had married his daughter Octavia. Nero was the son of Agrippina, who had persuaded the emperor to nominate him his heir in place of his own son Britannicus. Immediately upon the death of Claudius Agrippina presented Nero to the prætorians, who hailed him as emperor. Their choice was promptly confirmed by the senate.

The opening of the reign of Nero was full of promise, and for five years the Romans had cause to congratulate themselves upon their change of rulers. The oppressive

taxes of the former reign were remitted, and the poor and meritorious were assisted by grants of lands. The *delators*, an infamous class of people, who earned their living by accusing others of crime, were suppressed. Armenia was conquered, and the country along the lower Rhine was improved by the erection of dykes to prevent inundations. These wise measures were due to Burrhus and Seneca, the able and incorruptible ministers of the emperor. Nero himself was from the first a cruel tyrant and a sensual profligate. He poisoned his foster-brother, Britannicus, in the second year of his reign (A. D. 55). A little later he banished his mother and gave himself up to amusement and debauchery, and about A. D. 58 passed under the baleful influence of an infamous woman named Poppæa Sabina, the wife of Otho, who became his mistress. At her instigation Nero murdered his mother (A. D. 59), and then his wife, Octavia (A. D. 62), whom he had previously repudiated. He murdered the faithful Burrhus, drove Seneca from his court, and gave free rein to his baser proclivities. He encouraged delation, and refilled his depleted treasury with the wealth of his victims. Forced contributions were also levied upon the people. He openly encouraged the most abominable of vices, and shocked his subjects by publicly engaging in the performances of the circus and the theatre. He took part in the vocal performances of the Isthmian Games, and caused one of the singers to be put to death because his voice drowned his own. In A. D. 64 a terrible conflagration destroyed ten of the fourteen "regions," or wards, of the city of Rome. Nero watched the progress of the flames from a tower on the Esquiline, and chanted the "Sack of Troy" in the dress of an actor. He manifested the most heartless indifference to the sufferings of his subjects. Though he was believed to have ordered the firing of the city in consequence of his disgust with its narrow and winding streets, he charged the crime upon the Christians, who had now become quite numerous in Rome, and inaugurated the cruel persecution of the followers of Jesus Christ, which disgraced the empire until the reign of Constantine. He also persecuted the Jews with equal severity.

The next year a conspiracy against the life of the emperor was detected and cruelly punished. Fear now drove Nero on to

greater barbarity. By a series of executions and assassinations, which followed each other in quick succession, he removed the richest and most powerful and the most virtuous of the Romans, and all the descendants of Augustus. At last his vengeance extended to the commanders of his armies in distant countries. Corbulo, the conqueror of Armenia, was arrested and executed, and Rufus and Scribonius, the commanders of the army in Germany, avoided a public execution only by taking their own lives. It now became clear to the other commanders that they could escape a similar fate only by rebellion.



THE EMPEROR VITELLIUS.

They therefore rose in insurrection simultaneously in Germany, Gaul, Africa, and Spain, and chose Galba, the governor of Hither Spain, as emperor. Nero was at once deserted by the prætorians and his courtiers. He fled to the cottage of a former slave near the city, where, after spending a night of terror, he caused a slave to despatch him in time to avoid being seized by a troop of horse sent in pursuit of him. He died on the 9th of June, A. D. 68, at the age of thirty, and in the fourteenth year of his reign.

During this reign the Britons rebelled under the leadership of their heroic Queen Boadicea, A. D. 61, but were subdued by Suetonius Paulinus. The province of Judæa was also driven into rebellion in consequence of the oppressive government

of Gessius Florus. The Jewish war began in A. D. 66, and Nero despatched Vespasian, his ablest commander, to direct it. Vespasian conducted the struggle with firmness and ability, as well as with great severity, and at the death of Nero had made himself master of nearly the whole of Palestine.

The only creditable act of the latter part of Nero's reign was the rebuilding of Rome upon a more regular and substantial plan. The streets were made broader and straighter, the houses were constructed of stone, made fire-proof, and separated from each other by alleys or lanes of considerable width, and an abundant supply of pure water was introduced into each dwelling. The imperial palace having been destroyed by the fire, Nero built his famous "Golden House," on a scale of magnificence and magnitude never before witnessed in Rome.

S. Sulpicius Galba, the successor of Nero, was upwards of seventy years old at

the Po. Otho was defeated, and at once ended his life by suicide, after a reign of three months, April 16th, A. D. 69.

Vitellius was as much of a profligate as Otho, and lacked the personal courage of his rival. He owed his success entirely to the efforts of his generals, and upon coming to the throne he promptly gave evidence of the incapacity and utter worthlessness which in the end cost him his crown. A few months after his accession, Vespasian, who had conquered nearly all of Palestine, and had brought the Jewish war to its last stage, raised the standard of revolt. He was supported by the legions in the East and by the better classes of the empire in general. Proceeding to Alexandria, he seized Egypt, "the granary of Rome," and sent his generals, Antonius Primus and Mucianus, to reduce Italy. Antonius defeated the forces of Vitellius in the battle (the second) of Bedriacum. This victory really decided the contest, though the war was prolonged several months by the soldiers of Vitellius, who would not allow their leader to abdicate. The army of Vespasian a little later stormed and took Rome, and having captured Vitellius, put him to death, December 21st, A. D. 69.

T. Flavius Vespasian dated his reign from July, A. D. 69. He proved the ablest and best ruler Rome had had since Augustus—"a ruler who knew how to combine firmness with leniency, economy with liberality, and a generally pacific policy with military vigor upon proper occasion." Under his vigorous administration the empire regained a great degree of its lost power and prestige. At the beginning of his reign a dangerous revolt broke out in Germany, under Civilis, who aimed at establishing an independent state beyond the Rhine. The movement spread to eastern Gaul, and Sabinus and Classicus were induced by Civilis to proclaim a Gallic empire. The Gauls refused to participate in the revolt, and that province was easily quieted by Cerialis, the general of Vespasian, who then passed into Germany and drove Civilis across the Rhine, A. D. 69-70.

Upon leaving Judæa, Vespasian had committed the prosecution of the war to his elder son Titus. In A. D. 70 Titus advanced to Jerusalem and laid siege to the city, which he captured and destroyed after one of the most memorable and terrible sieges in history. The inhabitants were massacred or sold into slavery, and the na-



COIN OF VESPASIAN.

the time of his elevation to the purple. He was a man of sterling integrity, a Roman of the old school, and his simple habits and the rigid economy which he introduced into the management of the public funds disgusted the prætorians and the people. Having adopted Piso Licinianus as his successor, he alienated Otho, the favorite of Nero, who had hoped to secure this honor, and the latter headed an insurrection. Galba and Piso were slain, and the servile senate at once acknowledged Otho as emperor, January 15th, A. D. 69.

M. Salvius Otho was the husband of Poppæa, the infamous mistress of Nero. He was a worn-out debauché, who had run through almost every form of vice, and was in no way fitted for the position he had seized. His elevation was disputed by the legions in Germany, who proclaimed their commander, Vitellius, emperor. A battle was fought between the rivals at Bedriacum, near the confluence of the Adda and

tional existence of the Jews was brought to an end.

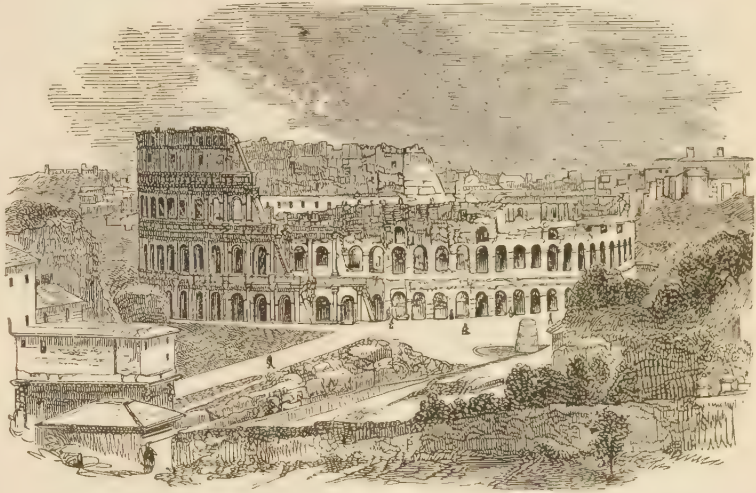
In Britain the boundary of the Roman dominions was advanced by Agricola, who was made governor in A. D. 78, from the line of the Wash and Dee to that of the Solway Frith and the Tyne, and was maintained by the establishment of a chain of forts across the isthmus which unites England with Scotland.

At home the wisdom and success of Vespasian were manifest. The finances were rescued from the confusion into which they had fallen, and were placed upon a stable basis; the discipline of the army was restored to its old standard; and education and literature were encouraged by the patronage of the state. The great public works of the emperor gave employment to the laboring class. He converted the space enclosed by Nero for his own use, into public grounds, and in a portion of it erected the Flavian Amphitheatre or Coliseum. He died in A. D. 79.

Previous to his death Vespasian had associated his son Titus with him in the empire, and at his father's decease Titus succeeded to the sole sovereignty without opposition. He was sincerely and unceasingly devoted to the happiness of his people, and though careless in his expenditures and possessed of grave personal faults, he must be classed among the good emperors. He is said to have exclaimed one evening upon remembering that he had performed no useful act that day, that he had "lost a day." During his reign occurred the great eruption of Vesuvius, which destroyed the beautiful and wealthy cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum. A terrible fire raged three days and nights at Rome, and was followed by a destructive pestilence. Titus generously made the pecuniary loss his own, and sold even the ornaments of his palace to

defray the cost of rebuilding the burned district. In September, A. D. 81, his life was brought to a close by a fever. Just before his death he named his younger brother Domitian his successor.

The accession of Domitian met with no opposition, all classes being favorably disposed towards him because of the virtues of his father and brother. He soon gave evidence that he was a very different man from either. He was of a morose and jealous disposition, and by long indulgence of these faults had inclined his nature to cruelty. In the first year of his reign a war with the Dacians broke out in their invasion of Mœsia. They defeated a Roman legion and ravaged the province. In A. D. 86 Domitian sent an army into Dacia to avenge



RUINS OF THE COLISEUM, AT ROME.

this insult, but it was defeated. The next year the Romans were victorious. In A. D. 90 a treaty of peace was made with the Dacians, by which Rome agreed to pay an annual tribute as the price of the exemption of Mœsia from invasion. Domitian was not much more successful in Germany. He crossed the Rhine in A. D. 84, and won some trifling successes over the Chatti; but in A. D. 87 his attack upon the Marcomanni, the Quadi and the Sarmatæ was repulsed. These failures increased his natural savageness, and rendered him a monster of cruelty. He revived the system of false accusations, forfeitures, and death penalties that had brought about the fall of Nero. He was even more cruel and unsparing than that tyrant, and at length, in the sixteenth year

of his reign, was murdered by the freedmen of the palace, who were driven to this step by their own danger, September 18th, A. D. 96.

The cruelties of Domitian had so discredited the hereditary principle, that the senate now asserted a right which it had not exercised since the days of Augustus, and named the successor of the murdered emperor. The prætorians made no objection to this act, but contented themselves with demanding the punishment of the assassins of Domitian.

M. Cocceius Nerva, the emperor chosen by the senate, was about sixty-six years old, and a man of mild character, and of average abilities. He replaced the bloody rule of Domitian with a government of great gentleness. The extravagance which had



PORTION OF BAS-RELIEF ON ARCH OF TITUS, COMMEMORATING THE CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM.

marked the previous reign gave way to economy in every branch of the government, and the practice of delation and confiscation was abolished. Being childless himself, he selected with the sanction of the senate his successor in the person of M. Ulpius Trajanus, and adopted him with the usual ceremonies. This act decided the future policy of the sovereign, and it became a recognized principle of the government that the emperor should select from out the whole population of the empire the Roman most fit for the place, and adopt him as his son and successor. Nerva died in A. D. 98, and his adopted son was at once recognized as emperor.

During this century the spread of the doctrines of the Christian religion was most

marked. From Jerusalem as a centre the missionary apostles went out to the eastern nations preaching their wonderful faith and establishing the Church of Christ. Barnabas and Saul taught the faith at Antioch in Syria, and there the disciples were first called "Christians." Then followed the journeys of St. Paul by which he carried Christianity into Asia Minor and into Greece, and finally to Rome itself, whither he went as a prisoner and a martyr in the reign of Nero. The rapid growth of the new faith excited the alarm of the Romans. Nero attempted to check the spread of Christianity by a severe persecution of its followers. This policy of persecution was continued by his successors, but in spite of it the new faith continued to spread.

Trajan, the new emperor, was a native of the colony of Italica in Spain. His father had been consul and proconsul, and he himself had been bred in the camp, and had served with distinction under his father. In A. D. 91 he was made consul under Domitian, and commanded the province of Lower Germany under that emperor and under Nerva. He was regarded as the ablest man in Rome at the time of his accession to the throne, and was accepted with joy by both the senate and the army. The Romans always regarded him as the best of their emperors. His faults were chiefly a too great fondness for wine and for sensual pleasures; but his good qualities were numerous and brilliant. "He was brave, laborious, magnanimous, simple and unassuming in his habits, affable in his manners, genial; he knew how to combine strictness with leniency, liberality with economy, and devotion to business with sociability and cheerfulness. And if we may thus consider him, in a qualified sense, 'good,' we may certainly without any reserve pronounce him 'great.' Both as a general and as an administrator he stands in the front rank of Roman rulers, equalling Augustus in the one respect, and nearly equalling Julius in the other." His industry was untiring. He conducted the government almost alone, carrying on a voluminous correspondence with the governors of the provinces, and furnishing each with instructions for the management of his province. He suppressed delation with a stern hand, and scrupulously respected the rights of the senate, allowing the members freedom of speech, and treating them as his equals in social intercourse. His financial

administration was eminently successful, and was conducted with so much wisdom and prudence that it was never found necessary to resort to increased taxation or confiscations. Yet the public treasury was always kept so full that the emperor never lacked the funds for his military expeditions, his great public works, or his measures for the relief of his distressed subjects. He improved the poor law of Nerva by extending and systematizing its provisions; he relieved the embarrassments of proprietors of

he spent scarcely anything upon himself, and amidst all his numerous engagements found time for the patient hearing of the many appeals made to him from the lower courts. In literature the reign of Trajan ranks next to that of Augustus. Tacitus, the great historian, the younger Pliny, Plutarch, Suetonius, and the slave philosopher Epictetus, lived under his beneficent rule.

The only error of his reign was the desire of Trajan to be known to future ages as a



ARCH OF TRAJAN—ROME.

encumbered estates by loaning them money at a low rate of interest; he caused the ravages made by earthquakes and tempests to be repaired without delay; founded colonies; constructed military roads in various parts of the empire; erected bridges over the Rhine and the Danube; and adorned Rome and the provincial towns with useful and ornamental works. In Rome the principal of these structures were the great Forum, and the Ulpian Library. While so liberal in his treatment of his subjects,

conqueror. The period of conquest had passed, and the emperor would have done well to have regarded the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates as the boundaries of the empire, as Augustus had sagely advised his successors. Trajan, however, chafed under the disgraceful tribute which Domitian had pledged to the Dacians, and in A. D. 101, made war upon Dacia, which was conquered by A. D. 103. Hard terms were imposed by Rome, and the next year the Dacians revolted. Trajan at once took

the field, and by A. D. 105 completely subdued the country, which was made a Roman province, and was held down by a line of forts. Returning to Rome the emperor celebrated his triumph with games which



TRAJAN'S COLUMN—ROME.

lasted for 123 days, during which 11,000 wild beasts, and 10,000 gladiators, chiefly Dacian prisoners, are said to have been slain.

Towards the close of this reign the generally unsettled affairs of the East induced

Trajan to go to war with Parthia. The pretext for the quarrel was the claim of Rome to direct the affairs of Armenia, which was disputed by Parthia. The war began in A. D. 115 with the invasion of Armenia by the emperor in person. That province was quickly subdued, and Trajan carried his victorious arms as far as Susa. The result of the war was the addition to the Roman territory of the provinces of Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria. Trajan died in Cilicia, in A. D. 117, on his return from the East, and his ashes were conveyed to Rome in a golden urn, and buried under the column which is called by his name.

He was succeeded by his adopted son Hadrian, who was distantly related to him, and had served under him with distinction. Hadrian was forty-two years old at this time, and was childless. In many respects he resembled Trajan. He was genial in his disposition, affable in manner, and liberal in character. He expended the public funds lavishly in the service of the state and the improvement of the empire, but managed the finances with such skill that his treasury was never exhausted. Though he ruled with a firm hand, he was moderate in all things, and scrupulously maintained the forms of a free government. He resembled Trajan also in his capacity for and devotion to business, and never allowed his love of pleasure to interfere with his official duties. He was a liberal patron of the arts, and a wise friend to literature. Like the majority of men of his day he was lax in his morals, but he never suffered himself to be drawn into a scandal. He was more irritable than Trajan, and more jealous, but he atoned for these faults by preferring the triumphs of peace to those of war, and by wisely devoting himself to the improvement of his dominions without caring to extend them. He sought faithfully to promote the good of all his subjects.

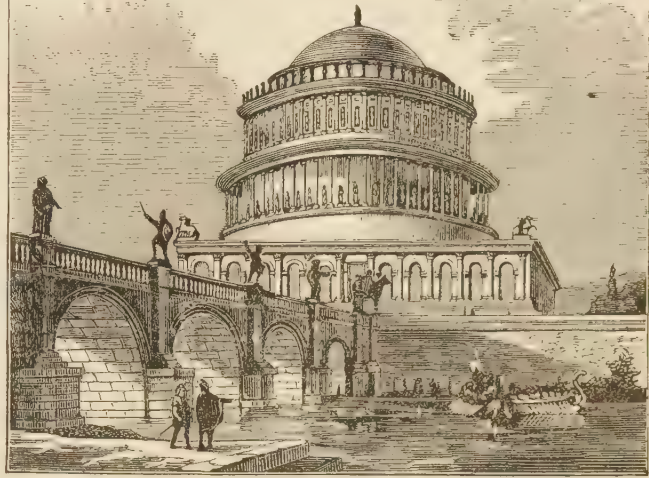
Hadrian began his reign by voluntarily evacuating the provinces of Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria, which had been won by Trajan, but which he knew could not be maintained except at a greater cost of life and treasure than they were worth. In order to acquaint himself with the needs of his subjects, he visited the various portions of his dominions, and resided for prolonged periods at the various provincial capitals. Eboracum (York), in Britain, Athens, Antioch, and Alexandria, were in turn the

residence of the emperor, who spent fifteen out of his twenty-one years in these provincial progresses. He made no difference between the various races over which he ruled, and wherever he went he left some memento of his presence in the great works which he loved to construct. All parts of his dominions were thus benefited. His reign was an almost unbroken period of peace and prosperity.

The only wars which occurred during this reign were one with the Roxolani in A. D. 118, and a revolt of the Jews under Barcochebas in A. D. 131. This struggle lasted until A. D. 135, and ended in the defeat of the Jews, and their absolute banishment from Palestine. The site of Jerusalem was made a Roman colony under the name of *Ælia Capitolina*, and the Christians, who had been banished by Titus, were freely admitted to it by Hadrian.

We have spoken of the excellence of Hadrian's character. It is necessary to dwell upon the darker shades. With the advance of age his natural irritability of temper and jealousy were increased by indulgence of these vices. He became regardless of human life, and put men to death for small offences. He caused an architect to be executed for venturing to criticise some statues designed by himself. As he grew older, Hadrian became "more reckless of the pain he gave. He had a brother-in-law ninety years of age, and there was a grandson of the old man aged eigh-

The old man, just before he died, protested his innocence, and uttered a revengeful prayer that Hadrian might wish to die and find death impossible!" The imprecation was fulfilled! The emperor, tormented with disease, lingered long after he wished for death, and begged his slaves to kill him. He even stabbed himself with a dagger, but still death did not come to his relief. He did not die until B. C. 138. In spite of his faults, however, Hadrian justly takes rank as one of the greatest and best of the em-



MOLE OF HADRIAN—ROME.



COIN OF THE EMPEROR HADRIAN.

teen. He had them both executed on proof or suspicion of a conspiracy. The popular feeling was revolted by the sight of the mingled blood of the two sufferers so nearly related, at the opposite extremities of life.

perors. "To have combined for twenty years unbroken peace with the maintenance of a contented and efficient army; liberal expenditure with a full exchequer, replenished by no oppressive or unworthy means; a free-speaking senate with a firm and strong monarchy, is no mean glory."

The wisdom of Hadrian was never more strikingly exhibited than in the choice of his successor, T. Aurelius Antoninus, or, as he is better known, Antoninus Pius. His reign of twenty-three years was uneventful, but it was peaceful and prosperous. He continued the liberal policy of Trajan and Hadrian, and watched over the happiness and welfare of his subjects with a father's care. He was the first of the emperors who protected the Christians. In Britain the Roman boundary was

advanced to the Clyde and the Forth, and secured by the erection of a barrier known as the "Wall of Antoninus," extending across the district between those waters. Antoninus died in A. D. 161, and was suc-

ceeded by his adopted son, Marcus Aurelius.

Marcus Aurelius was forty years old at the death of his adoptive father, to whom he was sincerely attached, and whose name, Antoninus, he assumed. Personally, he was one of the best of the emperors, loving religion, justice and peace, and honestly seeking to advance the welfare of his subjects. He was a man of pure life and simple habits, and combined in his character all the virtues of the heroic age of Rome. He was kind and affectionate in disposition, and in mental capacity he was one of the foremost of the Cæsars. Yet his



COIN OF ANTONINUS PIUS.

reign was one of misfortune. His wife, Faustina, the daughter of Antoninus, was noted for her dissoluteness, and his eldest son and daughter died during their childhood. He associated Lucius Verus with him in the empire, and the conduct of that unworthy prince caused him great grief and anxiety. Though he desired a peaceful reign, he was involved in war during the whole of his rule. The Parthians renewed the war for the possession of Armenia in A. D. 161, the year of his accession. It continued for five years, the Parthians being at first successful; but they were at length driven from Armenia, and the Parthian territory was invaded by the Roman commanders. Peace was made at the prayer of the Parthians in A. D. 166, and Mesopotamia was ceded to Rome, and Armenia restored to its former position of semi-independence. Thus the Roman boundary was advanced to the Tigris. In A. D. 167, the barbarians north of the Danube, pressed upon by the advancing wave of a great Scythic migration, were forced across that river into the Roman territory. Both emperors took the field against them, and drove them back at first. The next year Verus died, and freed Aurelius from one of his troubles. From this time until the period of his death, in A. D. 180, Aurelius was constantly engaged in efforts to beat back the barbarians and secure the frontier

against their incursions. He was successful in many battles, but he did not succeed in effectually repelling the northern nations, and crippling them to an extent which would compel them to cease their attacks. That was a task beyond his power. The pressure of these nations upon the Danubian tribes was so great that they could not remain within their own limits, and Rome had entered too surely upon her decline to accomplish an undertaking which would have been a serious one in the days of her early vigor.

Though so admirable in other respects, Aurelius was one of the severest persecutors of the Christians. From his youth he had been a devoted follower of the doctrines of the Stoic philosophy, and it is possible that he was influenced in his treatment of the Christians by the advice of the harsh and arrogant members of that sect who surrounded him. During his reign Justyn Martyr suffered martyrdom at Rome, Polycarp at Smyrna, and at Lyons and Vienna large numbers of Christians sealed their faith with their blood. "But," as an eminent divine well says, "the persecution of a sect so small and so obscure as the Christian was at that time, is scarcely perceptible as a diminution of the sum of human happiness secured to the world by the gentleness and equity which regulated all his actions." Aurelius died in Pannonia in A. D. 180.

Commodus, the second son of Aurelius, had been associated with his father in the government at the age of fifteen. Aurelius was tenderly attached to him, and allowed his affection to outweigh his judgment in this selection of a successor. At the death of Aurelius, Commodus became sole emperor. He was but eighteen years of age, and was but a weak and self-indulgent boy, easily influenced by his favorites. His first act was to buy a disgraceful peace of the Marcomanni and Quadi, after which he went back to Rome. For three years he reigned well, following the system marked out by his father, but at the end of this



THE EMPEROR COMMODUS.

time the natural ferocity of his nature was aroused by the discovery of a plot to murder him, A. D. 183. Many of the senators were implicated in the conspiracy. Commodus, fearful of another similar attempt, plunged into the most reckless cruelties. All persons who were unfortunate enough to gain his hostility were put to death. Delation was revived in its worst form, and the property of the victims went to enrich the imperial treasury. Justice was bought and sold. The emperor, caring nothing for the administration of the public affairs, gave himself up to the lowest pleasures. Vain of his physical strength, he called himself "the Roman Hercules," and exhibited himself in the amphitheatre in contests with weak opponents, whom he slew without mercy. At length, after a reign of twelve years and nine months, he was strangled in his bed-room by one of his mistresses and two of his officers, whom he had marked for death, A. D. 192.

Under Commodus the decline of the empire, which had begun as early as the reign of Galba, and had only been arrested by the five good emperors, proceeded with frightful rapidity. The discipline of the army was almost entirely destroyed. The troops deserted their standards by hundreds, and either united with the provincials and settled down into an agricultural life, or organized themselves into banditti and plundered the country without restraint. "Meanwhile, population was declining, and production consequently diminishing, while luxury and extravagance continued to prevail among the upper classes, and to exhaust the resources of the state. Above all, the general morality was continually becoming worse and worse. Despite a few bright examples in high places, the tone of society grew everywhere more and more corrupt. Purity of life, except among the despised Christians, was almost unknown. Patriotism had ceased to exist, and was not yet replaced by loyalty. Decline and decrepitude showed themselves in almost every portion of the body politic, and a general despondency, the result of a consciousness of debility, pervaded all classes. Nevertheless, under all this apparent weakness was an extraordinary reserve of strength. The empire, which under Commodus seemed to be tottering to its fall, still stood, and resisted the most terrible attacks from without for the further space of two full centuries."

The assassins of Commodus hastened to the house of Pertinax, the præfect of the city, and informing him of their bloody deed, offered him the crown. He was an old man, of unblemished character, and was one of the few remaining friends of Marcus Aurelius. Very naturally he shrank from accepting the dangerous honor offered him, but his scruples were at length overcome. The prætorians, yielding to the entreaties of their commander, who was one of the murderers of Commodus, sullenly accepted him; but the senate, overjoyed at the elevation of one of their own order, hailed him with outspoken pleasure. The treasury was empty, and the economy which Pertinax endeavored to introduce into the administration of the government aroused the hostility of the avaricious prætorians, and of the citizens who clamored



THE EMPEROR SEVERUS.

for shows, and the prætorians rose in open mutiny against the emperor and murdered him on the 28th of March, A. D. 193, after a reign of less than three months.

The prætorians now put the imperial dignity up at auction, and sold it to Didius Julianus, a wealthy senator, for more than fifteen millions of dollars. The senate, afraid to oppose the will of these troops, acknowledged Julianus, and he reigned for about two months at Rome, but his authority was never acknowledged in the provinces. In Britain, Pannonia, and Syria, the armies, disgusted at the conduct of the prætorians, set up their respective leaders—Albinus, Severus, and Niger—as emperors. Of these Severus was not only the most energetic, but he was the nearest to Rome. He at once passed the Alps and marched upon Rome. His emissaries won over the

prætorians, after which the senate did not dare to resist him. Didius Julianus was seized and put to death, and Severus entered Rome.

The first act of Severus, after obtaining possession of the capital, was to break the power of the prætorians. He caused them to be disarmed and banished them to a distance of 100 miles from Rome. He then turned upon his rivals. He pacified Albinus, who was still in Britain, by promising to declare him his successor, and then marched against Niger, whom he defeated in two decisive battles at Cyzicus and Issus, in Asia, and captured him and put him to death. He then broke openly with Albinus, who invaded Gaul, but was defeated and slain near Lyons. Severus was now sole emperor, and he soon taught his subjects that in him they had found a master. He was stern and cruel in character, and signalized his success by putting to death forty-one senators and a number of rich provincials, whose only crime was that they had supported his rivals. Under Severus the empire became a military despotism, and the senate was not only shorn of its powers, but openly insulted. The prætorian guard was replaced by a body of 40,000 picked troops, which formed the garrison of Rome and acted as the body-guard of the emperor. The chief of this force—the prætorian prefect—became the second person in the empire. He not only commanded the garrison of the city, but was intrusted with the control of the finances, and with certain legislative and judicial powers. He thus became a not insignificant rival of the sovereign himself.

Severus was an able general and he undertook to improve the discipline of the army, but without much success. In A. D. 197 he became engaged in a war with Parthia, which was brought to a successful close the next year by the capture of Ctesiphon, the Parthian capital. Adiabéné was conquered and made a dependency of the empire.

In A. D. 208 the troubles in the island of Great Britain became so great as to require the presence of the emperor. He drove back and punished the Caledonians who were pressing southward, and advanced the Roman border in this quarter. He was accompanied in this expedition by his son Caracalla, who here gave a striking instance of the ferocity of his disposition. He attempted to murder his father in open day,

and was stealing upon the old man when a cry from the troops caused Severus to turn suddenly. As his stern gaze fell upon Caracalla the weapon dropped from the hand of the would-be parricide. To the amazement of the spectators the emperor forgave his son, but put all whom he named as his accomplices to death with cruel sufferings. The last years of Severus were troubled by the hatred which his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, bore each other, and which was scarcely restrained by their common dependence upon him. In order that neither might be left at the mercy of the other, he named both as his successors, and is said to have given them this parting advice: "Be generous to the soldiers and trample on all beside." He died at York in A. D. 211, at the age of sixty-five, after a reign of eighteen years.

Severus was succeeded by his sons Caracalla and Geta. They reigned together for a year, hating and suspecting each other most bitterly. At the end of that time an attempt was made to settle their quarrel by a division of the empire. This failing, Caracalla murdered his brother in the arms of their mother, A. D. 212, and became sole emperor. He was a cruel monster, and his conduct can be explained only upon the supposition that he was mad. To drown the reproaches of his conscience, Caracalla undertook to remove from the world all that could remind him of his murdered brother. Under the title of "friends of Geta," 20,000 persons, including a daughter of Marcus Aurelius, a son of Pertinax, a nephew of Commodus, and the great jurist Papinian, were put to death. Still the conscience of the emperor gave him no rest, and he left Rome and began a series of aimless wanderings through the provinces, in which the rest of his life was passed. He proved himself the common enemy of mankind. Wherever he went he grievously oppressed the people and marked his progress by his cruelties. In Alexandria, being angered at some trifling matter, he caused a general massacre of the citizens to be begun, in which many thousands lost their lives. There was scarcely a province of the empire into which he did not carry his atrocities. Knowing himself to be hated by his subjects, he sought to retain the favor of his troops by distributing among them large rewards and relaxing their discipline. Towards the close of his reign he undertook the conquest of Parthia.

Establishing his head-quarters at Edessa, in Mesopotamia, in A. D. 214, he crossed the Tigris, captured Arbela, and by A. D. 216 had driven the Parthians into their mountain fastnesses. He intended to continue the war the next year, but before the campaign could be opened he was murdered by Macrinus, the prætorian prefect, who was driven to this step to save his own life, A. D. 217.

The army, after some hesitation, proclaimed Macrinus emperor, and he was acknowledged by the senate. He began his reign by endeavoring to undo the evil acts of Caracalla, and being defeated by the Parthian monarch, he withdrew from the war and purchased a peace. His reforms in the administration of the government proved unacceptable to the army, which had grown accustomed to the reckless expenditures of Caracalla, and a plot was formed against him, which was fomented by Julia Mæsa, the sister of the mother of Caracalla, who persuaded one division of the army to accept as emperor her grandson Avitus, or Bassianus, whom she declared to be a son of Caracalla. A struggle ensued, which was decided by the cowardice of Macrinus, who abandoned the field while the battle was still doubtful. He was pursued by the forces of his rival, captured, and carried to Antioch, where he was put to death. His son Diadumenus, whom he had designated as his successor, shared the same fate, A. D. 218.

Bassianus, the newly proclaimed emperor, was a Syrian youth of fourteen years, and at the time of his elevation to the throne was high priest of the Syrian sun-god, Elagabalus, in the great temple at Emesa (Hems). He assumed his descent from Severus and Caracalla as an undoubted fact, and took the name of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. He is more generally known as Elagabalus. His claims were submitted to by the Romans and were recognized by the senate. His brief reign of four years was the most disgraceful in Roman history, for the emperor himself was the most contemptible of mortals. He was addicted to the lowest forms of the most sensual vices, and, possessed of no talent of any description, cared for nothing but gluttony and debauchery. He painted his face, wore the dress of a woman, and paraded his vices openly before the gaze of the public. The grave ceremonies of the Roman religion were replaced with the in-

famous orgies of Syria. Becoming enamored of a vestal virgin, he tore her from her sacred seclusion and compelled her to become one of his wives. The extravagance of the emperor rapidly exhausted the resources of the empire. "His floors were spread with gold dust. His dresses, jewels, and golden ornaments were never worn twice, but went to his slaves and parasites. He created his grandmother a member of the senate, with rank next after the consuls, and established a rival senate, composed of ladies, presided over by his mother. Their jurisdiction was not very hurtful to the state, for it only extended to dresses and precedence of ranks, and the etiquette to be observed in visiting each other."

For four years the Romans submitted patiently to this contemptible creature. His grandmother, seeing that his own vices must soon destroy Elagabalus, persuaded him to adopt his cousin, Alexander Severus, as his successor. The virtues of this prince, which were in such marked contrast with the contemptible vices of the emperor, won him the favor of the prætorians, and also drew upon him the jealousy of the sovereign. Afraid to strike at Alexander openly, the emperor endeavored to remove him by assassination. The prætorians, seeing that the life of Alexander could be saved only by the death of the emperor, mutinied against Elagabalus, and slew him, A. D. 222.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE REIGN OF ALEXANDER SEVERUS TO THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

Alexander Severus Made Emperor—His Good Reign—Fall of Parthia and Rise of the Modern Kingdom of Persia—Wars between Rome and Persia—The Germans in Gaul—Maximin Emperor—His Cruelties—Gordian Emperor—Reigns of Philip and Decius—Gallus and Æmilian—Valerian Emperor—Wars with the Barbarians—The Persian War—Valerian Defeated and Made Prisoner—Gallienus—The Kingdom of Palmyra—Claudius—Aurelian Emperor—His Vigorous Reign—Captures Palmyra—Zenobia—Murder of Aurelian—Tacitus Emperor—Reigns of Florian and Carus—Diocletian Emperor—His Vigorous Measures—Destroys the Power of the Legions—Divides the Imperial Authority—A Great Change—Carausius and Constantius—Maximian Africa—Diocletian Subdues the Egyptian Revolt—War with Persia—Persecution of the Christians—Diocletian Retires from the Throne—Constantine the Great—He Establishes his Authority Over the Whole Empire—Makes Christianity the Religion of the Empire—The Council of Nicæa—Found-

Constantinople—Reorganization of the Empire—His Wars with the Barbarians—Constans—Constantius—His War with Persia—Julian the Apostate—Failure of his Effort to Destroy Christianity—His Death—Jovian Emperor—Valentinian—Events of his Reign—Valens—Movements of the Barbarian Tribes—Gratian and Valentinian II.—Theodosius the Great—He Suppresses Paganism—The Emperor and St. Ambrose—The Empire Divided—Revolt of the Goths—The Goths in Italy—Defeated by Stilicho—Gladiatorial Combats Forbidden—The Vandals Invade Italy—They Settle in Western Europe—New Invasion of the Goths—Alaric Captures Rome—Plunders it—Death of Alaric—The Goths in Spain—Reign of Valentinian III.—The Huns in Italy—Attila—Battle of Chalons—Defeat of the Huns—The Vandals Plunder Rome—Ricimer—The Mock Emperors—Rapid Decline of the Western Empire—Augustulus Emperor—Fall of the Western Empire—Establishment of the Kingdom of Italy—Establishment of the Teutonic Nations at the Fall of the Empire.

ALEXANDER SEVERUS was a different man from his cousin. He was the son of Mammaea, the younger daughter of Mæsa, and had been carefully educated by his mother. He was a prince of pure and blameless morals, but he did not possess sufficient energy of character to stem the tide of corruption that was sweeping the empire to its doom. During his whole reign he shrank from the task of ruling his dominions, and submitted himself to the direction of his mother. The tendency of this reign was for good. The example of the young emperor was excellent, and the influence of his mother was elevating, but neither were sufficiently strong to carry out the reforms which they attempted. Still this period forms a pleasing contrast with that which immediately preceded it. The wisest and most virtuous men were advanced to the posts of honor and trust; the senate was treated with a respect and consideration which it did not deserve; and an honest effort was made to administer the government upon principles of purity and economy.

In the meantime a great change had taken place in the eastern world. The Parthian empire had been destroyed, and the modern kingdom of Persia had been founded by Artaxerxes. This monarch aimed at regaining all the dominions of Darius I., and demanded of Alexander the instant evacuation of all the Roman possessions in Asia. The emperor replied by leading his army across the Euphrates in A. D. 231. In the brief war which followed Alexander claimed to be entirely successful, but it would seem that he was barely

able to hold his eastern dominions. The Persian king on his part was so crippled by the contest that he was unable to attempt the expulsion of the Romans from Asia, and peace was made in A. D. 232.

A new danger now arose on the Rhine. The German tribes, about A. D. 234, passed that stream and invaded Gaul. Alexander hastened to meet them, but before he could begin operations against them, he was slain, together with his mother, by his mutinous troops, A. D. 235.

Maximin, the leader of the mutiny, was proclaimed emperor by the troops. He had risen from the station of a Thracian peasant to the command of a legion, and though possessed of courage and military ability, was in other respects an illiterate, coarse, and brutal ruffian. He was guided during the first three years of his reign by no policy but that of hatred of the nobles and covetousness toward the rich. His extortions at last drove the people of Africa into rebellion, and in A. D. 238 they rose against him, and crowned their proconsul Gordian and his son emperors. The senate, with an almost incredible boldness, ratified the choice. Maximin was at this time in winter quarters on the Danube, and he at once marched upon Rome, hoping to crush his rivals by his promptness. The two Gordians were defeated and slain in Africa within a month after their rebellion, but the senate, with unusual vigor, supplied their places with two of their own body, Pupienus and Balbinus. The new emperors, unable to meet Maximin in the field, laid waste the open country and garrisoned the towns, hoping by this plan to weary out their rival. Detained by the resistance of Aquileia, Maximin began to vent his anger upon his own troops, who rose against him and killed him, together with his son, in May, A. D. 238.

The murder of Maximin, so far from settling the quarrel, simply changed its character. It now became a struggle between the senate and the legions for the right to name the emperor. The latter settled the matter by murdering Pupienus and Balbinus within six weeks of the death of Maximin, and elevating to the purple the younger Gordian, the grandson and nephew of the princes of that name who had headed the African revolt.

Gordian was a mere tool of his ministers, being only twelve years of age. He fell at length under the influence of Timesitheus,

the prætorian prefect, an able officer, who married him to his daughter. During the life of Timesitheus the authority of the empire was vigorously maintained, the eastern frontier was held successfully against the attacks of the Persians, and an insurrection in Africa was quelled. On his return from the Persian war, Timesitheus was assassinated by Philip "the Arabian," who succeeded to the command of the guard. He procured the death of Gordian at the hands of his troops, and was made emperor in his place, A. D. 244.

Philip was a native of Bostra in Arabia. He began his reign by concluding a peace with Persia. The next year he defeated the Carpi on the middle Danube, and in A. D. 248 celebrated the "Secular Games" with great magnificence, in honor of the one thousandth anniversary of the founding of Rome. The Syrians, discontented with the rule of Philip, set up a mock emperor named Jotapianus, while the legions in Mœsia and Pannonia proclaimed Marinus. Both of these leaders lost their lives speedily, but the mutiny of the army continuing, Philip sent a senator named Decius to bring the troops to obedience. The soldiers, believing that in spite of his promises Philip would never forgive their conduct, compelled Decius to assume the purple by the threat of death in case of his refusal. The rebels then marched into Italy, defeated and slew Philip at Verona, in A. D. 249, and Decius ascended the throne without opposition.

Decius, made emperor against his will, reigned but two years. During this brief period, he endeavored to restore the purity of religion and morals among the Romans, but without success. With the hope of accomplishing the latter object he instituted a severe persecution of the Christians. A general massacre of the followers of this religion took place in Alexandria, and the bishops of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Rome suffered martyrdom. In A. D. 250 the chief event of the reign occurred. The Goths, attracted by the riches of the empire, swept over the border in large force, ravaged Dacia and Mœsia, and invaded Thrace. Decius attempted to check their advance, but was defeated, and the next year attempted to retrieve his ill-fortune, but was beaten in a great battle in Mœsia, and slain, together with his son, whom he had associated in the empire.

The army now consented to allow the

senate to regulate the succession. That body nominated Gallus, one of the generals of Decius, and Hostilianus, the young son of Decius. Volusianus, the son of Decius, was also associated in the imperial dignity. Gallus was really the emperor, his age and experience placing him far above his colleagues. His first act was to purchase a peace from the Goths by the payment of an annual tribute on condition of their abstaining from invading the Roman dominions. This act cost him his popularity at Rome, and the discontent thus aroused was increased by the calamities which now came crowding thick and fast upon the empire. A destructive pestilence raged in Rome, and spread over nearly the whole of the Roman dominions. Hostilianus was among the victims. A fresh invasion of the barbarians scourged the provinces south of the



THE EMPEROR GALLIENUS.

Danube. Æmilianus, the governor of Pannonia and Mœsia, having repelled this invasion, was proclaimed emperor by his troops. He at once advanced upon Rome. Gallus and his son took the field against him, but were murdered by their own troops, and Æmilian was at once acknowledged by the senate, A. D. 253.

Æmilian's elevation to the purple was contested by Valerian, who was acknowledged to be the best and most competent man of the time. He had been sent by Gallus to bring the legions of Gaul and Germany to his assistance. Arriving too late to save Gallus, he turned his arms against Æmilian, and defeated him after a reign of three months. The emperor perished in the conflict.

Valerian was promptly acknowledged by the senate and people. He was sixty years of age, and was too old to grapple with the

dangers which now burst upon his country, consequently his reign was one of disaster. The barbarians had lost their fear of the Roman name, and now made the rapidly-declining empire painfully conscious of their power. The Franks from the lower Rhine, and the Alemanni from southern Germany, ravaged Gaul, Italy, and Spain, and even crossed the straits of Gibraltar and extended their depredations to Africa. The fleets of the Goths, constructed in the forests of the Black Sea, spread terror along the coasts of Asia Minor and Greece. Numerous cities, among which were Cyzicus, Chalcedon, and Ephesus, were captured by them and given to the flames. Corinth and Athens were also taken by them. In the East, Persia, under its new monarchs, the Sassanidæ, advanced its territory steadily to the northwest at the expense of the Roman empire. Sapor, the second king of the dynasty, conquered Armenia, and invaded Mesopotamia. Valerian took the field against him, but was defeated near Edessa and made a prisoner, A. D. 260. Sapor refused all offers of ransom for his illustrious captive, and kept him loaded with chains, but clad in the purple, a constant prisoner at his court—a spectacle never before witnessed in the world's history.

In A. D. 254 Valerian had associated his son Gallienus in the empire, and upon his father's capture, Gallienus became sole emperor. During his sole reign of eight years the disasters which have been enumerated continued without cessation. The emperor, says Gibbon, "was a master of several curious but useless sciences, a ready orator, an elegant poet, a skilful gardener, an excellent cook, and a most contemptible prince." He could do little more than attempt the defence of Italy against the pretenders who sprang up in various parts of the empire, and who are usually called "The Thirty Tyrants." They had for the most part brief and inglorious reigns, and their kingdoms usually perished with them. There were two important exceptions to this rule. A monarchy was established in Gaul by Posthumus, which lasted for seventeen years under four successive princes. In the East, Odenathus established an independent kingdom at Palmyra, in A. D. 264, and extended his rule over Syria and the adjacent countries. He was murdered in A. D. 267, and was succeeded by his widow Zenobia. Gallienus found it impossible to contend

against the dangers which menaced him, and fortunately for the empire was slain near Milan by his own troops, in A. D. 268.

The troops conferred the imperial dignity upon Claudius, one of their generals, whose wisdom and firmness arrested for a while the work of destruction which was going on in the empire. He conquered the Alemanni and drove them out of Italy, in A. D. 268, and vanquished the Goths in Mœsia in the next year. He died in A. D. 270, at Sirmium, after a short but glorious reign of two years, in which he succeeded in ridding the empire of the worst of its dangers, and giving it a new lease of life. On his death-bed he recommended as his successor, Aurelian, one of his generals, whom he considered most competent to the task of completing the work he himself had begun.

Aurelian, like his predecessor, was a soldier of fortune. He was of humble origin but was in every way worthy of the high station to which he had risen. His reign lasted only about four years and nine months, but was one of the most brilliant in the history of Rome. He put an end to the Gothic war by routing their army in Pannonia in A. D. 270, and chased the Germans out of Italy. He revived the rigid discipline of the army, and thus rendered it capable of the successes which it won. It was his policy to reunite the scattered fragments of the empire, and he made war for this purpose on the kingdom of Palmyra, which was ruled by Zenobia as regent for her son, A. D. 272. The next year he brought the war to a close by the capture of Palmyra, and the overthrow of the kingdom. Zenobia was made a prisoner, and Palmyra was treated with leniency. It revolted as soon as Aurelian had returned to Europe, but was subdued and destroyed. Zenobia was transferred to Italy, where she passed a more useful, if a less brilliant, life as a Roman matron. In the west Tetricus had enlarged the kingdom of Posthumus by the addition of Spain and Britain. Aurelian now turned against this kingdom, and in A. D. 274 succeeded in reducing it to his authority. Previous to these wars Aurelian, in order to secure the capital against a sudden attack of the barbarians, who had shown that they could enter Italy at pleasure, fortified Rome with a new wall which enclosed the suburbs that had sprung up beyond the wall of Servius Tullius. He

relinquished to the Goths and Vandals the outlying province of Dacia, which, since Trajan added it to the empire, had been more of a burden than a profit. The Roman inhabitants were removed south of the Danube. Having destroyed the kingdom of Tetricus, Aurelian was about to proceed to the East to make war upon the Persians, when he was assassinated by several of his officers, who had been instigated to the crime by his private secretary, A. D. 275.

The army was indignant at the murder of Aurelian, and the troops, refusing to allow any of their officers to assume the purple, applied to the senate to appoint a new emperor, and waited patiently for six months for the response of that body to their appeal. At length the senate named M. Claudius Tacitus, a senator of great wealth and pure character, but a man too far advanced in life for the dignity. Tacitus endeavored to decline the honor, pleading his age and infirmities, but the senate would not listen, and he assumed the purple. He reigned for six or seven months, during which his acts were directed to the revival of the reign of morality and law which had marked the earlier republic. Being called away to the East by the disaffection of the army in that quarter, he sank under the fatigues of the journey, and died in A. D. 276.

Florian, the brother of Tacitus, assumed the imperial dignity upon the receipt at Rome of the news of the death of the emperor, and the eastern army invested their general, M. Aurelius Probus, with the purple. A civil war now seemed imminent, but it was averted by the refusal of Florian's troops to fight their comrades. Three months later he was assassinated by them, and Probus was left sole emperor. He was an able general and a prudent and vigorous monarch, sincerely devoted to the welfare of his subjects, which he believed he could accomplish as well by the arts of peace as by conquest. He drove the Germans from the region of the Neckar and the Elbe; subdued the Sarmatians; and compelled the Goths to sue for peace. He made his power so dreaded in the East that Egypt

submitted, and the Persians sought his alliance. He endeavored to secure the frontier of the empire by settling it with colonies of barbarians, who, becoming civilized, served as a defence against their less civilized brethren. He also attempted to drain the marshy lands, and to improve the agricultural system. In the pursuit of this latter object, he employed his troops in agricultural labors, which so disgusted them that they rose against him and murdered him, A. D. 282.

Carus, the prætorian prefect, was made emperor by the troops. He proclaimed his two sons, Carinus and Numerianus, "Cæsars," and associated the former in the empire. Leaving Carinus to govern the



THE WALLS OF ROME—THE OSTIAN GATE.

West, Carus departed for the East, taking with him his younger son. He passed into Illyricum, where he defeated the Sarmatians, and then invaded the Persian dominions. He quickly subdued Mesopotamia, and captured the cities of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, the old Parthian capital. He crossed the Tigris, and seemed on the point of destroying the Persian kingdom, when he died, from disease according to some writers, from a stroke of lightning according to others, A. D. 283. The superstitious fears of the Roman troops were aroused by the sudden death of the emperor, and they obliged Numerianus to retreat within the limits of the Roman dominions. On the march he was assassinated by his father-in-law, who hoped to seize the throne, but the legions upon the

discovery of the crime invested Diocletian, the commander of the body-guard, with the purple. He slew the murderer of Numerian with his own hand, and marched westward. Carinus, in the meanwhile, was disgusting the western world by his profligacy. Hearing of the advance of Diocletian, he put himself at the head of a large army and marched to meet him. A battle was fought in Mœsia. The army of Diocletian was defeated, but Carinus was slain in the moment of victory by a tribune whom he had grievously wronged, and his troops acknowledged Diocletian as emperor, A. D. 285.

The accession of Diocletian marks a new period in the history of the empire. Until now, since the death of Commodus, the authority of the emperor had been ham-



GREEK AND ROMAN CUIRASSES.

pered by the insolence of the legions, who claimed the right to set up and pull down the sovereign at will, and by the powers legally appertaining to the senate. Thus the army had inaugurated a tyranny which was unendurable, and which would have destroyed the Roman state long before had not the danger with which the barbarians constantly threatened it, made the troops willing to submit to some form of discipline. Under Diocletian's vigorous rule a change was made. The authority of the government was strengthened, and the army was taught its true position as the servant of the state. The reforms begun by Diocletian were not completed until the reign of Constantine. Though they resulted in the strengthening of the authority of the sovereign, and gave a new vigor for the time to

the state, they tended very greatly to the division of the empire, which was already a question of time.

Having secured his authority, Diocletian, in A. D. 286, began the first of the measures by which he hoped to counteract the existing evils. He associated with him in the empire one of his generals named Maximian, who had risen from the ranks, and who was little more than a good general. The two emperors took each the title of Augustus. In A. D. 292 Diocletian appointed two "Cæsars," who were to stand in the relation of sons and successors to the Augusti. Galerius was chosen by Diocletian, and Constantius by Maximian. They were younger than their patrons, and were able generals. Accepting the dignity conferred upon them, they repudiated their own wives and married respectively the daughter and the stepdaughter of their patrons. Diocletian now went a step further, and divided the empire between the four sovereigns. He reserved to Maximian and himself the more settled provinces, and bestowed upon the Cæsars those which required the presence of younger and more active men. He assigned to Constantius the provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, with the task of defending the lower Rhine against the Germans; to Galerius the Danubian provinces, Noricum, Pannonia, and Mœsia; and to Maximian Italy and Africa. For himself he retained Thrace, Macedon, Egypt, and the East. It was understood, as the basis of this settlement, that the unity of the empire was to be preserved. The Cæsars were to regard the Augusti as their superiors, and Maximian was to be guided by the influence of Augustus. This very complex arrangement worked well during the lifetime of Diocletian, whose influence was sufficient to maintain harmony in the government.

The results of the new system were marked. "Power passed away from the hands of the soldiers, and tended to become dynastic; the principle of association, adopted on a wide scale, gave stability to the government; the helm of the state was grasped by firm hands, and various new arrangements were made, all favorable to absolutism. Such restraint as the senate had up to this time exercised on the despotic authority of the emperors—a restraint slightest, no doubt, in cases where it was most needed, yet still in the worst case not wholly nugatory—was completely removed

by the departure of the court from Rome, and the erection of other cities—Nicomedia, Milan, Constantinople—into seats of government. When Rome was no longer the capital, the Roman senate became a mere municipal body, directing the affairs of a single provincial town; and as its lost privileges were not transferred to another assembly, the emperor remained the sole source of law, the sole fountain of honor, the one and only principle of authority." To guard against the interference of the prætorians, who from their fortified camp at Rome had for so long been able to dictate terms to the sovereign, Diocletian reduced their numbers, intending to suppress them at length—a task finally performed by Constantine. "Above all, the multiplication of emperors and the care taken to secure the throne against such an occurrence as a vacancy, . . . placed the imperial authority almost beyond the risk of danger from military violence."

In A. D. 286 a revolt broke out in Britain. Carausius, a naval chief, being intrusted with a large fleet for the defence of the coasts of Britain and Gaul, rebelled against the emperor, and having won over the troops in Britain, seized that island and set up an independent kingdom. He increased his navy by building new ships, and made himself master of the western seas. Diocletian and Maximian made energetic but fruitless attempts to reduce him to submission, but were at length compelled to accept him as their colleague in the empire, with the title of Augustus, A. D. 287. Constantius being made Cæsar, and assigned the western provinces, made war upon Carausius in A. D. 292. He took Boulogne after a long siege, and prepared to invade Britain, when Carausius was slain by his chief officer Allectus, A. D. 293. In A. D. 296 Constantius landed in Britain, defeated Allectus, and restored the Roman authority over the island. The next year he drove the Germans out of Gaul. He settled his prisoners in colonies on the lands which they had laid waste. A revolt having broken out in Africa, Maximian proceeded to that province and restored order. About the same time Alexandria was taken by storm by Diocletian, and a rival emperor who had held it against him was put to death. The inhabitants were punished by a massacre in which several thousand were killed. Galerius for many years was occupied in defending the Danubian frontier,

which he did with credit. In A. D. 297 he passed over to the East and invaded Persia. He was at first defeated with heavy loss, but at length collecting a new army, he defeated the Persian King Narses so signally that he was forced to make peace on terms advantageous to the Romans, A. D. 298.

The evils of the system of Diocletian began to manifest themselves towards the close of his reign. The establishment of four imperial courts instead of one, and the consequent multiplication of officials and of armies, necessarily increased the rate of taxation, already very heavy. The provinces were almost crushed beneath the weight of the imposts laid upon them, and the taxes were wrung from the people with the greatest difficulty. It was generally necessary to employ violence, and sometimes torture, for this purpose. Consequently industry sank beneath this system which deprived it of all its earnings; production diminished steadily, and the prices of all commodities rose. Diocletian endeavored in A. D. 301 to check this evil by fixing by a decree the maximum price for all the necessities and many of the luxuries of life. As a matter of course, this violent interference with the natural laws of trade defeated its object. It simply made worse the evils it sought to remedy.

Towards the close of his reign, Diocletian, alarmed by the rapid spread of Christianity, which had been embraced by fully one-half of his subjects, determined to strike a blow at it which he believed would destroy it. In A. D. 303 he issued an edict requiring uniformity of worship throughout the empire. The Christians were noted as the most orderly, industrious, and faithful subjects of the emperor. Their refusal to comply with the order to deny their faith placed them beyond the pale of the law, and a war of extermination was waged against them. Thousands were slain in every province, their property was confiscated, and their churches destroyed. Only in the extreme West, under the authority of the more enlightened Constantius, were the Christians safe from the malice of their enemies. Yet so far from destroying them, the persecutions to which they were subjected proved a powerful agency for the spread of their faith, and their ranks were filled up with new converts as fast as thinned by the deaths of the martyrs.

In A. D. 305 Diocletian, weary of the

cares and trials of his high state, abdicated his throne, and compelled Maximian to do likewise. By this act, Galerius and Constantius became Augusti. Galerius immediately appointed Maximin and Severus Cæsars. The appointment gave great offence to the legions in Britain, who resented it as depriving their own leader, Constantius, of the choice of his successor. Upon his death, in A. D. 306, they proclaimed his son, Constantine, his successor. This infringement of the new order of affairs was condoned by Galerius from the lack of the power to resist it. He recognized Constantine as Cæsar, and advanced Severus to the rank of Augustus, thus preserving the organization of the imperial college. Constantine retained his father's dominions in the West; Severus had Italy and Africa; Maximin, Syria and Egypt; and Galerius retained for himself the whole region between Gaul and Syria, or about three-fourths of the empire.

The loss of the prestige and privileges of Rome by the division of the empire and the erection of new capitals, had given serious offence to the Italians. These discontents broke out in open rebellion in A. D. 307. The senate appointed Maxentius, the son of Maximian, emperor, and Maximian, joining his son, resumed the rank of Augustus, which he had laid aside at the command of Diocletian. Severus hastened to Rome, and attempted to quell the revolt, but was abandoned by his troops and forced to end his life by suicide. Maxentius and Maximian, having allied themselves with Constantine, were also able to defeat the large forces with which Galerius sought to reduce Italy, and to compel him to withdraw to the East. In A. D. 309 a compromise was arranged by which the empire was ruled by six emperors, Constantine, Maximian, and Maxentius in the West, and Galerius, Maximin, and Licinius, in the East. Licinius had been made Cæsar by Galerius upon the death of Severus.

This arrangement lasted only a few years. It was first disturbed by a quarrel between Maxentius and his father. Maximian was obliged to fly to the court of Constantine, who had married his daughter. He was well received at first, but at length, being detected in a plot to overthrow his son-in-law, was put to death in A. D. 310. The next year Galerius, who had proved as cruel a persecutor of the Christians as Diocletian himself, died at Nicomedia. The

Roman world was thus left in the hands of four emperors, Constantine in the West, Maxentius in Italy and Africa, Licinius in Illyricum and Thrace, and Maximin in Egypt and Asia. Maxentius alienated his subjects by his cruelties and extortions, and they appealed to Constantine to drive him from the throne and unite Italy and Africa to his own dominions. Constantine had proved himself an able general by his successful resistance of the Franks and Alemanni, whom he kept out of Gaul, and his generous protection of the Christians had won him the gratitude and affection of their brethren in all parts of the empire. He endeavored to avoid the war, but finding that Maxentius was preparing to invade Gaul, he anticipated him, and entered Italy at the head of 40,000 men, passing the Alps by way of Mont Cenis without resistance. The struggle was decided by the vigor and rapidity of Constantine's movements. He defeated his adversary in two battles—one near Verona and the other at the Colline Gate—and made himself master of Rome and Italy, Maxentius having been drowned in the Tiber during the last battle. Constantine promptly applied himself to the consolidation of his dominions. His first act was to disband the prætorian guard, which Maxentius had increased to 80,000 men. By thus scattering this force, he deprived the senate of the last shred of its dignity, and Rome of the power of resisting his will, A. D. 312.

The next year a war broke out in the East between Licinius and Maximin. The latter was defeated in a great battle near Heracleia, and shortly afterwards committed suicide, leaving Licinius sole master of the East. Not satisfied with this success, Licinius sought to drive Constantine from the West, and by his intrigues for this purpose provoked a war with his rival, in A. D. 314. Licinius was defeated, and obliged to cede Pannonia, Illyricum, Mœsia, Macedonia, and Greece to Constantine, A. D. 315. A peace of nearly seven years followed, which was broken by the ambition of Constantine, who was resolved to become master of the whole empire. Licinius was once more defeated, and, falling into the hands of the conqueror, was put to death, A. D. 322.

Constantine, who had well earned his title of "the Great," was now sole master of the reunited empire. He signalized his success by the most important event of his

reign—the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the state. In A. D. 313 he had issued a decree, known as the Edict of Milan, guaranteeing to the Christians equality with his other subjects and protection in all their rights. He declared subsequently to Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, according to that writer, that in one of his marches in the campaign against Maxentius, he had seen with his own eyes the luminous trophy of the cross, placed above the meridian sun, inscribed with these words, “By this, Conquer.” This amazing object in the sky astonished the whole army as well as Constantine, who was yet undetermined in the choice of a religion. His astonishment was converted into faith by a vision which was vouchsafed to him the following night. “Christ appeared before his eyes; and displaying the same celestial sign of the cross, he directed Constantine to frame a similar standard, and to march, with an assurance of victory, against Maxentius, and all his enemies.” This story rests simply upon the authority of Eusebius, who claims to have received it from the lips of the emperor. The father of Constantine had always shown favor to the Christians, whose virtues he valued and honored, and the son had grown up to regard their doctrines with such favor that it is not surprising that he came at length to embrace them. He did not at once seek baptism, but openly proclaimed his adoption of the Christian doctrines, and in A. D. 324 took the decisive step of making Christianity in a certain sense the religion of the state, by advising all his subjects to imitate without delay the example of their sovereign, and to embrace the divine truth of Christianity. At the same time he allowed his pagan subjects to exercise their religion unmolested, but the example of the emperor, and the hope of gaining his favor, induced thousands to abandon paganism and accept the new faith. “As the lower ranks of society are governed by imitation, the conversion of those who possessed any eminence of birth, of power, or of riches, was soon followed by dependent multitudes. The powerful influence of Constantine was not circumscribed by the narrow limits of his life or of his dominions. The education which he bestowed on his sons and nephews secured to the empire a race of princes whose faith was still more lively and sincere, as they imbibed, in their earliest infancy, the spirit, or at least the doctrine of Christianity.

War and commerce had spread the knowledge of the gospel beyond the confines of the Roman provinces; and the barbarians, who had disdained an humble and proscribed sect, soon learned to esteem a religion which had been so lately embraced by the greatest monarch and the most civilized nation of the globe.” Constantine did not seek baptism until near the close of his life, but he presided over the first general council of the church, which was held at Nicæa in Bithynia, by his authority, in A. D. 325. He did not relinquish the claim, which the Roman sovereigns had always maintained, of the right to direct religious as well as secular matters. He treated the members of the council with every mark of reverence, but refused to allow the persecution of Arius and his followers, who were condemned by the council. He put a stop, however, to all the immoral rites of pagan-



CONSTANTINE AND FAUSTA.

ism, and enacted severe laws against immoral practices, which paganism had suffered, if it had not sanctioned.

Under Constantine the final stroke was given to the ancient capital of the empire. Rome ceased to be the seat of government, which was removed to the new city built by the emperor on the ruins of the Greek Byzantium, and called in his honor, Constantinople. Constantine divided the empire into four *Prefectures*, namely, Gaul, which included Spain and Britain; Italy, which embraced also Africa, Rhætia, Pannonia, Noricum, and Dalmatia; Illyricum, in which were Dacia and Macedonia; and the East, which included Egypt, Thrace, and all the Roman dominions in Asia. Each of these prefectures was divided into *dioceses*, and each diocese into proconsular governments. This subdivision of the empire ne-

cessitated the creation of three grades of officials, who constituted the nobility of the realm. The old republican forms of government had long since disappeared, and Constantine made no effort to revive them. The court was organized upon a plan more akin to the forms of the Orient than of the West. Between the monarch and the people a vast number of officials intervened. The army was reorganized by increasing the number and reducing the strength of the legions. The standing army on duty on the frontiers numbered about 645,000 men, and as the Roman citizens had lost their taste for war, this force was composed mainly of barbarian mercenaries.

Crispus, the eldest son of Constantine, had been named Cæsar at the age of seventeen. He was exceedingly popular with the people, and this popularity drew upon him the jealousy of his father, who suspected him of treasonable designs. His suspicion also embraced his nephew Licinius, and the two young men were brought to trial and put to death in A. D. 326. Whether they were guilty of actual treason, or were simply the victims of a causeless jealousy, it is now impossible to determine.

The last years of Constantine were harassed by the aggressions of the barbarians north of the Danube. The Goths attacked the Sarmatians, who begged aid of the Romans. Constantine took the field in person against the Goths, and gained a great victory over them. The Sarmatians were dissatisfied with the division of the spoils, and revenged themselves by making predatory incursions into the Roman territory. Constantine punished them by allowing the Goths to defeat them. This disaster was followed by a servile insurrection, which compelled the Sarmatians to quit their own territories and take refuge within the empire. The emperor assigned lands in Italy, Macedonia, Thrace, and Pannonia to some 300,000 of them, A. D. 334. In the hope of securing peace for the empire, Constantine now created his third son Constans and his nephew Dalmatius Cæsars, and another nephew Hannibalianus *Rex*. He divided the administration of the different portions of the empire between his three sons and these nephews, and died at Nicomedia on the 22d of May, A. D. 337, after a reign of nearly thirty-one years.

Immediately upon the death of Constantine, Constantius, his second son, seized the capital, and put to death all those whose

rank or abilities made them at all dangerous as rivals. Only two of his cousins, Gallus and Julian, escaped. The empire was then divided between the three sons of Constantine. Constantine II., the eldest, received the capital and Gaul, Spain and Britain; Constantius, Thrace and the East; and Constans, Italy, Africa, and Western Illyricum. Constantine, discontented with his share, endeavored to wrest the dominions of his brother Constans from him, but was defeated and slain near Aquileia. Constans added the provinces of Constantine to his own, and for ten years reigned over two-thirds of the dominions of his father (A. D. 340-350). At the end of this time he was overthrown by one of his generals named Magnentius, and slain. Constantius in the meantime had been engaged in a disastrous war with Persia. Upon the death of Tiridates, King of Armenia, a "friend of the Romans," who had established Christianity in his dominions, the Armenians revolted, and admitted the Persians into their country as friends and allies. The Romans were defeated in nine pitched battles by the Persians, who aimed at nothing less than the recovery of the five provinces beyond the Tigris ceded to Rome by Persia in the reign of Galerius. They were less successful in their siege operations, and the strong city of Nicibis withstood three memorable sieges and remained in the hands of the Romans. The Persian cavalry spread their ravages as far westward as the Mediterranean, and in one of their raids captured and plundered Antioch. About this time the eastern provinces of Persia were invaded by the Massagetæ, a Scythic tribe, and Sapor, the Persian king, concluded a truce with the Roman emperor, in order to give his attention to this new danger. This relief was equally grateful to Constantius, whose presence was needed in the West, where, in addition to Magnentius, Vetranio, the commander of the legions in Illyricum, had set himself up as emperor. Proceeding to the region of the Danube, Constantius, by his vigorous movements during the next three years, put down all opposition to his rule. He compelled Vetranio to abdicate his throne and retire into private life, A. D. 350. Then turning upon Magnentius he defeated him twice, at Mursa in Pannonia in A. D. 351, and at Mount Seleucus in Gaul, A. D. 353. After this last defeat Magnentius killed himself. Thus, sixteen years after the death of Constantine

the Great, his scattered dominions were united under the sole rule of his most capable son.

The eight years of the sole rule of Constantius were passed in a constant struggle. The war with Magnentius had greatly exhausted the military force of the empire, and the barbarians, having been encouraged in some instances by Constantius himself to violate the territory of his rivals, had ceased to respect the frontiers. At the same time Sapor, the Persian king, poured his troops into the province of Mesopotamia. The emperor met these troubles as well as might be, and though the provinces suffered repeatedly from hostile invasions, yet no part of the Roman territory was permanently occupied by the enemy. He defeated the Quadi and followed them into their own territory in A. D. 357; in A. D. 359 compelled the Sarmatians to receive a king devoted to his interests; and in A. D. 360 prevented the Persians from occupying the country they overran with their armies.

Having no relatives but his two cousins Gallus and Julian, Constantius in A. D. 350 drew the former from the retirement in which he had compelled him to live, conferred upon him the rank of "Cæsar," and assigned him the government of the East. Utterly unfit for such a position, Gallus shamefully abused his trust, and in A. D. 354 was recalled and put to death by order of the emperor. The next year Julian, the half-brother of Gallus, was recalled from Athens, where he had been engaged in the study of philosophy, made "Cæsar," and intrusted with the government of Gaul. This was done at the instance of the Empress Eusebia, but the emperor was from the first distrustful of Julian, and treated him with harshness. Julian proved himself in every way suited to the important trust assigned him. He was a ruler of genuine ability and almost irreproachable morals. He defeated the Alemanni and Franks in a number of battles within three years after his entrance upon his government, and drove them from their conquests in Gaul to the right bank of the Rhine. He then made three invasions of their country, ravaged Germany far and wide, released 20,000 captive Romans, and returned to Gaul laden with booty. He rebuilt the Gallic cities which the barbarians had destroyed, made Paris his winter residence, and adorned it with a palace, a theatre, and baths; and promoted agriculture,

manufactures and commerce. His success but increased the jealousy of the emperor, who recalled the troops, hoping to ruin Julian by leaving him without the force necessary to maintain his position. The legions refused to obey the imperial mandate, and proclaimed Julian their emperor, A. D. 360. Finding an arrangement with Constantius impossible, Julian marched eastward to decide the struggle with arms. The sudden death of Constantius in A. D. 361 prevented a civil war, and Julian was at once acknowledged with joy by the whole empire.

The first care of the new emperor was to retrench the luxury and extravagance of the court, and punish the officials of the previous reign who had been guilty of oppressing the people. He also dismissed the 10,000 spies, who had formed a portion of the government since the reign of Constantine the Great. He had not sought the purple, and his philosophic training made him care little for the outward ceremonies of his position. He styled himself simply the "Servant of the Republic," and maintained an admirable simplicity and frugality in his daily life. Yet, though so admirable in character, he stained his reign, and belied his philosophic principles by a petty and useless persecution of the Christians. A pagan from conviction, he was also incensed against his Christian cousins, who had murdered all his family, and he extended his hatred to their religion as well as to their persons. He openly renounced Christianity, and placing himself and his empire under the protection of the "Immortal Gods," made paganism once more the religion of the state. It was too late, however, to attempt to destroy Christianity. It had taken too deep a root in the soil of the empire, and the emperor could have won a partial success only by a civil war of the most revolting description; and had he been successful he would simply have imposed upon his people a morality less pure than that which he sought to destroy. With the hope of overturning the prophecies of Christ, and discrediting the Christians, Julian gave the Jews permission to return to Jerusalem and to rebuild their Temple. The Jews flocked from all parts of the world to their holy city, and engaged in the work with enthusiasm, but their efforts were thwarted by the sudden bursting forth of flames from the ruins of the Temple destroyed by Titus, which compelled them to abandon the

effort in despair. Though he endeavored to weaken and degrade the Christians by numerous disabilities which he imposed upon them, the emperor refused to go to the length advised by the pagan zealots who surrounded him, and finally proclaimed toleration to all forms of belief.

In the East the Persians were becoming more troublesome than ever, and in the spring of A. D. 363 Julian invaded Persia at the head of a large army. His intention was to destroy the Persian empire, but the forces at his command were inadequate to this task. He defeated the Persians near Ctesiphon, but was unable to advance farther. A series of disasters which now befell him compelled the emperor to retreat. This movement was accomplished in the face of the greatest dangers, the army having literally to fight its way back to Nisibis. In one of the numerous encounters of this march Julian was mortally wounded. He died the next day, A. D. 363, after a reign of about twenty months.

The army, thus left without a leader, elevated Jovian, the commander of the imperial body-guard, and a Christian, to the throne. He conducted the retreat with skill, and purchased the safety of the army by making peace with the Persians, by ceding to them the five provinces east of the Tigris. Upon his return to the capital of the empire he issued an edict re-establishing Christianity as the religion of the state, and proclaimed universal tolerance. He died in February, A. D. 364, after a reign of eight months.

An interregnum of ten days followed the death of Jovian. At the end of this time the civil and military officers of the empire met at Nicæa, and proclaimed Valentinian emperor. He was a Christian, and a brave and skilful general, who had distinguished himself in the campaigns against Persia and the western barbarians. The army ratified the choice, but required the new emperor to associate a colleague in the government in order to secure the succession in case of his death. He conferred the purple on his younger brother Valens, and bestowed upon him the government of the East, from the lower Danube to the Persian border. The rest of the empire he reserved for himself, making Milan his capital, but removing his head-quarters, as occasion required, to Treves and Rheims. From these centres he ruled his dominions firmly, and in the main well. He inflicted sharp defeats upon

the Alemanni upon the Rhine, and the Quadi upon the Danube, and secured the lines of those rivers by the erection of a new system of forts. The Picts and Scots having passed the wall of Antoninus and committed great ravages in southern Britain, an expedition was sent against them under Theodosius, the father of the future emperor of that name, and they were driven back. A little later the same commander won a great naval victory among the Orkneys over the piratical Saxons, who were ravaging the western coasts of Europe. A revolt having broken out in Africa under Firmus, an able Moorish chief, Theodosius was sent to quell it, and accomplished this task with entire success, re-establishing the Roman authority over Numidia and Mauritania. As early as A. D. 367 Valentinian associated his son Gratian in the empire as his successor, but gave him no share in the government. Dying on the 17th of November, A. D. 375, he left him his crown.

During all this while Valens reigned in the East. Weaker in character than his brother, his reign was one of misfortune. In the year after his accession Procopius, a kinsman of the Emperor Julian, seized Constantinople, and held it for several months as emperor, A. D. 365. A war followed, which was terminated by the capture of Procopius and his execution in the camp of Valens. An unimportant campaign was conducted against Persia in A. D. 371. The great event of this reign, however, was the irruption of the Huns into Europe, by which the Goths were driven across the frontier into the Roman dominions. The Huns appear to have been a Turanian people from the steppes of northern or central Asia, and were a fiercer and more relentless foe than the Romans had yet encountered among the barbarian nations. They were probably either Mongols, Turks, or Oigurs. They had already given China so much trouble that the Great Wall had been erected on the Mongolian frontier to check their ravages. About A. D. 370, they moved to the westward, and entered Europe along the northern shore of the Black Sea, appearing first in the region between the Volga and the Don. Thence they passed on to attack the powerful Gothic kingdom of Hermanric, which stretched from the Danube and Euxine to the Baltic, comprising southwestern Russia, Poland, eastern Prussia, and extending over various cognate tribes, of which the two most important were

the Ostrogoths (or eastern Goths), and the Visigoths (or western Goths). The Goths were overcome and driven from their country by the Huns. The Visigoths, and somewhat later the Ostrogoths, sought and obtained leave to cross the Danube, and settle in Mœsia as subjects of the Roman emperor. A million of Visigoths alone are said to have crossed the river. As a matter of course the feeding of this immense multitude was a task of great difficulty, and the Roman commissioners charged with it seized the occasion to enrich themselves at the expense of their duty. The ill-treatment which they received changed the Goths from suppliants to enemies of Rome, and they marched in force upon Marcianople, defeated the Roman army, and ravaged Thrace with fire and sword. Valens took the field against them, and was defeated and slain with two-thirds of his army in a great battle near Adrianople, A. D. 378.

In the meantime Valentinian I. had been succeeded by his son Gratian, who associated in the government his infant brother, Valentinian II., then five years of age. Upon the death of Valens, Gratian selected for a colleague one of his ablest generals, named Theodosius, to whom he assigned the East, adding to it the province of Illyricum, A. D. 379. As for Gratian himself, his first years, which were passed under the influence of the instructors of his youth (he was but seventeen at the time of his accession to the throne), were full of promise, but when he came to manhood his naturally weak and indolent character asserted itself. He was devoted to hunting, and gave to this pastime the hours which should have been spent in the business of the state. The power of the government passed into the hands of unworthy favorites, who cruelly abused the confidence of the emperor. The army, neglected by the sovereign, came to despise him, and it was not long before rebellion raised its head. The British legions invested Maximus with the purple. He crossed over to Gaul, intending to contest the crown with Gratian, but the Gallic legions deserted to him, and Gratian, left alone, fled from Paris to Lyons, where he was captured and put to death, A. D. 383.

Maximus now entered into an agreement with Theodosius. The eastern emperor consented to acknowledge the imperial dignity of the usurper, who, on his part, consented to recognize the title of Valentinian

II., and to leave him in peaceful possession of his Italian provinces. In A. D. 387, however, Maximus broke his agreement, invaded Italy and drove Valentinian to take refuge with his uncle, Theodosius. That great sovereign, after some hesitation, embraced his nephew's cause, married his sister Galla, defeated Maximus in Pannonia, and restored Valentinian to his throne, A. D. 388.

Valentinian II. was now eighteen years old, and, like his brother Gratian, was weak and indolent. He allowed himself to fall under the influence of one of his officers, a Frank named Argobastes, who made him a mere puppet. Becoming painfully conscious of his true position, Valentinian attempted to remove his too powerful subject, but without success. Argobastes refused to submit to the orders of the emperor, and a few days later murdered his master, and set up a tool of his own, one Eugenius, as emperor, A. D. 392. Theodosius collected an army to avenge his nephew, and invaded the western provinces. He defeated Eugenius near Aquileia, and beheaded him, A. D. 394. Argobastes was forced to fly for his life, which he terminated soon afterwards by suicide.

During the reigns of Gratian, Maximus, Valentinian II. and Eugenius in the West, the East was ruled by the firm hand of Theodosius I., who justly deserves the title of "the Great." He began his reign in A. D. 379, and at once applied himself to the task of resisting the Visigoths, who had brought his portion of the empire to the brink of ruin. In the five years succeeding his accession to the throne his great military genius and remarkable qualities as a ruler enabled him not only to compel the submission of this dangerous race, but to convert them into useful subjects, and to employ their arms against the other enemies of his throne. Large colonies of Visigoths were settled in Thrace, and of Ostrogoths in Asia Minor, and 40,000 of their best warriors took service in the Roman army. It has been thought by some that Theodosius committed a great error in permitting these settlements, as the Goths were not yet sufficiently civilized to amalgamate with the other subjects of the state. The emperor, however, had simply a choice of evils. To have refused the Goths settlements would have driven them to despair, and "more was to be feared from their despair than even from their fickleness and turbulence." As

long as he lived, Theodosius proved himself perfectly competent to manage the barbarians, and had his successors possessed but a tithe of his genius, the Goths might have been made the chief strength of the empire instead of being permitted to become its chief danger.

Until this reign the practice of pagan rites had been tolerated by the emperors. Theodosius issued an edict positively prohibiting any and all of these ceremonies on pain of death, and shut up the heathen temples and confiscated their endowments. In Egypt the natives fondly believed that Serapis would signally avenge any profanation of his shrine, but when a Roman soldier entered the temple of that god at Alexandria, and struck the idol a blow in the face with his battle-axe, the eyes of the people were opened, and they came to the conclusion that a god who could not defend himself was not worthy of worship. Theodosius also enacted severe laws against the Arians and other heretical Christian sects, who had been condemned by the Councils of Nice (A. D. 325) and Constantinople (A. D. 381). They were compelled to surrender their churches and vacate their sees, and were forbidden to preach, to ordain ministers, or even to assemble for public worship, and all their property was transferred to the orthodox. The penalties attached to these laws were fines and exile. The code of Theodosius is hardly a fair test of his administration, as it is a notorious fact that the acts of the emperor were far more merciful than his laws.

The power of the church at this period is exhibited by the famous encounter between the emperor and St. Ambrose, the bishop of Milan. A tumult having arisen in the Circus of Thessalonica, during which a Gothic general and several officers lost their lives, the emperor punished it by an indiscriminate massacre of the Thessalonians, in which the innocent were slain with the guilty. The court was at this time residing at Milan. When the emperor repaired to church, he was met at the door by St. Ambrose, who refused to allow him to take part in any of the sacred services until he made a public confession of his guilt. After remaining under this interdiction for eight months, Theodosius acknowledged his crime in the presence of the congregation, in the garb of a penitent, and was received again into the communion of the church at Christmas, A. D. 390.

Theodosius did not long survive his victory over Eugenius and the reunion of the East and West under his sole rule. He died at Milan, January 17th, A. D. 395, after a reign of nearly sixteen years. He divided his dominions between his two sons. To Arcadius, the elder, he gave the East; and to Honorius, the younger, the West. The latter prince, who was only eleven years old, he committed to the guardianship of the Vandal general, Stilicho, who had married his niece.

The division of the empire between the sons of Theodosius marks the real separation of the East from the West. Hitherto the two portions of the empire had been held together by an idea, if nothing else, that they still formed one single state, and there had been some show of an interest common to both. From the death of Theodosius, however, this feeling was replaced with one of mutual jealousy and distrust. The breach thus opened between the two branches of the empire widened daily.

The real rulers of the empire were Rufinus, the Prefect of the East, and Stilicho, the guardian of Honorius. These leaders bore a mortal hatred to each other, which soon came to an open conflict, which was terminated by the assassination of Rufinus at the instigation of Stilicho, A. D. 395. Stilicho was now the most important person in the empire, and the object of the jealousy and dislike of Arcadius and his favorites.

Soon after the death of Theodosius the Great the Goths revolted from their allegiance to the empire. They were led by their famous chieftain Alaric, and in the summer of A. D. 395 invaded Macedonia, and in the course of this and the next year ravaged nearly the whole of Greece. Stilicho marched against Alaric and compelled him to retreat. The jealousy of Arcadius now prompted him to baffle Stilicho by making a treaty with Alaric, and creating him master-general of eastern Illyricum. Stilicho was commanded to withdraw from the dominions of Arcadius, and he obeyed. He passed the remainder of the century in crushing a revolt in Africa. In A. D. 398 he married his daughter Maria to his nephew, the young Emperor Honorius.

The appointment of Alaric to the master-generalship of Illyricum showed Stilicho that the western provinces of the empire were in danger from the ambition of that able and unscrupulous chieftain, and he was

convinced that the eastern emperor, in order to save his own dominions from the ravages of the barbarians, was secretly encouraging them to attack those of his brother. About the beginning of this century Alaric was elected King of the Visigoths by his countrymen. Tempted by the beauty and wealth of Italy, he crossed the Alps in A. D. 402, and appeared under the walls of Milan before Stilicho could assemble an army of sufficient strength to meet him. Honorius took refuge in the impregnable fortress of Ravenna, and Stilicho hastily crossed the Alps in midwinter to collect an army in the western provinces. Such was his energy that he was back in Italy early in the spring of A. D. 403, at the head of a powerful army, with which he inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Goths in the neighborhood of Pollentia, about twenty-five miles from Turin, on the 29th of March. The Gothic infantry was almost totally destroyed, but Alaric, with a daring and resolution worthy of admiration, drew off his cavalry comparatively uninjured, and marched rapidly upon Rome, hoping to capture it by a *coup de main*. Stilicho followed him hard, and prevented the execution of this design, but wisely thinking moderation the better policy, offered the Gothic sovereign peace, a safe retreat, and a pension, upon condition of his withdrawal.

Alaric was obliged by the Gothic chieftains to accept these terms, and a treaty having been concluded, led back the remnant of his forces to Illyricum.

The retreat of the barbarians was celebrated in Rome with great rejoicings. In



THE EMPEROR HONORIUS PUTS A STOP TO GLADIATORIAL COMBATS.

the midst of the games, Telemachus, a Christian monk, sprang into the arena, and raising the cross above his head, commanded the gladiators in the name of their crucified Lord to cease their inhuman sport. The enraged multitude stoned him to death, but a little later, overwhelmed with remorse for

their crime, acknowledged him a martyr. Honorius took advantage of the occasion to prohibit human combats in the amphitheatre. The emperor now transferred the seat of government from Milan to Ravenna, which, situated in the midst of an impassable morass, crossed only by a causeway which could be destroyed at will, was impregnable. Ravenna continued to be the capital of Italy until the middle of the eighth century.

In A. D. 405 a new host of barbarians burst into Italy. The Vandals, a Slavonian race, from the plains of the Vistula, under the leadership of their chieftain Radagaisus, or Radegaste, moving southwestward, were joined on the march by the Suevi and Burgundians, who were Germans, and by the Alani, who were Scythians. They passed the Alps, the Po, and the Apennines without opposition, and ravaged with fire and sword the region between the Alps and the Arno, while Stilicho was exerting himself to collect an army to oppose them. Radegaste was simply a savage leader of barbarians, and his only object was to destroy. He had sworn a solemn oath to lay Rome in ashes, and to sacrifice the senators to his gods. Detained before Florence by the stubborn resistance of that city, he refrained from moving southward until he had reduced it. This delay gave Stilicho time to come up with the army he had collected. By his superior generalship he defeated the formidable host of the barbarians, slew Radegaste, and compelled the remnant of his army, about 100,000 strong, to withdraw from Italy. The barbarians passed into Gaul, in A. D. 406, and settled themselves in the region which was afterwards called Burgundy. They drove out the possessors of the soil, and ravaged the country with fire and sword before settling permanently upon it. This great movement marks the downfall of the Roman authority in this quarter, never to be re-established. In A. D. 407 Britain was lost to the empire by the revolt of the legions in that island, who set up and murdered two emperors of their own, and finally elevated to the throne one of their leaders named Constantine. In A. D. 408 and 409, Constantine extended his dominion over that portion of Gaul which had escaped the barbarians, and over Spain.

In A. D. 408 the empire suffered an irreparable loss in the death of its greatest general, Stilicho. Despising the weakness

of Honorius, Stilicho had conceived the design of removing him and bestowing the throne upon his own son Eucherius. Honorius was easily induced by the enemies of Stilicho to consent to his death, and he was seized and executed. His death deprived the empire of the only man who was capable of managing or contending with the barbarians. The folly of those who succeeded him in the confidence of the emperor soon precipitated the struggle he had sought to avert, and gave Alaric the pretext he had so long sought for war. Not content with this, they alienated the only army that was capable of contending with the Goths by a general massacre of the families of the foreign auxiliaries, who had been left in the Italian cities as hostages for the faithful service of these troops. The foreign troops swore vengeance upon the murderers of their wives and children, and invited Alaric to invade Italy, promising to join him in the attempt. The Gothic king was not slow to accept the invitation, and at once crossed the Alps, marched upon Rome, and closely invested the city. Reduced to extremities, and left to themselves by the emperor, the senate purchased the safety of the city, and induced Alaric to retire by the payment of an enormous ransom. The Gothic king then withdrew into Tuscany, where he intended to pass the winter. He also attempted to come to an arrangement with Honorius, but being grossly insulted in the course of the negotiation, he broke off the matter, marched upon Rome, and seizing the port of Ostia, where the grain for the use of the capital was stored, starved Rome into an unconditional surrender. Alaric made Attalus, the prefect of the city, Emperor of the West, in the place of Honorius, and was himself created by Attalus master-general of the Roman armies. Heraclian, the Count of Africa, by preventing the exportation of grain and oil to Rome, served the cause of Honorius well, and introduced famine and discontent into Rome. Attalus seeking to make himself independent of Alaric, was dethroned by him, A. D. 410. Alaric now sought again to come to terms with Honorius, but was a second time met with insult, and at once turned about and marched upon Rome, the gates of which were opened to him by night by the slaves, August 10th, A. D. 410. The city was given up for five days to murder and pillage, and during this period the 40,000 slaves which it con-

tained repaid in full the wrongs they had suffered at the hands of their masters. Rome was full of wealth and of rare and costly articles, such as gold, silver, jewels, silks, Grecian sculptures, and the choicest spoils of conquered countries. These were remorselessly seized and carried off by the Goths, and much that could not be removed was destroyed. Only the churches and their property were spared, for Alaric, who was himself a Christian, declared that he made war upon the Romans, not upon the apostles.

At length the Goths withdrew from Rome, and marching along the Appian way, overran southern Italy, contemplating the conquest of Sicily and Africa. A fleet was constructed for the passage of the Mediterranean, but was destroyed by a storm, and the expedition was suddenly terminated by the death of Alaric. The waters of the Busentius were diverted from their channel by the labor of the captive Romans, and in the vacant bed a sepulchre was constructed and adorned with the spoils and trophies of Rome. In this tomb the body of Alaric was laid, and the waters were turned back into their course. The prisoners engaged in the work were then inhumanly massacred lest they should reveal the secret of the tomb, A. D. 410.

Alaric was succeeded by his brother-in-law Adolphus, who, after ravaging southern Italy for two years, made peace with Honorius, married Placidia, the sister of the emperor, and retired into Gaul, from which he passed into Spain, which had been overrun by the Vandals in A. D. 409. He drove out this race and took possession of the country, founding the Visigothic monarchy as a dependency of the Western empire, A. D. 414. This state of dependency was continued for about four years, until the time of Theodoric I., A. D. 418, when the kingdom became entirely independent. The Vandals were driven by Adolphus into the southern part of Spain, which came to be known as *Vandalusia* or *Andalusia*.

Previous to this conquest, Constantine, the British pretender to the imperial throne, had been driven out of Spain and captured and put to death in Gaul by Constantius, one of the generals of Honorius. A little later Britain passed forever from under the Roman dominion.

Upon the death of Adolphus, Honorius bestowed his sister Placidia, the widow of the Gothic king, upon Constantius, and as-

sociated him in the empire. Constantius died after a reign of seven months, and Placidia, becoming involved in a quarrel with Honorius, fled to Constantinople and took refuge with her nephew Theodosius II., Emperor of the East. A few months later Honorius died, after a reign of twenty-eight years, during which he did nothing that was not contemptible, A. D. 423. The throne was usurped by John, the principal secretary of Honorius. Theodosius II. sent a fleet and army to dethrone the usurper and enforce the claims of his cousin Valentinian, the son of Placidia. This was easily accomplished, as John had no hold upon the people or troops of his empire. He was made prisoner, and was beheaded at Aquileia, A. D. 425.

Valentinian III. was but six years of age. During the next twenty-five years the empire was governed by his mother Placidia as regent. Committed at this critical period to the weak hands of a woman and a child the empire fared badly, as will be seen, and made rapid strides in its progress of disintegration. The military command was intrusted to Aëtius and Boniface, the latter of whom governed the province of Africa. Had they united their abilities they might have accomplished much for the state, but they were divided by the jealousy with which Aëtius regarded Boniface. Driven into rebellion by the intrigues of Aëtius, Boniface invited the Vandal King Genseric to cross from Spain into Africa to his assistance. Genseric promptly accepted the invitation, entered Africa with 50,000 men, and was at once joined by the Moors and the Donatists, who hailed him as a deliverer. He at once turned his arms against both Boniface and the Romans, defeated them, and made himself master of Africa, and by A. D. 439 succeeded in establishing a Vandal kingdom on the northern shore of the African continent, with Carthage for his capital.

The state of the Western empire was now sad indeed. Africa had been won by Genseric; Britain was irrevocably lost, and for forty years was without any government but that of the clergy, the nobles, and the magistrates of the towns; the provinces of Pannonia, Noricum, and Dalmatia had been ceded to the Eastern empire in return for the assistance rendered by Theodosius in overthrowing the usurper John; southwestern Gaul had passed into the hands of the Goths; the Burgundians had occupied

eastern Gaul; and the Franks were masters of northern Gaul. Of all Gaul, only a small tract in the south remained in possession of the empire, which, with this exception, was now limited to Italy, *Vindelicia*, and *Rhætia*.

Between A. D. 435 and 450 *Aëtius* defended Roman Gaul with vigor against the *Visigoths* on the one side and the *Franks* on the other. In the latter year the *Franks* sought the assistance of *Attila*, King of the *Huns*. This powerful chieftain traced his descent from the ancient *Huns* who had formerly contended with the monarchs of *China*. "His features bore the stamp of his national origin; and the portrait of *Attila* exhibits the genuine deformity of a modern *Calmuck*; a large head, a swarthy complexion, small deep-seated eyes, a flat nose, a few hairs in the place of a beard, broad shoulders, and a short, square body of nervous strength, though of a disproportioned height. The haughty step and demeanor of the King of the *Huns* expressed the consciousness of his superiority above the rest of mankind; and he had a custom of fiercely rolling his eyes, as if he wished to enjoy the terror which he inspired. He had gradually concentrated upon himself the awe and fear of the whole ancient world, which ultimately expressed itself by affixing to his name the well-known epithet of the *SCOURGE OF GOD*. Yet this savage hero was not inaccessible to pity; his suppliant enemies might confide in the assurance of peace or pardon; and *Attila* was considered by his subjects as a just and indulgent master." He had extended his kingdom over the immense region lying between the *Baltic* and the *Black Seas*, and the *Rhine* and *Volga*. He could bring into the field an army of 700,000 men, officered by the numerous barbarian kings who had become his vassals, and had made himself literally the possessor of the entire barbaric power of Europe. During the nine years previous to his appearance in the West, he had been ravaging the Eastern empire, extending his depredations up to the very walls of *Constantinople*, and only withdrew upon the promise of an exorbitant annual tribute and the immediate payment of 6,000 pounds of gold. In A. D. 451 he set out from his capital in *Hungary* for the invasion of the Western empire, upon the pretext of assisting a Frankish king who had solicited his aid. Upon reaching the *Rhine* he was

joined by the *Franks*. The combined host then entered Gaul and advanced to *Orleans*, and formed the siege of that place.

In the meantime the Gothic king, *Theodoric*, who had established the independence of his kingdom, had entered into an alliance with the *Romans* as the only means of checking the ambitious *Hun*, who aspired to the dominion of the whole world. Though an old man, *Theodoric* took the field in person, and the *Goths* rallied with enthusiasm to the standard of their sovereign. Their example determined several tribes or nations that seemed to fluctuate between the *Huns* and the *Romans*. These nations, uniting their forces with the Roman army under *Aëtius*, marched into Gaul to join the issue which was to decide whether Europe should be *Teuton* or *Tartar*. They arrived before *Orleans* just as *Attila* had reduced that city to the last extremity, and had effected an entrance into one portion of the town. On the approach of the allied army, *Attila* raised the siege and withdrew his troops across the *Seine* to the vicinity of *Châlons*, where the great plains gave him an opportunity of using his *Scythian* cavalry to advantage. The allies followed him, and a great battle ensued near *Châlons*, which is memorable not only for the vast interests staked upon it, but also for the number of troops engaged in it, who numbered over one million. The slain on both sides are variously estimated at from 162,000 to 300,000 men. The battle was opened by the attack of the *Visigoths*, and continued all day. *Theodoric* was slain, but the contest was decided by the valor and skill of the Gothic troops led by his son *Torsimond*, and the *Huns* were saved from a total defeat only by the approach of night. They retired within the circle of wagons that fortified their camp. The next day the *Goths* were eager to storm the enemy's camp, but *Aëtius*, who feared that the empire would find the *Goths* as troublesome as the *Huns* in case the latter were exterminated, persuaded *Torsimond*, who had been proclaimed king by his people, to draw off his army and return to *Toulouse* to secure his succession to the throne. After the departure of the victors and the separation of the allied army, *Attila* was surprised at the silence that reigned over the plains of *Châlons*, but, suspicious of some stratagem, waited several days, at the expiration of which time he retreated across the *Rhine*, and thus confessed the victory of the allies,

"the last which was achieved in the name of the Western empire."

Although the battle of Châlons decided the fate of Europe, it did not prevent Attila from again assuming the offensive, and the short-sighted policy of Aëtius was heavily paid for in the sufferings which the barbarian leader inflicted upon the empire. In A. D. 453 he invaded northeastern Italy, captured and destroyed the cities of Aquileia, Altinum, Concordia, and Padua, and sacked Milan and Pavia. A result which the Hun did not foresee, and would not have desired, sprang from this destruction. The inhabitants of Aquileia, Padua, and the adjacent towns, fled from the cruelties of the barbarians to the safe but humble shelter of the islands at the head of the Adriatic, and there laid the foundations of the famous republic of Venice. Attila then moved southward, intending to take and destroy Rome. An embassy, headed by Pope Leo the Great, met him, and the solemn appeal of the pope aroused the superstitious fears of the barbarian, and he retired to his own dominions, where, a little later, he burst a blood-vessel and died. Thus the world was freed from the danger with which he threatened it, for his kingdom went to pieces faster than it had sprung up.

Valentinian, freed from his fear of the Huns, gratified his dislike of Aëtius by murdering him with his own hand, A. D. 454. The next year Valentinian himself was slain by Maximus, a wealthy senator, whom he had wronged, and two of the servants of Aëtius, A. D. 455. Maximus assumed the purple, but reigned less than three months. Eudoxia, the widow of Valentinian, being compelled to marry the assassin of her husband, besought aid from Genseric, the Vandal King of Africa, whose fleet commanded the Mediterranean, and the Vandal monarch at once responded to her appeal, eager to enrich himself with the spoils of Italy. He landed at Ostia, and the Romans immediately rose against Maximus, and put him to death. Genseric, however, advanced upon Rome, unmoved by the action of the citizens, as his only object was plunder. He seized the city, and gave it up to his troops to pillage for fourteen days. Whatever Alaric had left was seized by the Vandals and carried away to Africa. Not even the churches, which Alaric had protected, were spared. The city was literally stripped of its wealth of every descrip-

tion. At length the barbarians, laden with plunder, retired to their fleet and sailed for Carthage, carrying with them Eudoxia and her two daughters.

This terrible disaster so paralyzed the Romans that they were unable to take any steps for the appointment of a new sovereign. Through the influence of the Gothic king, Theodoric II., Avitus, the commander of the legions in Gaul, was made emperor, A. D. 455. After a reign of a little more than a year, Avitus was deposed by Count Ricimer, a Goth, A. D. 456. He was made bishop of Placentia, and died a few months later. Ricimer placed a protégé of his own named Majorian on the throne, after an interval of six months, A. D. 457. Majorian was a man of ability and energy, and at once addressed himself to the task of chastising the Vandals, who were harassing the Italian coast. He put a stop to their depredations, and prepared to follow up this success by an invasion of the African kingdom. The fleet which he collected was secretly destroyed by emissaries of Genseric in the port of Carthage, and Majorian was obliged to return to Italy, where he was forced to abdicate his crown by Ricimer, who had become jealous of his protégé, who was exhibiting too much vigor of character to suit his patron, A. D. 461.

Ricimer now set up as emperor a mere puppet named Libius Severus, retaining in his own hands the real power. Severus was acknowledged merely in Italy. In Dalmatia, Marcellinus, and in Gaul, Ægidius, though they did not assume the sovereignty, were the real rulers of those provinces. Severus died in A. D. 465, and Ricimer, believing himself strong enough to assume the direction of affairs in Italy, allowed the throne to remain vacant. His position was a difficult one, however. Being a foreigner, he had no hold upon the Romans, and he was exposed to the attacks of Genseric, the Vandal king, and Marcellinus. Two years later he was obliged to ask assistance of the eastern emperor, Leo, who granted the desired aid—upon his own terms, however. Ricimer was obliged to accept, as Emperor of the West, Anthemius, a distinguished Byzantine noble, nominated to the post by Leo, A. D. 467.

A formidable attack was now made upon the Vandals by the combined power of the East and the West. Genseric proved more than a match for his enemies, however, and succeeded in destroying the allied fleet by

means of fire-ships, and so far from losing his own kingdom he secured the island of Sicily, from which he could assail Italy to greater advantage, A. D. 468.

Anthemius, upon ascending the throne, had given his daughter in marriage to Ricimer, and supposed he had thus won the friendship and support of that noble. He was soon undeceived, however. The emperor having fixed his court at Rome, Ricimer retired to Milan, where he organized a conspiracy for the overthrow of the monarch. At the head of an army of Goths and Burgundians, he advanced upon Rome, forced his way into the city, slew Anthemius, and set up a new emperor named Olybrius, A. D. 472. Forty days later, Ricimer died, leaving his nephew Gundobald, a Burgundian, his heir. Three months later Olybrius died, and Gundobald conferred the purple upon Glycerius, an obscure soldier. The Emperor Leo again interposed, and gave the throne to Julius Nepos, the nephew of Marcellinus of Dalmatia. Glycerius was rewarded for his submission to this arrangement, with the gift of the bishopric of Salona, A. D. 474.

Julius had hardly ascended the throne when a revolt broke out among the barbarian mercenaries, who were now the real masters of Italy. Under the leadership of the patrician Orestes (A. D. 475) they deposed Julius, and placed upon the throne Romulus Augustus, called in mockery "Augustulus," the son of Orestes.

Soon after the accession of Augustulus, the mercenaries demanded one-third of the lands of Italy as the reward of their services. Being refused, they raised the standard of revolt, slew Orestes, deposed Augustulus, and, abolishing the empire at one stroke, proclaimed their German leader, Odoacer, *King of Italy*. Thus fell the Western empire, after an existence of 507 years.

With the fall of the Western empire, the volume of ancient history is brought to a close, and the student finds himself face to face with the new races and the new civilization which appear on the scene to take the places of the old and worn-out actors in the great drama of the world's history. Until now our attention has been confined to the continents of Asia and Africa and those portions of Europe bordering upon the Mediterranean. With the disappearance of the Western empire our

field of survey is enlarged. New nations come into view, and the chief interest of the narrative is transferred to the continent of Europe, at this time divided among four great branches of the Aryan race—the Græco-Latins, the Celts, the Teutons, and the Slaves, or Slavonians. Of these the first alone belongs to ancient history, the other three appear only in modern history.

It is the habit of modern writers to divide the era of modern history into two parts, namely, *Mediæval* history, covering the period between the fall of the Western empire and the close of the fifteenth century; and *Modern* history proper, extending from the close of the fifteenth century to our own day. The first of these periods is usually termed the *Dark Ages*, since, with the disappearance of the civilization of Rome, the world seemed to have relapsed into barbarism. But the thoughtful student will not fail to perceive that this period, apparently so full of darkness and hopelessness, was in reality a season of growth, in which the civilization of Europe was being shaped, and during which it was acquiring strength for the part it was to play in the great drama of modern history. In tracing this development through the period of the Dark Ages, we shall be chiefly concerned with the growth and expansion of the great Teutonic or German race, which, from its seat in central and eastern Europe, began immediately upon the downfall of the Western empire to absorb and shape the destiny and character of almost the entire continent. As an accomplished writer of our own land well says, "The history of the Middle Ages is the history of the incorporation of Teutonic or Germanic barbarians with the Latin and Celtic elements; modern society is the result of the blending of the two; and it derives its ingredients from both—from the barbarians the love of personal liberty and the sense of independence; from the Romans the forms of a long-established civilization."

It will be interesting and useful to glance at the settlement of the nations of Europe at the time when Odoacer erected his throne upon the ruins of the Roman empire. The Germanic race was already predominant in Europe, and the Germanic tribes were beginning to press the Celtic nations into narrower quarters. The people of Gaul were of the Celtic stock, but they had been so greatly influenced by

their long connection with the Romans that they had become thoroughly Latinized and Christianized before the disruption of the empire. The same may be said for the Celt-Iberians of Spain. The Celts of the British islands had also been given the rights of Roman citizens, and had been greatly affected by their contact with the Romans. The German influence began to affect these nations about the fall of the Western empire, and with entire success, as we shall see in other portions of this work.

The principal Germanic tribes were the Goths, the Franks, the Vandals, the Burgundians, the Lombards, the Saxons, the Angles, and the Scandinavians.

At the fall of the Western empire the *Visigothic* kingdom of Euric embraced the whole of Spain, and all of Gaul south of the Loire and west of the Rhone. The capital of this kingdom was Arles, which was regarded as the centre of western civilization. It was the chosen seat of learning and refinement in Europe, and its monarch was the most powerful and enlightened of European sovereigns. The northwestern part of Spain was held by the *Suevi*, who were tributary to Euric. Under the descendants of Euric the Visigoths were driven south of the Pyrenees and confined to the Spanish peninsula, where they maintained themselves until their kingdom was destroyed by the Saracens, two centuries later. The *Ostrogoths* held Italy and the region between the Danube and the Adriatic. The *Gepidæ*, another division of the Gothic family, were established north of the lower Danube, and between the upper Danube and the Carpathian mountains, the region now known as Moldavia, Wallachia and eastern Hungary. The Goths were the first of the Teutonic nations to come under the influence of Christianity. At the time of the fall of the Western empire they had generally adopted the form of Christianity known as Arianism.

The *Franks*, who were subsequently to become masters of ancient Gaul and to give their name to the greater part of it, were still chiefly beyond its limits, but were beginning to press over the border. We first find them inhabiting the country now known as Belgium and the region of the lower Rhine. About the time of the fall of the empire they overran Gaul and drove out the Visigoths from the southwest, and conquered the Burgundians. To their new

home the name of *France* came at length to be attached, from *Francia*, the land of the Franks.

The *Vandals* had spread themselves from the extreme south of the Spanish peninsula to the northern shore of Africa, where they had established their kingdom, with Carthage as their capital. They possessed also Corsica, Sardinia, and the Balearic Isles.

The *Burgundians* occupied the valley of the Rhone and the Swiss lakes, the region which for a thousand years bore their name, and whose ruler, until subdued, was a powerful rival to the crown of France.

The *Lombards*, or *Langobards*, were at this period settled immediately to the north of the *Gepidæ*, between the Danube and the head-waters of the Vistula. Their original home was Jutland, from which they moved to the banks of the Elbe. Later on they passed to the southeast and settled in the region just named, from which they were afterwards to descend upon Italy.

The *Saxons* (or knifemen, a name derived from the word *Sacho*) came originally from the province now known as Holstein. By the period we are considering they had spread over the basin of the Weser, from the Rhine on the south to the Baltic. Two of the principal Saxon tribes occupied the peninsula of Denmark. They were the Jutes and the Angles. The Saxons had never met the Romans, and were consequently unaffected by Roman influences. They were still pagans. Great numbers of them had settled along the coasts of northern Gaul, and their piratical craft carried terror along the entire European coast. Previous to the fall of the Western empire the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes had crossed the North Sea and established themselves in the southern part of Britain, to which they gave the name of England, or "land of the Angles."

The Scandinavians do not appear on the scene until the ninth or tenth century, when we shall encounter them under the name of Norsemen.

These were the principal divisions of the great Teutonic family. Beyond the Elbe, dwelling in the vast plains of eastern Europe, were the Slaves or Slavonians, one of the grand divisions of the Aryan stock in Europe. They were a pastoral people, superior in numbers, but inferior in power, to the Teutonic race. They were the ancestors of the modern Poles, Bohemians, Bulgarians, Illyrians, and, to a great de-

gree, of the Russians. The frozen and marshy regions of the extreme north were occupied by the Finnish tribes. The south-east of Europe was included within the dominions of the Eastern or Greek empire.

The extreme northwest of Gaul was still in the hands of its Celtic owners, who were

largely reinforced by colonies of Bretons, who were expelled by the Saxons from Britain. This region still bears the name of Brittany. The Celtic race also held the western and northern parts of Britain, now known as Wales, Scotland, and the island of Ireland.

BOOK XVI.

THE HISTORY OF THE EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE TO THE TURKISH CONQUEST OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

Establishment of the Eastern Empire—Its Extent and Character—Reign of Arcadius—Theodosius II.—Invasion of the Huns—Reigns of Marcian and Leo the Thracian—Anastasius I.—Justin—Reign of Justinian—The Empress Theodora—Riots at Constantinople—Conquest of the Vandal Kingdom of Africa—Belisarius Conquers Italy—His Unjust Treatment by the Emperor—Public Works of Justinian—His Code of Laws—Troubles with the Barbarian Tribes—Reigns of Justin II., Tiberius, and Maurice—Wars with Persia—Heraclius Emperor—Successes of the Persians—Heraclius Wins Back His Lost Territories—The Clergy as Creditors of the State—Conquests of the Saracens—Constantinople Besieged—Justinian II.—Leo III.—Restores the Vigor of the Empire—The Question of Image Worship—The Iconoclastic War Begun—Constantine V.—Image Worship Forbidden—The Council of Constantinople—Leo IV.—Reign of the Empress Irene—Nicephorus Emperor—His Treaty with Charlemagne—Leo V.—Wars with the Bulgarians—They are Converted to Christianity—Michael II. Emperor—Commercial Prosperity of Constantinople—The Close of the Iconoclastic War—Reigns of Michael III. and Basil I.—The Basilica—The Saracens Wrest Southern Italy from the Greek Emperors—Leo VI.—Constantine VII.—Reigns of Romanus II. and Constantine IX.—John Zimisces—Wars with the Russians—Reign of Basil II.—Romanus IV.—Rise of the Turkish Power—Manuel I. Emperor—His Vigorous Reign—His Death—Capture of Constantinople by the Latin Crusaders—The Latin States—The Wreck of the Empire—The Nicæan Emperors—"The Great Company"—Andronicus II. Emperor—Reign of John V.—Quarrels of the Genoese Venetians and Pisans—The Turks in Europe—They Overrun the Territories of the Empire—Capture of Adrianople by them—The Sultan Bajazet Besieges Constantinople—The Empire Asks Aid of Western Europe—Constantine XIII. Emperor—Siege and Capture of Constantinople by the Sultan Amurath II.—Fall of the Eastern Empire.

WHILE the Roman empire had been undergoing the rapid process of destruction in the West, the Eastern empire, with its capital at Constantinople, had been securely and firmly established, as we have seen, as an independent and separate monarchy, under the rule of Arcadius, the son of the great Theodosius, and his successors. The sovereign of that empire assumed and obstinately retained the vain, and at length fictitious, title of Emperor of the Romans, and the hereditary appellations of Caesar and Augustus. Constantinople became the permanent capital, and grew rapidly in wealth and greatness, and continued for ages to defy the hostile attempts of the barbarians. The dominions of the eastern emperors "were bounded by the Adriatic and the Tigris; and the whole interval of twenty-five days' navigation, which separated the extreme cold of Scythia from the torrid zone of Æthiopia, was comprehended within the limits of the empire of the East. The populous countries of that empire were the seat of art and learning, of luxury and wealth; and the inhabitants, who had assumed the language and manners of Greeks, styled themselves, with some appearance of truth, the most enlightened and civilized portion of the human species. The form of government was a pure and simple monarchy; the name of the *Roman Republic*, which so long preserved a faint tradition of freedom, was confined to the Latin provinces; and the princes of Constantinople measured their greatness by the servile obedience of their people."

Arcadius, whose reign was marked chiefly by the struggles of unworthy favorites to obtain the power, died in A. D. 408. During his reign the famous Chrysostom, "the golden-mouthed" orator of the Eastern Church, flourished, and towards its close was sent to banishment and death for having ventured to rebuke the profligacy of the Empress Eudoxia. Arcadius was succeeded by his son Theodosius II., who was but seven years old, and during the minority of this sovereign the empire was ably ruled by his sister, Pulcheria. After Theodosius came of age, the real ruler until his death was Pulcheria, for the emperor was but a mere cipher in the government. The last years of the reign of Theodosius were vexed with the invasion of his dominions by the Huns under Attila. They appeared in the Eastern empire in A. D. 441, and for the next nine years spread their ravages throughout the region between the Adriatic and the Euxine. Seventy cities of the empire were destroyed, and the open country was so devastated that Attila was justified in his boast that the grass never grew where his horse trod. Theodosius at length purchased the withdrawal of the barbarians by the payment of 6,000 pounds of gold, and the promise of an annual tribute of 2,100 pounds of the precious metal, A. D. 450. Shortly afterwards Theodosius was drowned near Constantinople, after a reign of nearly forty-three years.

Pulcheria was proclaimed Empress of the East upon the death of her brother. As a measure of prudence she contracted a nominal marriage with Marcian, a senator about sixty years of age, who was invested with the purple. Pulcheria died in A. D. 453, but her husband continued on the throne until his own death, in A. D. 457. He was succeeded by Leo of Thrace, a military tribune, whom the patrician Aspar, the most powerful subject of the empire, placed upon the throne. Leo intervened in the affairs of the Western empire in A. D. 467, and appointed Anthemius Emperor of the West, and again in A. D. 474, to secure that throne for Julius Nepos. In the same year he died, and was succeeded by Zeno, his son-in-law, who reigned until A. D. 491. He was succeeded by Anastasius I., an aged domestic of the palace, on whom the widowed empress bestowed her hand, and who continued on the throne until A. D. 518.

In A. D. 518 Justin, a Dacian peasant by birth, whose virtues and abilities had raised

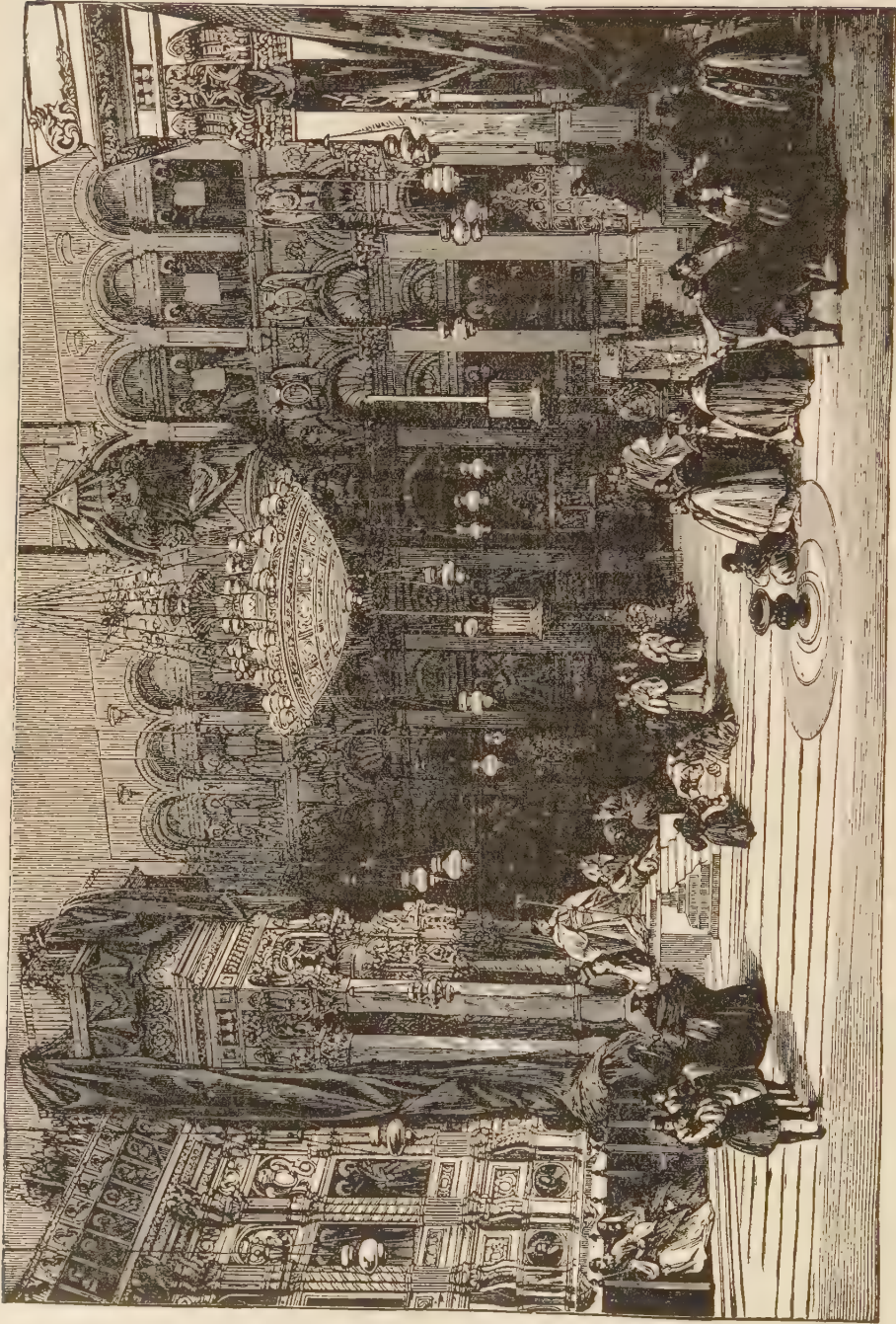
him to eminence, was elevated to the purple by the unanimous consent of the army. Justin was sixty-eight years old at this time, and reigned upwards of nine years. At the end of the ninth year he associated with him in the government his nephew Justinian, whom he had adopted as his heir. A few months later Justin died, leaving Justinian sole emperor.

Justinian was forty-five years of age at the time of his accession to the crown, and he remained on the throne for nearly thirty-nine years, A. D. 527-565. The first five years of his reign were devoted to a fruitless and expensive war with Persia. At the expiration of this time a treaty was concluded with Persia, and was called "the Endless Peace," but, as we shall see farther on, it afforded but a brief respite to the contracting parties.

Justinian had married, previous to his elevation to the throne, an infamous woman named Theodora, who soon acquired an unbounded influence over him, an influence which she maintained unimpaired until her death in the twenty-fourth year of her marriage, and the twenty-second of her reign.

At the close of the Persian war Constantinople was convulsed by a dangerous sedition known as the "Nika riots," which, breaking out between the factions of the circus, known as the *Blue* and the *Green*, spread to the citizens in general. A large part of the city, including the cathedral of St. Sophia, was laid in ashes, 30,000 persons were slain in the tumult, and for five days Constantinople was given up to the lawlessness of the mob. Hypatius, a nephew of Anastasius, was proclaimed emperor by the people, and Justinian prepared to abandon his capital. The firmness of Theodora, who persuaded the emperor to remain and crush the riot, and the skilful dispositions of Belisarius, the commander of the imperial troops, alone suppressed the outbreak and saved the throne. To punish the citizens the emperor closed the hippodrome and suppressed the games for several years, A. D. 532.

Having secured his power at home, Justinian undertook to recover the dominions formerly embraced in the Roman empire. His first expedition was directed against the Vandal kingdom in Africa, then ruled by Gelimer. The imperial forces were commanded by Belisarius, one of the greatest generals of any age, who had risen by the



COURT OF THE EMPEROR JUSTINIAN.

force of his own genius from the humble station of a peasant. The Vandals, weakened by their century of African life, were quickly overcome by Belisarius (A. D. 533), and the conqueror entered Carthage in triumph and without resistance. A long train of captives, headed by Gelimer himself, adorned the triumphal procession of Belisarius, upon his return to Constantinople. Sardinia, Corsica, and the smaller islands of the western Mediterranean were regained and made dependent upon the Exarchate of Africa.

The conquest of Africa was followed by that of Italy, the events of which we shall relate in the history of that country. The efforts of Belisarius were seriously hampered by the jealousy of the emperor, and he was finally withdrawn from his command and sent to resist the Persians, who were pressing heavily upon the eastern border of the empire. The "Endless Peace" had not proved as lasting as its founders had hoped. In A. D. 540 Chosroes, the Persian king, broke the treaty, burned Antioch, and ravaged Asia Minor. Belisarius was sent against him, and in two campaigns (A. D. 541-542) compelled him, without striking a blow, to retire to his own dominions. Belisarius being sent back to Italy, the Persians were again successful, and vanquished a Roman army of 30,000 men led by fifteen generals. The war went on in a desultory manner until A. D. 561, when the increasing age of both Justinian and Chosroes inclined them to consent to a peaceful settlement. Justinian purchased the peace at an annual tribute of 30,000 pieces of gold.

In the meantime the splendid services of Belisarius had not saved him from the hostility and jealousy of the emperor and empress. He was accused of treason, convicted, and his fortune was sequestered, while he was kept a prisoner in his own

palace. His innocence was at length established, and his honors, freedom, and riches were restored. He did not long survive this tardy justice, but died eight months later, A. D. 565, leaving behind him a great name, which the malice of his enemies could not destroy. The ungrateful emperor confiscated his fortune, with the exception of a small sum which his widow was allowed to retain.

A few years previous to his death, Belisarius had rendered an important service to the empire. In A. D. 539 the Bulgarians overran the peninsula of Greece, destroyed thirty-two cities, and carried 120,000 persons into captivity. In A. D. 559 the Danube being frozen, the same barbarians,



CATHEDRAL (NOW THE MOSQUE) OF ST. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE.

aided by the Slavonians, invaded Thrace, and sweeping all before them, encamped within twenty miles of Constantinople. Belisarius, in response to the appeal of the emperor, left his hard-earned repose, and placing himself at the head of the hastily assembled levies, compelled the enemy to withdraw into their own country. Upon the return of Belisarius to Constantinople, Justinian received him with coldness and ingratitude.

Justinian was a great builder. He adorned Constantinople with noble edifices, chief among which was the cathedral of St. Sophia, erected in the place of that burned in the Nika riots. Other parts of the empire were similarly benefited, and strong fortresses were erected along the line of the

Danube, and for the protection of the border. The friendly Goths of the Crimea were protected from their northern neighbors by long walls built entirely across the peninsula. A strong work, known as the "Rampart of Gog and Magog," was thrown up between the Black and Caspian seas, at the joint expense of the empire and Persia, for the protection of the territories of both powers against the barbarians.

During the reign of Justinian the culture of the silk worm was introduced into Greece from China by two Persian monks, who brought a number of the eggs of that insect concealed in a hollow cane. The experiment proving successful, the manufacture of silk became one of the principal industries of Greece, from which it spread into Italy and France, and has since grown into one of the greatest branches of the world's industry.

The chief title of Justinian to fame lies in his merits as a legislator. "He was not so much a maker of new laws as a restorer and simplifier of the old;" his code extended its influence throughout all portions of the Roman dominions, and has shaped and modified the jurisdiction of all succeeding times. The Roman laws had become so numerous and conflicting as to produce endless confusion. The mere word of an emperor had acquired the force of a decree, and as such was a law binding upon all future ages. To become acquainted with these laws required the devotion of a lifetime, and no private fortune was large enough to possess copies of all. The administration of justice was therefore surrounded with the greatest difficulties even where the judges were pure and desirous of acting impartially. Justinian called to his aid the learned jurisconsult Trebonian and others, and proceeded to bring order out of this confusion. The result was that complete system of Roman law, called the *Civil Law*, which has been the basis of the legislation of nearly the whole of Europe. This system was comprised in three great works, *The Institutes*, *The Code*, and *The Pandects*. In the first the elementary principles of law were discussed. The Code was a condensation of all the enactments of the emperors since Hadrian. The Pandects, or Digest, consisted of a digest of all the precedents and decisions of the wisest and most learned judges since the period of the Twelve Tables, a thousand years before. These works were declared to be the legiti-

mate system of civil jurisprudence, and were alone admitted in the tribunals. For their more perfect extension through the empire law schools were established at Constantinople, Rome, and Beyrout in Syria.

Justinian suppressed the schools of Athens and the consulship of Rome, which had given so many sages and heroes to mankind. The last years of his reign were full of trouble. The Turks, a tribe of iron-forgers from the Altai range, left their mountains and established themselves in Tartary. They subdued the Huns or Avars on the Til. The survivors of the conquered people fled to the Caucasus, and offered their services to the Emperor Justinian, who, fearing to offend them, accepted their offer, treated them with liberality, and encouraged them to invade the territories of the Bulgarians and Slavonians. In the next ten years they extended their conquests to the Elbe, subduing many tribes, and compelling the remainder to pay them tribute. Justinian subsequently abandoned their alliance for that of the Turks; but, in spite of this, they were able in the next reign to conquer the regions now known as Hungary and a part of European Turkey, in which they set up the kingdom of their Chagans, which enjoyed an existence of 230 years.

Justinian died in November, A. D. 565, and was succeeded by his nephew Justin II., whose reign was uneventful. Being incapacitated by disease, Justin appointed, at the suggestion of his wife Sophia, the captain of his guards, Tiberius, as his successor, A. D. 574. Tiberius faithfully administered the government until the death of his benefactor in A. D. 578, when he became sole emperor.

The Empress Sophia had expected to become the wife of Tiberius upon the death of her husband, and to continue her reign in this new character; but Tiberius, upon mounting the throne as sole monarch, proclaimed as empress his secret, but lawfully-wedded wife, Anastasia. He endeavored to atone for the disappointment of Sophia by loading her with honors and riches, but while she appeared to accept them with pleasure, she secretly conspired for his overthrow, and, her conspiracy being discovered, the emperor was obliged to reduce her to a private station. After a reign of four years, during which he won the affections of his subjects by his many virtues, Tiberius died in A. D. 582, and was suc-

ceeded by Maurice, whom he had chosen as his heir, and who was worthy of the high honor thus bestowed upon him.

Maurice was appealed to by the pope soon after his accession to the throne, to deliver Italy from the Lombards. Unable to respond to this appeal, the emperor invited the Franks to be his substitutes. They attempted to comply with the imperial invitation, and invaded Italy several times. The last of these expeditions was under Childebert, the grandson of Clovis. He was unsuccessful in two expeditions, but more fortunate in a third. The Greeks failing to render him substantial aid, his expeditions degenerated into mere forays.

The attention of the emperor was mainly confined to the East. War with Persia broke out again in A. D. 572, in the seventh year of Justin II., and continued with varying success for the next seven years. In A. D. 579 Chosroes died, and was succeeded by his son Hormouz or Hormisdas, whose tyranny drove his people into rebellion. About the same time the Romans made great gains on the borders of Mesopotamia and Assyria, while the Turks, to the number of 300,000 or 400,000, invaded the Persian dominions from the line of the Oxus. In this emergency Persia was saved by a hero named Varanes, or Bahram, who defeated both the Romans and the Turks, and was proclaimed king by his troops. Learning this, the Persian nobles deposed Hormouz, put out his eyes, and placed his son Chosroes II. upon the throne. Bahram refused to acknowledge the new king, and reduced him to such extremities that Chosroes fled to the Roman lines and threw himself upon the generosity of the Emperor Maurice, who embraced his cause. A Roman army entered Persia, drove out the usurper, and replaced Chosroes on his throne. The grateful king preserved the closest and most friendly relations with the empire until the death of Maurice.

Towards the close of his reign the emperor Maurice won some substantial successes over the Avars. He attempted to improve the discipline of the army, and thus provoked a sedition which resulted in the elevation of Phocas to the throne and the murder of Maurice and his five sons at Chalcedon, A. D. 602. Phocas was an ignorant ruffian, and soon disgusted his subjects with his tyranny. Heraclius, the Exarch of Africa, threw off his allegiance to him, and sent his son, the younger Hera-

clius, to Constantinople with a strong fleet to seize the imperial crown. Phocas was put to death and the younger Heraclius was proclaimed emperor, A. D. 610.

The new emperor was called upon at the outset of his reign to defend his dominions against the Persian King Chosroes II., who, under the plea of avenging the death of his benefactor Maurice, overran all of Syria, Egypt, and Africa, as far as Tripoli. Antioch, Damascus, Jerusalem, and the other cities of the East were taken by storm, A. D. 614. The Holy City was delivered over to violence, the Holy Sepulchre and the stately churches of Constantine were burned, the city was stripped of its wealth, and the patriarch and the "*true cross*" were transported to Persia. Ninety thousand Christians were put to the sword. The conquest of Egypt was completed in A. D. 616. While these movements were in progress a Persian army advanced through Asia Minor to the Bosphorus, and captured Chalcedon, and for ten years a Persian camp was maintained within sight of Constantinople. The Persian arms seemed irresistible, and Chosroes appeared about to revive the glory and power of his great ancestors Cyrus and Darius.

All this while Heraclius clung to his capital, the slave of sloth and pleasure, making little effort to retain his dominions, and appearing to care little for their fate. At length, when all seemed lost, the emperor suddenly shook off his weakness and assumed the spirit of a hero. Borrowing the consecrated wealth of the churches under a solemn vow to restore it with usury, he collected an army and a fleet and sailed to the coast of Cilicia, where he landed his troops and took post at Issus. He was attacked there by the Persians, and won a signal victory over them on the very spot on which Alexander the Great had defeated Darius nearly a thousand years before, A. D. 622. In A. D. 623-625 he led a second expedition against Chosroes, and penetrating to the heart of Persia, forced the Persian king to withdraw his troops from the Nile and the Bosphorus for the defence of their own country. The Persian king incited the Avars to attack Constantinople, but they were defeated with terrible loss, A. D. 626. The successes of Heraclius drew to his standard many of the eastern tribes, and in A. D. 627 the emperor advanced once more into the interior of the Persian empire. A decisive battle was fought upon the site of

the buried city of Nineveh, in which the Persians were utterly routed, and the cities and palaces of Assyria were open for the first time to the Romans. Chosroes, though reduced to despair, refused to sue for peace. Being now an old man he endeavored to secure the elevation of his favorite son Merdaza to the throne. A conspiracy was formed against him, headed by his son Siroes. Chosroes was seized, his eighteen sons were put to death before his eyes, and he was thrown into a dungeon, where he died on the fifth day of his captivity, A. D. 628. With him expired the glory of the Persian monarchy. Siroes lived but eight months to enjoy the fruits of his unnatural crimes. After his death, in the space of four years the throne was disputed by nine pretenders, who plunged the country into a sea of anarchy and bloodshed, and so exhausted it that it dragged out a miserable existence of eight years longer, and finally fell an easy conquest before the victorious arms of the Arabian khalifs. The remainder of the reign of Heraclius was important only for the loss of the far eastern provinces, which were rapidly overrun by the Saracens, never to be regained. The great efforts of Heraclius against the Persians had exhausted the empire, and it was unprepared to resist these new enemies. Besides this, the clergy, who proved themselves inexorable creditors, received the greater part of the public funds in a usurious return of the loan they had made Heraclius for the preservation of the empire. Heraclius died in A. D. 641, leaving his dominions to his sons Constantine III. and Heracleonas. The former died soon after, poisoned, it was supposed, by his stepmother, who, with her son Heracleonas, was mutilated and exiled. Constans II., the eldest son of Constantine III., was made emperor at the age of eleven, A. D. 641. In order to insure his succession he caused his brother Theodosius to be put to death. Remorse for this crime drove him into exile in A. D. 662. He was murdered in Sicily in A. D. 668. His son Constantine IV. succeeded him, and though the new emperor shared with his two brothers the imperial dignity, he kept the real power in his own hands. His brothers, having conspired against him, were deprived of their titles.

During this reign the Saracens made themselves masters of the greater part of western Asia, and in A. D. 668 advanced to the Bosphorus, and laid siege to Constanti-

nople. The siege was continued for seven years, but was unsuccessful. In the defence of the city Greek fire was used, and the assailants found it impossible to stand before this formidable agent.

Constantine was succeeded by his son Justinian II., in A. D. 685. He outraged his people by his cruelties, and was deprived of his nose and driven into exile among the Tartars, in A. D. 695. For ten years the imperial authority was exercised by Leontius and Absimarus. The Khan of Tartary gave Justinian his sister in marriage. She was baptized, and took the name of Theodora. Her brother being won over by the enemies of Justinian, agreed to deliver the exiled emperor into their hands; but Theodora discovered the plot, and secured the escape of her husband. Justinian fled to the camp of the Bulgarian king, who became his ally, and agreed to aid him in an effort to recover his crown.

Justinian II., aided by the Bulgarian king, Terbelis, regained his throne in A. D. 704, and devoted the next seven years to revenging himself upon his enemies. His cruelties were so infamous and rendered him so odious to his people that they dethroned him and put him to death in 711, and made Philippius emperor. The new emperor was murdered in 713, and was succeeded by Anastasius II., who, in his turn, was dethroned in 716, to make room for Theodosius III. The next year Theodosius submitted to an abler and more powerful rival.

Leo III., the Isaurian, came to the throne in A. D. 717, and opened his reign by a magnificent defence of Constantinople against the Mohammedans. Himself an Armenian he intrusted the important offices of the state and court to Armenians, on whom he could rely, and though Greek was the language of the court, the church, and the people, the government was usually held by Asiatics. Having saved the empire from destruction at the hands of the Saracens, he applied himself to the task of reviving and invigorating it. The wise and far-seeing reforms which he introduced gave to the state a new career of greatness and prosperity. Peace and security to all classes were maintained by a vigilant execution of the laws, and commerce entered upon a wider and more splendid career.

In the eleventh year of his reign, Leo issued an edict which plunged the Christian world into commotion. The church had

by degrees adopted the worship and use of images and pictures in its sacred edifices. Leo, who had conceived a fierce hatred of the practice, issued, in A. D. 726, a decree forbidding the worship of images, and thus inaugurated the bitter struggle known as the Iconoclastic war. Soon afterwards a second edict appeared commanding the destruction of all the images and the whitewashing of the walls of the churches. These measures produced resistance in almost every part of the empire, but except in the West the authority of the emperor prevailed.

and punished the rebellion by a more severe and violent persecution. The third council of Constantinople, in A. D. 754, formally condemned the worship of images as idolatry, and forbade both their use and their worship. Apart from this persecution, Constantine appears to have been a wise and able sovereign. He defended his Asiatic provinces with vigor against the Saracens, redeemed several thousand captives from foreign slavery, and peopled the abandoned coast of Thrace with new colonies. Even the ecclesiastics, who hated him bitterly,



SCENE IN ASIA MINOR.

The western church refused to comply with the imperial edicts, and the pope constituted himself the champion of the images. In the midst of the controversy Leo died at Constantinople, after a reign of twenty-four years, A. D. 741.

Leo was succeeded by his son Constantine V., surnamed Copronymus, from his pollution of the baptismal font. Under him the war against images was continued with great bitterness. The image-worshippers rose against him, and drove him from his throne, but he subsequently recovered it,

were forced to admit his abilities. He died in A. D. 775.

Leo IV., who succeeded his father, was a weak and feeble prince, and willingly resigned his power into the hands of his Athenian wife, Irene. His infant son, Constantine VI., was crowned emperor and associated in the government at the age of five. Five years later, A. D. 780, Leo died, leaving his wife regent for her son. Irene was an ardent partisan of the image-worshippers, and embraced their cause with zeal. A general council was held at Nica

in A. D. 787, which declared the worship of images agreeable to the teachings and use of Scripture and reason, thus reversing the decree of the council of Constantinople. During the childhood of her son, Irene showed herself an able and prudent ruler, and at the same time a careful and judicious mother. As the emperor approached manhood, however, he became impatient of her control, and abandoned himself to the influence of favorites of his own age, who were ambitious of sharing his power as well as his pleasures. The result was a struggle between the mother and son, in which each was alternately in possession of the throne. The empress at length triumphed, and depriving her son of his eyes, reigned alone in external splendor, regardless of the reproaches of conscience and the denunciations of her people, A. D. 797-802.

The reign of the Empress Irene was brought to a close in A. D. 802 by a rebellion. She was banished to Lesbos, and the great treasurer Nicephorus, the leader of the revolt, ascended the throne. He reigned for nine years. His experience as treasurer enabled him to increase the revenue by taxation, and he does not appear to have committed more crimes than were common to the eastern sovereigns of his day. Just previous to his reign the separation between the East and West was made final by the revival of the Western empire under Charlemagne. Nicephorus was powerless to prevent this, or to turn back the course of events, and in the second year of his reign entered into a treaty with Charlemagne defining the boundaries of the two empires. Nicephorus was decisively defeated by the Khalif Haroun al Raschid in A. D. 805. In 811 he was beaten and slain in a war with the Bulgarians. He was succeeded by his son Stauracius, who reigned but two months. A new revolution compelled him to resign the throne to his brother-in-law, Michael Rhangabe, who ascended the throne as Michael I. In A. D. 813 Michael was compelled by his troops, who were disgusted with his peaceful and unwarlike character, to resign his throne or defend it with arms against them. Although supported by the citizens and clergy of Constantinople, he chose the former alternative, and retired to a monastery.

The leader of the rebellion, Leo the Armenian, was placed on the throne as Leo V. He was one of the best of the Byzantine sovereigns. Bred a soldier, he cared

little for theological disputes, and pursued a policy respecting the worship of images which won for him from the churchmen the name of "the chameleon." During his reign the Bulgarians committed great depredations in the European provinces of the empire, sometimes carrying their forays to the very gates of Constantinople. In one expedition alone they took 50,000 prisoners. These Christian slaves became so many missionaries of the truth in the land whither they were carried captive, and succeeded in converting thousands of the Bulgarians to Christianity. Towards the close of the century the Bulgarian King Bogoris was baptized, and a little later the entire nation embraced the faith of Christ. Among the most trusted friends of Leo at the beginning of his reign was Michael, the Armenian, who, however, soon began to plot against him, though loaded with honors and wealth by the emperor. Though frequently detected and pardoned, Michael continued his plotting and was finally sentenced to death. His friends, to save his life, rose against Leo and slew him in A. D. 820.

Michael was brought from his dungeon with the fetters still upon his limbs, and seated upon the throne as Michael II. He reigned nine years, and during this time the empire entered upon a great career of commercial prosperity although far advanced in its political decline. It enjoyed a monopoly of the Mediterranean trade, and a vast and lucrative commerce between Asia and Europe flowed through Constantinople, enriching its people. This, too, in spite of the fact that the Saracens had made themselves masters of Crete and of some of the other islands of the Mediterranean.

Michael II. was succeeded, in A. D. 829, by his son, Theophilus. Though an able sovereign, the reign of Theophilus was full of misfortune. He undertook to regain the provinces which had been wrested from the empire by the Saracens, but was finally defeated. His revenues were enormous, but instead of using them to fortify his frontier, he expended them in adorning Constantinople. He was a bitter foe of image-worship. Dying in A. D. 842, he left his wife, Theodora, regent for their son, Michael III. Theodora restored the images amid the rejoicings of the people, and so closed the long Iconoclastic war, which had lasted more than a century, and had finally separated the West from the East.

Michael III. was five years old when his father died. The Empress Theodora held the regency for thirteen years. Then, perceiving that her influence was declining, and that her son was beginning to grow impatient of her rule, she prudently resigned her power into his hands, and retired to a private station. Michael III., being left sole ruler of the empire, proved himself utterly unfit to rule. He was a brutal, drunken tyrant, with no regard for the sacredness of religion or the dignity of his own station. As contemptible in character as he was odious, he succeeded in disgusting his people, who longed to be rid of him. He was murdered in his sleep in the thirtieth year of his age by one of his officers named Basil, who is believed to have been a Slavonian, A. D. 867.

Basil I. claimed descent from the Macedonian Alexander the Great, and in consequence of this the dynasty which he founded is known as the Macedonian. Though he won great successes over the Saracens, carried his arms in triumph to the Euphrates, and crushed the republic of the Paulicians, Basil had neither the spirit nor the talents of a warrior. He is chiefly noted as a legislator. The change of language and manners had made necessary a revision of the entire system of jurisprudence of Justinian. "The voluminous body of his institutes, pandects, code, and novels, was digested under forty titles in the Greek idiom; and the *Basilica*, which were improved and completed by his son and grandson, must be referred to the original genius of the founder of their race."

By the treaty with Charlemagne, the Eastern emperors retained the cities of southern Italy. In A. D. 878 the Saracens captured Syracuse and extended their power over the whole of Sicily. Later on they obtained a firm lodgment in southern Italy, and so diminished the power of the emperor. Basil died in A. D. 886.

Leo and Alexander, the sons of Basil, were both invested with the purple at their father's death, but the real emperor was the elder brother, Leo VI., called "the Philosopher," because, as Gibbon sarcastically says, "the son of Basil was less ignorant than the greater part of his contemporaries in church and state." His reign was full of disaster, not the least of which was the capture of Thessalonica, the second city of the empire, by the Saracens, and the massacre of all its inhabitants save twenty-two

thousand youth, who were sold into slavery. He won the hostility of the church by contracting a fourth marriage (this time with Zoe, who had borne him a son), a union which the Greek Church does not recognize as lawful. His reign extended into the next century.

Leo VI. was succeeded by his son, Constantine VII., called Porphyrogenitus, "Born in the Purple," A. D. 911. He was only five years old at the time of his father's death. During his minority the government was administered by his uncle Alexander, and after Alexander's death by his mother Zoe, and other regents. In A. D. 919, Romanus, the most prominent general of the army, assumed the government and the titles of Cæsar and Augustus. His three sons were successively associated with him in the empire, and the lawful emperor was for twenty-five years degraded to the lowest rank of this college of princes. Constantine, upon the death of the last of the usurpers, assumed the sole administration, and reigned for nearly fifteen years (A. D. 944-959) alone. His mild and benevolent disposition greatly endeared him to his subjects. He was the author of several works of science and history, and rendered important services to literature by causing the preservation of a number of precious manuscripts.

Romanus II., the son of Constantine, succeeded his father. He died four years later, A. D. 963, from poison administered by his wife. His reign was memorable for the exploits of his general, Nicephorus Phocas, who won back the island of Crete from the Saracens, and gained other important successes over them. The Empress Theophano, the widow of Romanus II., wishing to retain her place on the throne, bestowed her hand upon the successful general, who, without degrading the infant Emperors Basil II. and Constantine IX., assumed the throne and the title of Augustus. He reigned six years with vigor and success, opposing a steady resistance to the Saracens, and maintaining the frontiers unbroken against their attacks. His reign marked the commencement of the most vigorous period of the Eastern empire after its final division, a period which may be said to have continued until about 1025. He was murdered in 969 by his nephew, John Zimisce, who succeeded him on the throne as guardian of the youthful emperors.

John had been one of the lovers of the Empress Theophano during her husband's life, and she hoped to share the throne with her paramour, but John put her away at the stern demand of the Patriarch of Constantinople, and dismissed her to a private station. John proved himself an able and energetic ruler. In the East he inflicted a number of defeats upon the Saracens, won back Antioch and some other cities that had been taken by them, and made the Euphrates once more the boundary of the empire. He also won signal successes over the Scandinavian rulers of Russia, who were causing considerable trouble upon his frontier. He inflicted a decisive defeat upon the Russian forces at Presthlava in Bulgaria, in A. D. 971, and compelled them to sue for peace. By the terms of the treaty the Russians ceded to the emperor the kingdom of Bulgaria, recently conquered by them, and thus the Danube became once again the Greek frontier. John died in A. D. 976.

The two lawful emperors, Basil II. and Constantine IX., now came to the throne. Constantine was a weak and effeminate prince, but Basil was a man of genius and energy, and soon made himself the real ruler of the empire. Under him it rose to the height of its military greatness. His reign extended into the next century, closing in A. D. 1025. For nearly forty years he waged a vigorous war against the Bulgarians and the other Slavonian tribes of the Hellenic peninsula. The Bulgarians were entirely subdued, but the conqueror stained his laurels by cruelly depriving 15,000 of his prisoners of their eyes, and sending them back to their king, whose grief and rage at the sight caused his death.

Basil II. died in A. D. 1025, "amid the blessings of the clergy and the curses of the people," and the throne was held by his brother Constantine IX. for three years longer. He died in 1028, after having enjoyed for sixty-six years the title of Augustus, during which time he had done nothing to merit it. Basil II. left no children, and Constantine had only three daughters. In the absence of male heirs, the throne was for nearly thirty years in the hands of the infamous favorites of Constantine's daughters, Zoe and Theodora. During this period the only events of importance were the outbreaks of the citizens of Constantinople, who were enraged by the weakness and li-

entiousness of these corrupt rulers. In A. D. 1057 the confusion was ended by the elevation to the throne by the army of Isaac Comnenus, a general of noble birth. His health failing, he resigned the crown in 1059. His brother John refused the purple, and a new emperor of a different family was chosen in the person of Constantine XI. He reigned eight years, and in 1067 died and intrusted his widow, the Empress Eudocia, with the government. She bestowed her hand upon Romanus Diogenes, who became emperor as Romanus IV., and reigned for four years with dignity and honor.

In the meantime the Turks, who had made themselves masters of the Saracenic dominions in Asia, began to press heavily upon the remaining provinces of the Greek empire. It was this danger which chiefly induced the Empress Eudocia to bestow her hand upon Romanus, who was a soldier of tried ability. With slender resources, but with invincible courage, he endeavored to maintain the integrity of his eastern possessions. In three hard-fought campaigns he drove the Turks beyond the Euphrates, and in a fourth, A. D. 1071, attempted to regain Armenia from them, but was defeated and made a prisoner by the Turkish sultan, Alp Arslan. He was released upon his promise to pay a heavy ransom and an annual tribute, but upon returning to Constantinople he found that his people had deposed him upon learning of his captivity, and had forced the Empress Eudocia into a convent. In the effort to regain his crown, Romanus was defeated and slain. Michael VII. (1071-1078) and Nicephorus III. (1078-1081) then held the throne. The accession of the latter emperor was disputed in Asia by a chief of the same name. The emperor called in the aid of the Turks and defeated his rival, but purchased his success by the loss of his Asiatic provinces, which passed into the hands of the Turks. A few years later the emperor was able to extend his eastern boundary to Nicomedia, sixty miles distant from Constantinople, but beyond this the Turks retained the old Greek provinces. Only Trebizond, at the extremity of the Euxine, strong in its natural fortifications, remained to the emperor.

In A. D. 1081 Alexis I., son of John Comnenus, was proclaimed emperor upon the downfall of Nicephorus III. He came to the throne at a moment of great disaster to

the empire, and "every calamity that can afflict a declining empire was accumulated on his reign by the justice of Heaven and the vices of his predecessors." "In the East," says Gibbon, "the victorious Turks had spread, from Persia to the Hellespont; the reign of the Koran and the Crescent; the West was invaded by the adventurous valor of the Normans; and, in the moments of peace, the Danube poured forth new swarms, who had gained in the science of war what they had lost in the ferociousness of manners. The sea was not less hostile than the land; and while the frontiers were assaulted by an open enemy, the palace was distracted with secret treason and conspiracy. On a sudden the banner of the cross was displayed by the Latins; Europe was precipitated on Asia; and Constantinople had almost been swept away by this impetuous deluge. In the tempest Alexis steered the imperial vessel with dexterity and courage. At the head of his armies he was bold in action, skilful in stratagem, patient of fatigue, ready to improve his advantages, and rising from his defeats with inexhaustible vigor. The discipline of the camp was revived, and a new generation of men and soldiers was created by the example and the precepts of their leader. In his intercourse with the Latins, Alexis was patient and artful; his discerning eye pervaded the new system of an unknown world, and with superior policy he balanced the interests and passions of the champions of the first crusade. In a long reign of thirty-seven years he subdued and pardoned the envy of his equals; the laws of public and private order were restored; the arts of science and wealth were cultivated; the limits of the empire were enlarged in Europe and Asia; and the Comnenian sceptre was transmitted to his children of the third and fourth generation."

The Emperor Alexis I. died in A. D. 1118, and was succeeded by his eldest son, John II. His insignificant stature and harsh, swarthy features won him from his keen-witted and sarcastic subjects the ironical surname of "the Handsome," but ere long the name was applied by his grateful people in admiration of his noble qualities of mind. He was a wise, liberal ruler, and by his military vigor won back some of the territory taken by the Turks, and freed the maritime provinces of Asia from their presence. "Feared by his nobles, beloved by his people, John

was never reduced to the painful necessity of punishing, or even of pardoning, his personal enemies." He died in 1143.

Manuel I., the youngest of the surviving sons of John, succeeded his father, and reigned thirty-seven years. This period was one of almost constant war. The Turks were confined to Mount Taurus, and the Hungarians and the hordes beyond the Danube were forced to respect the borders of the empire. He was rather a brave knight-errant than a good ruler or a great commander, but for a while he made the power of the empire both respected and feared. The fleets of the Norman King of Sicily several times ravaged the coasts of Greece, and Manuel not only was obliged to meet these attacks, but endeavored to return them by assailing Sicily itself. He was at length defeated in a great battle with the Turks in Pisidia, and owed his escape to the generosity of the sultan. After this defeat the power of the empire began to decline. Manuel died in A. D. 1181, leaving his crown to his son Alexis II., who, two years later, was overthrown and put to death by his relative Andronicus, younger son of Isaac and grandson of Alexis Comnenus. Andronicus was an able though a cruel ruler, and two years after his accession was put to death by the people whom his cruelties had driven to desperation. The remainder of the century was passed in the struggles of various claimants of the throne, which weakened and prepared the empire for the first great period in its fall.

The decline of the Eastern empire, which began with the death of the Emperor Manuel and the quarrels of his successors, continued through the twelfth century. Isaac Angelus was dethroned by his brother Alexis in 1195. A son of Isaac, also named Alexis, escaped from Constantinople, and took refuge in western Europe, where he endeavored to induce the great powers to assist him to recover the throne of his father. He spent a number of years in these fruitless efforts, and when he had begun to despair of accomplishing anything, his labors were suddenly and unexpectedly crowned with success. The princes of the Fourth Crusade had assembled at Venice, where they were provided by the republic with shipping for transportation to the Holy Land. Unable to raise the entire sum demanded by the republic, they were allowed by the Venetians to defer its payment on



ARRIVAL OF THE CRUSADELS' FLEET BEFORE CONSTANTINOPLE.

condition of conquering for them some towns on the Dalmatian coast, which had revolted from the republic. They complied with this condition, and captured the town of Zara, which offered them so many advantages that they resolved to spend the winter there. The young prince Alexis repaired to their camp and entreated them to aid him in recovering his throne. His appeal was sustained by the Doge of Venice, and the Crusaders at length resolved to assist him, as he promised them ample payment for their services in case of success. In the summer of 1203 they laid siege to Constantinople, which they carried by storm after a hard fight. Alexis received the throne, but he had forfeited the confidence of his people by abandoning the Greek faith for that of Rome, and the next year he was murdered in a revolt of the people of Constantinople. The Crusaders, enraged by this revolt, stormed and took Constantinople a second time, and put an end to the Roman empire of the East.

On the ruins of the Greek state the Crusaders set up a Latin empire, and crowned Count Baldwin of Flanders Emperor of Constantinople. They then divided among themselves as much of the empire as they could secure and hold, for it must be remembered that the Greeks were bitterly hostile to the Latins, and only submitted to their rule because of the superior strength of the latter. Nor was Baldwin master of all the dominions which had owned the Greek Cæsar as their lord. The Eastern empire was now split up into a number of petty states, some of which were Greek and some Latin. Baldwin received about one-fourth of the empire as his share. The remaining European possessions were divided between the Venetians, the Lombards, and the French. The Venetians received a disproportionately large share. They established a chain of factories or trading-posts along the coast from Constantinople to Venice. Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, became King of Thessalonica or Macedonia. In Asia the dominions of the empire which had not passed into the hands of the Turks were divided between two sovereigns reigning at Nice and Trebizond, each of whom claimed the title of emperor. The Emperors of Nice were able and prudent sovereigns, and under their wise rule their country grew in prosperity and strength. The Latin empire of Constantinople, on the other hand, having no hold upon the people, lasted only fifty-

seven years, when the attempt to Latinize the Greeks by force having failed, it fell before the conquering arms of the Emperor Michael Palæologus of Nice, A. D. 1261. As the Nicæan empire had claimed to be the true and lawful successor of the Eastern Roman empire, the conquest of Constantinople by Michael may be considered as in some degree a revival of that state. It never regained its former power, however, for the Turks pressed hard upon its eastern border, and the Greek Emperor of Trebizond and some of the Greek and Frank princes continued to rule their countries independent of the emperor at Constantinople. The restored empire of Constantinople was really nothing more than the most powerful of the various Greek states, which continued to exist without attracting much attention, until they were all finally conquered by the Ottoman Turks in the fifteenth century. Michael, alarmed by the threat of the pope to stir up a crusade of western Europe against him, endeavored to force his subjects into a union with the Latin Church. He succeeded only in filling his dominions with suffering and sorrow; but great as his violence and cruelty were, they were not sufficient to give satisfaction at Rome, where, says Gibbon, "his slowness was arraigned and his sincerity suspected." His son Andronicus, whose reign closed the century, put an end to these outrages, and, dissolving the union with Rome, restored the Greek faith and worship.

The reign of the Emperor Andronicus II., who succeeded his father, Michael Palæologus, in 1282, occupied the first twenty-eight years of the fourteenth century as well as the closing years of the thirteenth. In the first years of the fourteenth century a band of Catalan adventurers, reinforced by men from all parts of the world, and known as "the Great Company," having rendered good service to the empire in defeating the Turks in two bloody battles, considered that they had a right to the property of the empire which they had saved, and began such a series of arbitrary exactions upon the provinces that the emperor was put to great exertions to resist them. Having lost their first leader by assassination, they seized the strong fortress of Gallipoli, on the Hellespont, and defeated in two battles by sea and land the forces of the Greek empire. These successes drew numerous additions to their ranks, and they continued their outrages

upon the empire until the lack of provisions and the dissensions of their leaders compelled them to disperse.

Andronicus associated his son Michael in the empire at the age of eighteen. The son of Michael, named Andronicus, from his grandfather, shared at an early age the imperial honors, and soon began to await with impatience the removal of the obstacles which lay between him and the sole possession of the throne. The premature death of his father removed one of these obstacles, but then, to the surprise of the younger Andronicus, his grandfather transferred to another grandson his hopes and affections. The younger emperor fled from Constantinople in 1321, and raised the standard of civil war against his grandfather. A struggle of seven years ensued, which resulted (A. D. 1328) in the triumph of the younger emperor. Andronicus II. retired to a monastery, where he died in 1332.

Andronicus III., being sole emperor, undertook soon after to check the progress of the Turks, but was badly beaten and wounded in his only campaign. He fell a victim to the effects of his early intemperance, and died in A. D. 1341, in his forty-fifth year. He left a son, named John, by his second wife, the Empress Anne, sister of the Count of Savoy. He was a child of nine years, and the emperor in his will named his old and tried friend, John Cantacuzene, the guardian of his son. During the minority of the young emperor, John Cantacuzene was the ruler of the empire. He ruled with wisdom and firmness, and by his valor and prudence the isle of Lesbos and the principality of *Ætolia* were won back to the empire. One of his rivals succeeded in inducing the young emperor and his mother to throw off the rule of Cantacuzene, and the able minister was proclaimed an enemy of the state and the church. He at once took arms to reinstate himself in power, and a civil war of six years ensued. In 1343 Cantacuzene appealed to the Turks to aid him, and admitted them into Europe. They thus obtained a permanent footing in Europe, and from that time the days of the Greek empire were numbered. With the aid of his Turkish allies Cantacuzene compelled the young Emperor John to submit, and returning in triumph to Constantinople mounted the throne as John V., acknowledging the son of Andronicus as his colleague, John VI. John VI. twice attempted

to overthrow his elder colleague by force, and was each time defeated. The last time he fled to the Latins of the isle of Tenedos for shelter. John V., in the hope of putting a stop to these wars, deposed the younger emperor, associated his own son, Matthew, in the government, and established the succession in his own family. This brought on a revolution, and John VI., aided by some Genoese troops, was restored to the throne of his fathers. Cantacuzene retired to a cloister, and devoted the remainder of his life to literary pursuits, A. D. 1355.

The reign of Cantacuzene had been disturbed, like that of his predecessor, by the fierce quarrels of the Genoese, Venetians, and Pisans, who were contending with each other for the monopoly of the trade of the East. The emperor was unable to compel peace, and several fierce battles were fought by the imperial forces and the Venetians against the Genoese, who were each time successful. Cantacuzene was compelled to sign a humiliating treaty, by which he bound himself to expel the Venetians from Constantinople, and grant the Genoese the desired monopoly. Had not the power of that republic been broken by her domestic troubles, Constantinople would most likely have become a mere dependency of Genoa. These troubles continued to some extent in the early part of the reign of John VI., who continued on the throne till 1391. A more serious evil now began to afflict the empire. The Turks, who had been admitted into Europe by Cantacuzene, had possessed themselves of the city of Adrianople, in Thrace, and had made it their capital. They were fully determined to extend their European dominion to the Hellespont, and the capture of Constantinople was only a question of time. They treated the Greek emperors as their vassals, and these sovereigns, unable to offer any resistance to such formidable foes, were obliged to remain helpless spectators of the ruin of their country. The Sultan Bajazet, having detected a conspiracy of his son against him, deprived him of his sight. John, the son of the Greek emperor, was also concerned in the same conspiracy, his object being to dethrone his father also. Bajazet sternly demanded that the Greek emperor should inflict upon his son the punishment he had administered to his own heir, and the emperor was obliged to submit.

At the death of John VI. his second

son, Manuel, succeeded him, A. D. 1391. Bajazet at once espoused the cause of the blind prince John. Manuel left Constantinople and hastened to France to seek aid, and left his blind competitor on the throne. Bajazet now unmasked his real design, and claimed Constantinople as his own city. John refused to submit, and Constantinople was invested, and compelled to suffer the horrors of a siege and famine. It would doubtless have fallen then, but Bajazet was suddenly summoned into Asia to defend his territory against the terrible Timour, or Tamerlane, of whom more hereafter.

The withdrawal of Bajazet from the siege of Constantinople gave the Greek empire a short respite, and the Emperor Manuel took advantage of it to visit the courts of western Europe to solicit aid; but none of the European sovereigns were in a condition to assist him. The death of Bajazet was followed by quarrels among his sons, which prevented the Turks from exerting their united strength against Constantinople. John Palæologus II., the son and successor of Manuel, who came to the throne in 1425, entertained the idea of putting an end to the schism which had so long divided Christendom, and accepted the invitation of the pope to visit Italy to arrange matters for this purpose. In 1438 he visited Ferrara, where a synod of the Latin Church was in session. Pope Eugenius summoned a council at Florence, and in July, 1438, the reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches was formally proclaimed. This reunion was, however, entirely the work of the emperor; the people of the Greek communion had no part in, or sympathy with it, and it was, on the part of the emperor, simply an attempt to excite the sympathy and secure the aid of Christendom in his efforts to maintain his throne against the Turks. In the latter days of the empire, "whenever the Greeks were in any trouble, their emperors always made a show of putting an end to the division between the Eastern and

Western Churches. But schemes of this sort never really took root, as the Greeks were fully determined never to admit the authority of the pope."

The pope, on his part, was not unmindful of the welfare of his Greek brethren, and he endeavored to stir up the western princes to their assistance; but Eugenius found that the task which had been accomplished four centuries earlier by the mere eloquence of a monk, now required all the moral force of the papacy. The English, French, and Germans took no part in the matter, but Hungary and Poland, which were more directly interested by being in constant danger of a Turkish invasion, responded favorably to the pope's appeal. The crowns of both kingdoms were worn by a single sovereign, Ladislaus. Recruits were drawn from



CASTLE OF EUROPE, ON THE BOSPHORUS.

other countries by "an endless treasure of pardons and indulgences, scattered by the legate," and an army of 100,000 men was assembled under the command of John Huniades, one of the most distinguished soldiers of the time. An alliance was made with the Sultan of Caramania, in Asia, and a fleet was collected from Burgundy, Genoa, and Venice. The crusaders at first gained some important advantages, but their army, greatly reduced, was at length defeated and Ladislaus was slain in the battle of Varna, in 1444, by the Sultan Amurath II.

In 1451 Mohammed II. succeeded his father Amurath II. on the Turkish throne. Though he assured the Greek emperor of

his friendship, he began his reign by fortifying the Hellespont, and this led to war between the two sovereigns. In the spring of 1453 a Turkish army of 258,000 men invested Constantinople, and after a siege of fifty-three days, carried the city by assault. The last of the Greek emperors, Constantine XIII., after gallantly defending his capital, died, sword in hand, in the effort to repel the last assault. In this siege the Turks used cannon, which had for some time been regarded as a necessary part of the equipment of an army, but had never been used in so important an operation before. Mo-

ammed made Constantinople the capital of his empire, and converted the great Church of St. Sophia into a mosque.

With the fall of Constantinople the Eastern empire came to an end. The remaining territories of the Greek emperors were soon absorbed by the victorious Turks. Mohammed treated the Greeks with great liberality. He protected them in their lives and liberties, and allowed them the free exercise of their religion. One-half of the churches of Constantinople were left to them. For sixty years they enjoyed the benefits of this toleration.

BOOK XVII.

THE HISTORY OF ITALY.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE TO THE DEATH OF CHARLEMAGNE.

The Gothic Kingdom of Italy Founded by Odoacer—Theodoric Conquers Italy—Becomes King—His Excellent Reign—His Last Years—Athalaric King—Belisarius in Italy—His Conquests—Destruction of Milan by the Burgundians—Belisarius Captures Ravenna—Justinian Jealous of Belisarius—Conquests of Narses—Italy Subject to the Eastern Empire—The Exarchate of Ravenna—Settlement of the Lombards in Italy—The Iron Crown—The Lombard Kingdom—Condition of Rome During this Period—Dependent Position of the Pope—He Becomes a Civil Ruler—Gregory the Great—His Vigorous Measures—Decline of Civilization in Italy—St. Benedict—Founds the Monastic System—Benefits Conferred on the Country by the Monasteries—Improvement of Agriculture—Ignorance of the Clergy—The Pope Takes the Monks Under his Protection—The Iconoclastic War—Last Efforts of the Emperor to Regain his Power—War Between the Pope and the Lombards—The Pope Asks Aid of the Franks—Pepin in Italy—He Conquers the Franks—Bestows the States of the Church on the Holy See—Charlemagne Defends the Pope Against the Lombards—Is Crowned Emperor—His Power in Italy.

UPON the ruins of the Roman empire was erected, as has been related, the Ostrogothic kingdom of Italy, under Odoacer. He was the first barbarian who reigned over Italy, and was worthy of the high honor to which he was called. Within seven years after his accession he restored the consulship of the West. He compelled the barbarians of Gaul and Germany to respect

the frontiers of Italy, and exerted himself to restore the blessings of peace and good government to his people. In spite of his efforts, however, misery and desolation reigned throughout Italy. Losses in war and by famine and pestilence diminished the population of the country, and the means of subsistence underwent a corresponding decrease. Under the empire the tributary harvests of Egypt and Africa furnished an inexhaustible source of food; but these were now withdrawn, and the deficiency could not be supplied. After a reign of fourteen years Odoacer gave way before the superior genius of Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths, "a hero alike excellent in the arts of war and of government."

Theodoric was born in A. D. 455, and had been carefully educated in the arts of war at Constantinople, where he had resided as a hostage. He disdained the more peaceful part of the Greek training, and to the last was ignorant of the art of writing. In A. D. 476 he succeeded by the death of his father to the throne of the Ostrogoths. At this time the **Ostrogoths** were settled in the region of the Danube, where they proved themselves dangerous neighbors to the Greek emperor, who in order to be rid of them gladly consented to the proposal of Theodoric to march against Odoacer and restore Italy to the Roman empire. The emperor prudently left it doubtful whether

the conqueror of Italy was to govern it as his vassal or his ally. The reputation of Theodoric drew to his standard an immense host, made up from the neighboring nations as well as from his own people, at the head of which he set out for Italy in A. D. 489. The march was made in midwinter, and the Goths took with them their families and all their movable possessions. Many hardships were endured, but at length the Gothic host swept over the Julian Alps and entered Italy. Odoacer was defeated in three battles and shut up in the impregnable fortress of Ravenna, which endured a siege of three years. Peace being made at the end of this time through the intervention of the Bishop of Ravenna, Odoacer and Theodoric agreed to share the sovereignty of Italy between them. Theodoric either murdered his rival soon after or caused his death, and thus became sole monarch, A. D. 493.

Having made himself master of Italy, Theodoric divided one-third of the lands of that country among his soldiers. Though he reigned as the lieutenant of the Eastern emperor, the imperial authority was merely nominal in his dominions. He aimed at setting up a dynasty, and while he recognized his own people as the conquerors of the peninsula, he protected the conquered Italians in their rights, and faithfully administered their laws among them. Under his rule Italy became the most peaceful and flourishing country in the world. The kingdom of Theodoric extended far beyond the limits of Italy to the north, east, and west. During the minority of his grandson Amalaric, the King of the Visigothic monarchy in Gaul and Spain, he ruled that kingdom wisely and well. As soon as the other barbarians of the West were satisfied that Theodoric did not intend to include them in his conquests, they universally recognized him as the leading monarch of the West, and sought his alliance and mediation. Though an Arian himself, Theodoric protected his Catholic subjects, and tolerated all forms of belief in his dominions. The fanatical mob burned the shops and dwellings of the Jews in several cities, and were obliged by the king to restore them. This even-handed justice drew upon Theodoric the wrath of the Catholic party, and convinced him that his efforts in behalf of his people had not overcome their prejudice against him as an Arian. The Eastern Emperor Anastasius, jealous of so powerful

a servant, attacked the dominions of Theodoric from the direction of the Danube, but was defeated by the warrior king with an inferior force. Anxious to wipe out this disgrace, the emperor despatched an expedition to plunder the coasts of Calabria and Apulia. The imperial forces gained some indecisive successes, but the firmness and energy of Theodoric compelled them to retreat, and soon brought about an honorable peace.

The last years of Theodoric were in striking contrast with the opening of his reign. Soured by the ingratitude of his people, he became suspicious and cruel. Boëthius, the most illustrious and learned of the Romans, was put to death on the charge of plotting to restore the authority of the Eastern emperor, and his execution was soon followed by that of Symmachus, his venerable father-in-law. Remorse for these crimes hastened the end of Theodoric himself, and he died in A. D. 526. Had he been more a statesman Theodoric might have founded an enduring state by a union of the Goths and the Romans, but he does not appear to have desired such a union. He did not even claim the title of King of Italy, but was merely king of his own Goths. His kingdom did not long survive him, as we shall see.

Theodoric was succeeded by his grandson Athalaric. As the new king was but ten years old, the regency passed into the hands of his mother Amalasontha, the daughter of Theodoric, who was assisted by the wise counsels of her minister Cassiodorus. Her son failed to profit by her care and instruction, and gave himself up to riotous living and excesses of all kinds. Being punished by his mother, he appealed to the Goths to sustain him, and the queen regent was obliged to resign the authority to him. He did not enjoy it long, but died at the age of sixteen from the effects of intemperance. Amalasontha, in violation of Gothic law and custom, then endeavored to retain the throne by conferring her hand upon her cousin Theodatus and raising him to the rank of king. Theodatus, however, refused to be ruled by a woman, and caused his wife to be strangled in her bath, A. D. 535.

The Emperor Justinian, who had been eagerly watching for a pretext to regain Italy, now constituted himself the avenger of Amalasontha, and prepared to invade the peninsula with a force under the command of Belisarius. Sicily was conquered

towards the close of A. D. 535. The next spring Belisarius crossed to the mainland. The chief strength of the Ostrogoths lay in the north of Italy, and the Greek influence was strong enough in the south to render its conquest by the imperial forces an easy matter. The southern Italians welcomed Belisarius as a deliverer, but the barbarian garrison of Naples held out against him. The city was taken by surprise, and upon its fall Apulia and Calabria were restored to the empire. Advancing northward, Belisarius entered Rome, which opened its gates to him with joy, A. D. 536.

Vitiges, the successor of Theodatus, assembled a powerful Gothic army, and laid siege to Rome, which was bravely defended by Belisarius with an inferior force for more than a year. During this siege the sepulchre of Hadrian, now known as the Castle of St. Angelo, was used for the first time as a fortress. The Goths lost heavily in their attacks upon the city; 30,000 men fell in the principal assault; and Vitiges was obliged to draw off his decimated army to Ravenna, leaving Belisarius master of Italy. This great general could easily have conquered the entire country but for the dissensions of the Roman chiefs. Valuable time was lost, and the Goths were given a breathing spell. Ten thousand Burgundians, allies of the Gothic king, captured and destroyed Milan, which had revolted from Vitiges, A. D. 538. The next spring Theodebert, the grandson of Clovis, passed the Alps at the head of 100,000 Franks, and defeated both the Roman and the Gothic armies near Pavia, and ravaged Liguria and Æmilia until his losses from disease and the intemperance of his troops compelled him to return to his own country.

Belisarius now applied himself to the completion of the conquest of Italy. He laid siege to Ravenna, and reduced that impregnable city by famine. The Goths, weary of Vitiges, proposed to deliver up the city to Belisarius if he would make himself their king. He pretended to accept the proposal, but upon gaining possession of Ravenna, threw off the mask and declared that he held the city only as the lieutenant of the emperor. Pavia, garrisoned by 1,000 Goths, alone held out, and these warriors elevated Totila, the nephew of Vitiges, to the vacant throne. Before Belisarius could attempt anything against this stronghold, he was recalled to Constantinople by the emperor, who had become

jealous of his fame. Totila at once attempted to regain all that had been lost by his uncle. Many cities which had welcomed Belisarius as a deliverer had been so sorely oppressed by the Byzantine officials that they now gladly opened their gates to Totila. Rome was taken in A. D. 546, the senators carried away as prisoners, and its people scattered. The noble character of Totila won him friends on all sides, and it seemed that he was about to restore the Gothic kingdom in all its strength. Such rapid and marked success compelled Justinian to restore Belisarius to the command in Italy, but the emperor could not overcome his jealousy of his great general, and sent him to Italy without troops, and delayed those which were ordered to follow him. Belisarius "soon discovered that he was sent to remain the idle and impotent spectator of the glory of a young barbarian." Crossing to the coast of Epirus, he succeeded by extraordinary exertions in assembling a small force, with which he sailed to the mouth of the Tiber. He arrived in time to witness the capture of Rome by Totila, and though he was too weak to prevent this, he succeeded by his firm and temperate remonstrance in inducing Totila to spare the city, which he had resolved to destroy. Upon the departure of Totila for southern Italy Belisarius, with a thousand horse, seized the deserted city, and, erecting the imperial standard upon the capitol, succeeded in inducing the scattered population to return. The fortifications were repaired, and Totila was repulsed with severe loss in his efforts to retake Rome, A. D. 547. The jealousy of the emperor still continued to hamper Belisarius, and he was unable to follow up his success. His movements in southern Italy were defeated by the disobedience and the cowardice of his own officers. In 548, finding it impossible to accomplish anything in the face of such obstacles, he sought and obtained leave to return to Constantinople. In A. D. 549 the city of Rome was again captured by Totila, who overran Italy, conquered Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and invaded Greece. These successes induced the pope himself to head a deputation to Justinian, imploring his aid against the Goths. The emperor despatched a strong force under the eunuch Narses, a man of commanding abilities, and a favorite of the emperor. Narses was invested with absolute power for the prosecution of the

war, and was liberally supported by the emperor. He succeeded in regaining the lost territory, and defeated and slew Totila in a great battle near Tagina. Rome at once passed into his hands, A. D. 552, changing masters for the fifth time during the reign of Justinian.

Teias, the last Gothic king in Italy, succeeded to the throne of Totila, and sought aid of the Franks. Before it could reach him he was defeated and killed at Cumæ, in A. D. 553. In the ensuing autumn a force of 75,000 Germans passed the Alps and ravaged Italy to the extreme southern end of the peninsula. They were defeated at Casilinum, on the Volturnus, by Narses, with terrible slaughter.

All Italy was now subject to the emperor, and the Ostrogothic kingdom, after an existence of sixty years (A. D. 493–553) was at an end. Italy was erected into an exarchate, with the seat of government at Ravenna, and was governed by a lieutenant of the emperor, with the title of exarch. Narses was the first and greatest of the exarchs. He reigned from A. D. 554 to 568. The Goths either emigrated in search of new homes, or were absorbed into the mass of the Italian people.

The destruction of the Gothic power in Italy was productive of a result which the emperor had not foreseen. During the life of Theodoric and of his daughter Amalasontha, the Goths had faithfully guarded the important barrier of the upper Danube against the Gepidæ, who had, since the days of Attila, occupied, on the opposite banks of the Danube, the plains of Hungary and the Transylvania hills. The necessities of the Goths in Italy compelled them to evacuate Pannonia and Noricum for the defence of their Italian possessions against the imperial arms. Those regions were instantly occupied by the Gepidæ, who, not content with these acquisitions, threatened to burst into Italy. To defeat them Justinian called in the Lombards or Langobards (Long Beards), who had moved from the eastern banks of the Elbe down to the upper Danube. The Lombard King Audoin accepted the invitation, and, entering Pannonia with his troops, began a war with the Gepidæ, which lasted for thirty years. At his death he was succeeded by his son Alboin, who had greatly distinguished himself by his savage bravery. Alboin finding the Gepidæ too formidable to be defeated by his own people, made an alliance with the

Avars, and the result was the extermination of the Gepidæ. Alboin slew Cunimund, the King of the Gepidæ, and married Rosamond, the daughter of that monarch, A. D. 566. The Avars received the lands of the Gepidæ as the price of their services, and the Lombards were obliged to look out for new homes. The way to Italy was open, and thither they resolved to go. Narses had been degraded and removed from the exarchate, and the emperor possessed no servant capable of resisting the advance of the fierce warriors of the north.

Alboin crossed the Julian Alps in A. D. 568, and in a short time made himself master of Italy as far as Ravenna and Rome. Pavia alone resisted him in a three years' siege, but was taken in A. D. 571, and made the capital of the Lombard kingdom, which was divided into thirty duchies. Alboin did not long enjoy his success. Having mortally affronted Rosamond, his wife, by compelling her to honor his success by drinking from the skull of her father, she organized a conspiracy against him, and he was slain by the conspirators, A. D. 573. Rosamond and her lover, the latter of whom was the principal actor in the tragedy, fled to the court of the exarch of Ravenna. Longinus, the exarch, becoming enamored of the beautiful queen, offered her his hand in marriage, and she undertook to remove Helmichis, her lover, by poison, in order to accept the offer. Helmichis discovered her treachery and compelled her to drink also of the fatal cup. He then expired a few moments before the queen.

Upon the death of Alboin, the Lombard chiefs elected Cleph or Clepho, the bravest of themselves, to be king. He was assassinated in A. D. 574, and for the next ten years the kingdom had no regular government. Each chief seized some city for himself. Some of them attempted to invade the territories of the German tribes beyond the Alps, and the people of Rome besought aid of the Emperor Tiberius, who, unable to help them, bribed Chilperic, the Frankish king, to invade Italy and drive out the Lombards. In this emergency, the Lombards conferred their crown upon Autharis, the son of Cleph, who defeated the Franks, and compelled them to return to their own country. The last Frankish invasion was led by Childebert, who was encouraged to it by the Emperor Maurice. Autharis completely baffled the Frankish

sovereign by his prudence and superior generalship, and, declining an engagement, allowed the heat of summer to defeat his antagonist. The victorious Lombard extended his kingdom to the southern extremity of the peninsula, where he founded the great duchy of Benevento. He died in A. D. 590, and his widow, Theodolinda, was intrusted by the Lombards with the choice of his successor. She conferred the crown and her hand upon Agilulf, Duke of Turin, who reigned until A. D. 615. She converted her husband and many of his subjects from the Arian to the Catholic faith, and was rewarded by Pope Gregory the Great with the famous *Iron Crown* of Lombardy, which is still preserved in the cathedral of Milan, and which is said to have been made of one of the nails of the true cross.

Italy was now divided between the Exarch of Ravenna and the Lombard king. The exarch ruled over the country east of the Apennines from the Po to Ancona. Rome, with the country between Terracina and Civita Vecchia, the duchy of Naples, the islands of Sicily, Corsica and Sardinia, and the territories of the young republic of Venice were also subject to him. The duchy of Naples soon became actually independent, though it continued to own a nominal allegiance to the emperor. The Lombard kingdom included northern Italy and the two great duchies of Spoleto and Benevento. The Lombards held themselves aloof from the Italians, and despised their weakness, though they treated them with justice. Nevertheless they profited by their contact with civilization. Their kingdom in Italy was on the whole peaceful and prosperous, and their code of laws, framed by King Rotharis, who reigned in the seventh century, is esteemed the best of the barbarian codes.

During all these years Rome had sunk almost into insignificance. No longer the capital of Italy, it had fallen to the rank of a second-rate city. The barbarians were utterly ignorant of its history, and did not even know the names of the great men who had won its glory. Only one thing prevented it from being forgotten. It was the seat of the Bishop of Rome, who had come to be regarded as the champion of the orthodox Catholic faith, and whom the necessities of the times obliged to become the civil as well as the spiritual head of the Eternal City and its dependent territory. He was

not yet an independent ruler, but governed his possessions as the servant of the emperor. As the dignity of the Latin Church increased, the authority of the Roman bishop, or pope, was correspondingly augmented. At the present time, however, he was dependent upon the emperor for protection against the barbarians. "He was put under the orders of the exarch; but he did not gain any protection for himself or his city from the power he was forced to acknowledge. The Lombards threatened Rome; the emperor could only incite the Franks to make a raid upon them, and the exarch irritated, but could not hurt his powerful neighbors, who kept pressing down on the remnants of the imperial territory."

At this juncture the Roman see gained a great advantage in the elevation to the papal throne of Gregory, whom succeeding generations have unanimously named "the Great." Gregory was of noble birth, and this, with his abilities, raised him to the office of prefect of the city. Renouncing all civil honors, he embraced a religious life. Upon being made deacon, he was sent to represent the Roman see at the Byzantine court, where he boldly assumed in the name of St. Peter a tone of independent dignity which would not have been tolerated in the proudest noble of the empire. Returning to Rome with an increased reputation, he was soon compelled, against his inclination, and by the unanimous voice of the people, the senate, and the clergy, to ascend the papal throne. His pontificate extended through the century and embraced the first four years of the seventh century, and constitutes one of the most important periods of mediæval history. "He frequently ascended the pulpit, and kindled, by his rude though pathetic eloquence, the congenial passions of his audience. . . . His precepts and example defined the model of the Roman liturgy; the distribution of the parishes, the calendar of festivals, the order of processions, the service of the priests and deacons, the variety and change of sacerdotal garments. Till the last days of his life he officiated in the canon of the mass, which continued above three hours: the Gregorian chant has preserved the vocal and instrumental music of the theatre, and the rough voices of the barbarians attempted to imitate the melody of the Roman school. Under his reign the Arians of Italy and Spain were reconciled to the

Catholic Church, and the conquest of Britain reflects less glory on the name of Caesar than on that of Gregory the First." Gregory maintained with firmness the dignity and independence of the Roman see against the encroachments of the Patriarch of Constantinople. When that dignitary claimed the universal allegiance of the Christian Church as supreme bishop, Gregory met his claim with a spirited protest, in which he asserted the independence of his own and every other see. "This," said he, "I declare with confidence, that whoso designates himself Universal Priest, or, in the pride of his heart, consents to be so named, he is the forerunner of Antichrist."

But Gregory did not confine himself to the spiritual care of the Roman people. As their temporal ruler he governed them with wisdom and vigor, and successfully laid the foundations of the great edifice of the temporal power of the popes. By his wise measures he freed Rome from the pestilence and famine; he made an alliance with his powerful southern neighbor, the Duke of Spoleto, and thus secured his territory in that quarter; while he defended his northern border against the Lombards. By his wisdom and vigor he made the pope the centre of independent action in Italy in temporal as well as spiritual matters. By the conversion of Theodolinda and Agilulf, the Lombards were changed from enemies into friends, and the Italians enjoyed a season of peace, of which they were very greatly in need.

The condition of Italy during the seventh century was very sad indeed. The Lombards ruled their territories on the whole with wisdom and firmness, but the state of the exarchate was one of anarchy. It was a time when individual rights were not acknowledged or respected, when the strongest man alone was sure of anything. "Conquest, spoliation and insecurity had done their work. Wave after wave had passed over the surface of the old Roman state and obliterated almost all the landmarks of the ancient time. The towns, to be sure, still remained, but stripped of their old magnificence and thinly peopled by the dispossessed inhabitants of the soil, who congregated together for mutual support. Trade was carried on, but subject to the exactions, and sometimes the open robberies, of the avaricious chieftains who had reared their fortresses

on the neighboring heights. Large tracts of country lay waste and desolate, or were left to the happy fertility of nature in the growth of spontaneous woods. Marshes were formed over whole districts, and the cattle picked up an uncertain existence by browsing over great expanses of poor and unenclosed land. These flocks and herds were guarded by hordes of armed serfs, who camped beside them on the fields, and led a life not unlike that of their remote ancestors on the steppes of Tartary." Nor was this the condition of Italy alone. It was the same throughout Europe.

Out of this darkness and neglect agriculture, which had become almost a lost art, took a new birth. There had arisen in various parts of Italy monasteries, peopled by Benedictine monks. The wise founder of the order, St. Benedict, appreciating the evils which must ensue from the assembling under a single roof of a number of idle persons, enjoined upon his followers "to beware of idleness, as the greatest enemy of the soul." He directed them to devote themselves to the cultivation of the soil and to the discharge of the various duties belonging to the domestic service of their convents, and bade them not to be uneasy if at any time the cares of the harvest hindered them from their formal readings and regulated prayers. "No person," he said, "is ever more usefully employed than when working with his hands, or following the plough, providing food for the use of man." The good effects of these instructions soon manifested themselves. The lands attached to the monasteries were generally selected with a view to their cultivation, and were always better tilled than those which lay around them. They thus became so many examples of the most approved methods of cultivation, their lessons were taken to heart and acted upon, and the cultivation of the soil was resumed under the direct sanction of the church. Moreover, labor was rescued from the degradation into which it had sunk, and ennobled by the participation in it of the hands consecrated to the holy offices of religion. Agriculture was invested with a certain degree of sanctity, as it was so uniformly found an accompaniment of the priestly character. As the Benedictine order spread into Gaul and other lands, it carried with it these benefits. The kings, grateful for the services thus rendered their people, bestowed upon the monasteries many privileges which became so many defences

to them. The privilege of sanctuary extended to their lands as well as to their churches, and he was a bold man indeed who dared to invade this sacred domain for purposes of violence. Other measures followed, and the clergy were constituted a superior race. Immunities were heaped upon them, and at the Council of Paris, in A. D. 613, it was decreed that the priest who offended against the common law should be tried by a mixed court of priests and laymen. Later on, the trial of such offenders was turned over to ecclesiastical courts exclusively.

The monasteries were not only places of refuge, but were the only retreats of learning in this period of darkness and violence. Whatever of education and culture had survived the Roman overthrow was preserved in these asylums, in which the scholar found a sure refuge from violence, and the leisure and means of pursuing his congenial studies. Secure in the favor with which they were regarded by all classes, the clergy formed the most powerful if not the only order of the state. "Nothing, indeed, added more at the commencement of the seventh century, to the authority of these great ecclesiastical chieftains, than the circumstance that their interests were supported, not only by their neighboring brethren, but by mitred abbot or lordly bishop in distant lands. If a prior or his monks found themselves ill used on the banks of the Seine, their cause was taken up by all other monks and priors, wherever they were placed. And the rapidity of their intercommunication was extraordinary. Each monastery seems to have had a number of active young brethren who traversed the wildest regions with letters or messages, and brought back replies, almost with the speed and regularity of an established post. A convent on Lebanon was informed in a very short time of what had happened in Provence—the letter from the Western abbot was read and deliberated on, and an answer intrusted to the messenger, who again travelled over the immense tract lying between, receiving hospitality at the different religious establishments that occurred upon his way, and everywhere treated with the kindness of a brother. Monasteries in this way became the centres of news as well as of learning, and for many hundred years the only people who knew anything of the state of feeling in foreign nations, or had a glimpse of the mutual interests of distant kingdoms,

were the cowed and gowned individuals who were supposed to have given up the world and to be totally immersed in penances and prayers."

It must not be supposed that the church was spared by the general deluge of ignorance and immorality which overspread the European world. Ambitious contests arrayed the different orders against each other, and as the church grew in prosperity it became more corrupt. The elegant scholarship which was once characteristic of the clergy disappeared. Often a bishop could neither read nor write, and was a man of notoriously evil life. Learning took refuge in the monasteries, where alone it was safe from destruction. Quarrels sprang up between the bishops and the monks, and the former often gained the ill will of the latter by their oppressive treatment of them.

In this juncture the pope interfered in behalf of the monks. He took them under his special protection, and, relieving them from the supervision of their local bishops, made them directly dependent upon and responsible to himself. By this one act he gained for himself the uncompromising and enthusiastic support of the most compact and influential body in Europe. "Wherever they went, they held forth the pope as the first of earthly powers, and began already, in the enthusiasm of their gratitude, to speak of him as something more than mortal. To this the illiterate preachers and prelates had nothing to reply. They were sunk either in the grossest darkness, or involved in the wildest schemes of ambition, bishoprics being even held by laymen, and by both priest and laymen used as instruments of advancement and wealth. From these the pontiff on the Tiber, whose weaknesses and vices were unknown, and who was held up for invidious contrast with the bishops of their acquaintance by the libellous and grateful monks, had nothing to fear." And so championed by the monks, who rapidly spread into all lands where Christianity prevailed, the power and personal influence of the pope were securely established as a firm basis upon which the great fabric of his temporal claims was subsequently erected.

Until the beginning of the eighth century, the Italians, though left defenceless by the emperor, never ceased to regard themselves as his subjects, and although the Bishop of Rome had been forced by the necessities of his people to constitute him-

self a temporal prince, and did not hesitate to maintain his independence against the exarch, yet he still acknowledged an allegiance to the eastern emperor. The Iconoclastic war, inaugurated by Leo III., struck a decisive blow at what had become one of the most cherished practices of the Catholic Church. The opposition which this measure aroused in Italy was far more serious and determined than that which it excited in the East. Pope Gregory II. endeavored to turn the emperor from his purpose, and failing in this, boldly refused in the name of the western church to allow the execution of the imperial decree for the removal or destruction of the images. A great breach was thus opened between the empire and Italy, which widened daily. Gregory III., who was made pope in A. D. 731, though he did not renounce his allegiance, proved himself an equally resolute defender of the images, and adorned the churches in Rome with magnificent objects of adoration.

"The emperor, about this time, made his last desperate effort to retrieve his fortunes in Italy, to relieve the Exarch Eutychius, who was shut up in powerless inactivity in Ravenna, and to reduce the refractory pope and Italy to obedience. A formidable armament was embarked on board a great fleet, under command of Manes, one of his bravest and most experienced generals. The fleet encountered a terrible storm in the Adriatic; great part of the ships were lost; and the image worshippers on the coast of Calabria beheld their shores strewn with the wrecks of the Iconoclastic navy. Henceforth the Eastern empire almost acquiesced in the loss of the exarchate. Eutychius maintained for a long time his perilous position in Ravenna, temporizing between the pope, the Lombards, and the Franks. Nearly twenty years later he abandoned the seat of government, and took refuge in Naples."

The peace between the pope and the Lombards was broken by Liudprand, the Lombard king, who took Ravenna, and then began to overrun the Roman territory. The pope (Gregory II.) made an alliance with the Venetians, and retook the city. Everywhere the Italians supported him against the emperor, who, as the champion of Iconoclasm, had gained their uncompromising hostility. Still Gregory hesitated to definitely throw off his allegiance to the emperor, as he needed an ally against the

Lombards, who were pressing him hard. Seeing the impossibility of gaining assistance from the emperor, Gregory at length took the decisive step, and appealed to Charles Martel, the Duke of the Franks and the real ruler of the Frankish kingdom, for aid. Gregory II. died in the midst of the negotiations, but his successor, Gregory III., took up the struggle with equal vigor. Then followed the loss of Ravenna by the exarch, and his subsequent flight. Italy was now forever lost to the empire. Only the pope and the Lombard king remained to contest its sovereignty. Liudprand, by endeavoring to reduce the pope to submission to him, compelled Gregory III. to call upon the Franks for aid, as his predecessor had done. The pope offered the Frankish leader the sovereignty of the Roman people as the reward of his intervention. Charles prepared to accept the offer, but died before he could do so, A. D. 741.

Later on, in A. D. 752, the Lombard king, Astolph, having seized Ravenna and invaded the Roman territories, Pope Stephen II. appealed for aid to Pepin, the son of Charles Martel, who had been declared King of the Franks by Pope Zachary. Pope Stephen crossed the Alps to solicit the protection of the Frankish king, and was received by him with the highest reverence. In the autumn of 754 Pepin entered Italy at the head of a powerful army, and compelled Astolph to restore the Roman territory. Pepin had scarcely left Italy on his return home when the Lombard king renewed the war, and, encamping before Rome, demanded the surrender of the pope as the price of the city's safety. In response to the appeal of the pope, Pepin again crossed the Alps, and reduced the Lombards to such straits that Astolph was obliged to purchase peace by the surrender of all his conquests, including the exarchate and Pentapolis. Pepin, who declared that he undertook the war only for the glory of St. Peter, bestowed upon the pope the whole of the restored territory. Thus began the temporal sovereignty of the Bishops of Rome, which continued until A. D. 1871. The district thus acquired by the pope included Ravenna, Rimini, and twenty-three other cities, and embraced the territories of the exarchate and the Pentapolis, which were afterwards known as the States of the Church. "By the gift of a foreign potentate this large part of Italy became the

kingdom of the Bishop of Rome. The sovereignty of this territory was retained by Pepin, but its immediate government with its rich revenues passed into the hands of the pope. In return the pontiff conferred upon Pepin the title of Patrician of the Romans. "This gave him some vague authority in the city, but the emperor was still nominally acknowledged. But it was only in theory that the emperor still reigned over Italy, and the real power of the Frankish patrician was small, because he was the other side of the Alps, while the pope, by his gift, really reigned over the remains of the Roman province." Still the pope was not yet an independent sovereign. Money was coined and justice administered in the name of the King of the Franks, and even the election of the pontiff was subject to his revision.

After the death of Pepin the war was renewed against the pope by the Lombard king, Desiderius, who invaded Romagna, laid waste the country, and threatened Rome. Pope Adrian I. appealed to Charlemagne, the Frankish king, the son of Pepin, for assistance, and Charlemagne, who was not averse to going to war with Desiderius, entered Italy with a powerful army, captured Pavia after a siege of several months, took Desiderius prisoner, and put an end to the Lombard kingdom, which he added to his own dominions. During the siege of Pavia, Charlemagne spent Holy Week at Rome, and confirmed the gift of his father Pepin to the pope, A. D. 774. In A. D. 781 Charlemagne entered Italy again to protect the pope against a league of "all the adversaries of the papal and the Frankish interests," headed by Arigiso, the Lombard Duke of Benevento, who had married the daughter of Desiderius. The prompt appearance of the great conqueror in Italy put an end to this trouble, and compelled the submission of the rebels.

Adrian I. died in A. D. 795, and Leo III. was elected pope in his place. The new pontiff had many enemies among the factions which divided Rome, and these carried their hostility to the extent of attacking him in the streets of Rome and almost killing him, A. D. 799. He escaped to Spoleto, and thence to Paderborn, where Charlemagne was waging war with the Saxons. The pope naturally appealed to the Frankish monarch for the punishment of his enemies and his restoration to his

throne, and his enemies endeavored to defend their course by charging the pontiff with grave crimes. Charlemagne "did not decline, but postponed till his arrival in Rome the judicial investigation of these charges; but he continued to treat the pope with undiminished respect and familiarity."

In the winter of A. D. 800-1 Charlemagne proceeded to Rome, and the trial of Pope Leo III. took place. It resulted, as a matter of course, in his acquittal, and Charlemagne with his own voice proclaimed the innocence of the pontiff. On Christmas day, A. D. 800, the pope solemnly crowned Charlemagne Emperor of the West. Of this latter event and of the empire of Charlemagne we shall treat in the history of Germany. The Italian kingdom of Charlemagne extended from the Alps southward to Terracina. The duchy of Benevento paid him tribute, but was in other respects independent. "The cities of Gaëta and Naples, and the islands of Sicily and Sardinia, with the extreme ends of Calabria and Apulia, which received the high-sounding title of the Theme of Lombardy, still acknowledged the eastern Cæsar. Venice was busy with her own affairs, and stood aloof from Italian politics. At this time, and for long after, she knew no emperor save him who reigned in Constantinople."

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE DEATH OF CHARLEMAGNE TO THE DEATH OF POPE GREGORY VII.

Italy Tranquil During the Reign of Charlemagne—Lothaire Becomes Emperor—Conquests of the Saracens in Southern Italy—They Besiege Rome—Are Defeated by Pope Leo IV.—The "Leonine City"—Wars with the Saracens—The Pope Pays Tribute to the Infidel—Wars in the North of Italy—Charles the Fat Emperor—Fall of the Empire of Charlemagne—Italy Ravaged by the Hungarians and Northmen—Disorders in Italy—The Emperor Otto Deprives the Romans of their Independence—Revolt of Crescentius—Pope Sylvester II.—Efforts of the Italian Cities to Preserve their Independence—Municipal Governments—Rise of the Italian Republics—Growth of the Venetian State—Pisa—Genoa—The Normans Drive the Saracens from Sicily—Their Conquests in Southern Italy—They Capture the Pope and Become his Champions—Destruction of the Commerce of Southern Italy—Great Corruption of the Church—Simony—Hildebrand—Becomes Pope as Gregory VII.—His Reforms—Enforces Celibacy Upon the Clergy—The Practice of Investitures—Gregory puts a Stop to it—His Haughty Treatment of the Sovereigns of Europe—Quarrels with the German Emperor Henry IV.—Excommunicates him—Humiliation of Henry—His Visit to the Pope—

Shameful Treatment of the Emperor—Henry Renews the War—Sets up an Antipope—Clement III.—Gregory Rescued by the Normans—Death of Gregory VII.

DURING the life of Charlemagne, Italy enjoyed a period of rest and quiet, but, in the troubles which followed his death, suffered with the rest of the empire. By the treaty of Verdun, in A. D. 843, Lothaire, the grandson of Charlemagne, received the imperial title and a long and narrow kingdom stretching from the North Sea to the southern boundary of his grandfather's Italian dominions. Lothaire associated his son Louis in the empire, and made him ruler over Lombardy.

In the meantime the Saracens, who had conquered Crete, began in A. D. 827 their efforts to gain possession of Sicily. The struggle was continued for fifty years, and then Syracuse was taken and the whole island overrun, A. D. 878. Long before this the Arabs had begun to direct their efforts against the mainland of Italy. From the Sicilian ports the Moslem squadrons ravaged the Italian coast at pleasure. Encouraged by the dissensions of the cities of southern Italy, the Saracens made a firm lodgment in the lower end of the peninsula, and extended their ravages to the vicinity of Rome, and finally laid siege to the Eternal City itself. Had they been united they might have made themselves masters of the entire peninsula. Rome was saved by the courageous conduct of Pope Leo IV. He successfully resisted the Saracens in their attacks upon the city, and brought about a league of the cities of Gaëta, Naples, and Amalfi. Their combined fleets inflicted a severe defeat upon the Arabian fleet off Ostia, and the remnant of the beaten squadron was destroyed by a tempest. Leo could not prevent the Saracens from plundering the churches and shrines which lay without the walls. Upon the withdrawal of the enemy he enclosed this portion—the Vatican quarter—with a strong wall, and called it, in honor of himself, the *Leonine City*, A. D. 852.

The advance of the Emperor Louis II. into southern Italy saved Rome from further attacks. The Saracens succeeded in capturing Bari, which enabled them to command the Adriatic, and made their power severely felt in southern Italy. This brought about a league between the Eastern Emperor Basil I. and the Western Emperor

Louis II., who joined their forces to expel them from this important point. The army of Louis besieged Bari by land, while the Greek fleet assailed it from the sea, and in A. D. 871 the city was obliged to yield to this combined attack. After the death of Louis the Saracens again made great progress, assisted by the Dukes of Naples, who, though nominally the vassals of the Greek emperor, were really independent sovereigns. Upon the death of Louis, Charles the Bald, King of France, was crowned emperor by his nephew, Pope John VIII. Being hard pressed by the infidels, John sent urgent appeals to the emperor to come to his aid, but the latter would not undertake the task, and the pontiff was obliged to purchase the safety of the city by paying tribute to the Moslems.

The principal result of the expulsion of the Saracens from Bari was the revival of the Greek power in southern Italy. The weakness of the Carolingian house in the peninsula enabled the Greek emperor to capture a great number of Saracen castles. The province known as the Theme of Lombardy extended as far north as Salernum. The Greek cities of Naples and Amalfi, and the Lombard rulers of Beneventum and Capua also acknowledged the Eastern emperor as their sovereign lord, but they were not always to be depended upon. The feuds of the rulers of northern Italy were a sure protection to the Greeks of the south from interference at this important period of their history.

In northern Italy the remainder of the ninth century was marked by the struggles of the Carolingian princes for the supreme power. When the century closed the principal powers of the north were Duke of Friuli, the Count of Tuscany, and the Archbishop of Milan, whose allegiance to the Carolingian King of Italy was chiefly nominal. At the death of Charles the Bald the Italian crown was seized by Carloman, the son of Louis, King of the East Franks. Pope John VIII. endeavored to set up a rival to the German party in the person of Boso, who had been elected King of Provence; but Charles the Fat compelled the pope to crown him emperor, and so secured the triumph of the German party. The new emperor was powerless to quell the disturbances among the Italian nobles, or to check the aggressions of the Saracens. He died in A. D. 887. With him ended the Carolingian line in Italy, and the great

empire of Charlemagne fell to pieces. A struggle at once ensued between the adherents of Beranger, Duke of Friuli, and Guido, Duke of Spoletum, for the possession of the Italian crown. Guido was victorious and was crowned emperor, and Beranger appealed to the German king, Arnulf, to assist him against his enemy. Arnulf responded willingly to the summons, and invaded Italy in A. D. 894. Having taken Rome, he set aside both Beranger and Lambert, the son of Guido, who had died during the struggle, and was himself crowned emperor by Pope Formosus. He had no real power in Italy, and soon returned to Germany, where he died in A. D. 899. Lambert died near about the same time, and Beranger gained possession of the Italian throne.

The early part of the tenth century brought many disasters to Italy. Among these were the invasion of the Magyars or Hungarians, a fierce Turanian horde, who swept over the Alps and ravaged northern Italy with fire and sword; and of the Northmen, who, under their famous leader Hastings, captured, plundered, and destroyed the city of Luna, having mistaken it for Rome. The Saracens also kept southern Italy in a state of terror until A. D. 916, when the warlike Pope John X. took the field against them, assisted by a number of the princes of southern Italy and a Greek fleet, and inflicted a severe defeat upon the infidels, which put a stop to their outrages.

Not the least among the troubles of this unhappy country were the frequent revolutions which kept the whole peninsula in a state of constant strife, and inflicted much suffering upon it. The elevation of Beranger to the Italian throne was mainly the work of Adalbert, the great Count of Tuscany. Becoming dissatisfied with his work, Adalbert called in Louis of Provence, the son of Boso, to overthrow him. Louis, however, did not remain long upon the throne, as the Tuscan king-maker, finding him a less pliant tool than he had expected, soon dethroned him. Rudolph of Burgundy next appeared to contest the rule of Beranger, who still managed to maintain his authority over a portion of Italy. At length Beranger was assassinated.

Rome was at this time virtually ruled by an infamous woman named Marozia, who acquired notoriety as the mistress of one pope, the mother of a second, and the grandmother of a third, and the record of whose

career forms the darkest page in the history of the papacy. Upon the death of Beranger I., Marozia sought to strengthen herself by marrying Hugh of Provence, who had assumed the Italian crown and had been acknowledged king by Pope John XI., the son of Marozia. She succeeded in introducing him into the Castle of St. Angelo, but the Romans, led by Alberic, the legitimate son of Marozia, refused to allow Hugh to enter their city, and confined him to the castle, from which Alberic soon drove him. Marozia was thrown into prison, the pope was confined to the exercise of his spiritual functions, and for twenty years Alberic ruled Rome, restoring to a limited degree the old republican institutions. He was succeeded by his son Octavian, who for a while ruled the city as consul. Upon the death of his uncle John XI., Octavian made himself pope under the name of John XII.

Hugh of Provence, though driven from Rome, retained his hold upon the rest of Italy, but he was such an infamous tyrant and robbed his people so unmercifully that they soon began to plot against him. The most formidable of these plots, which had the support of the greater portion of the Italian nobles, had for its object the elevation to the throne of Beranger, Marquis of Iorea, the most powerful noble of northern Italy. It was detected by Hugh, and Beranger was forced to fly; but in the end Hugh was compelled to quit Italy and go back to Provence (A. D. 945), leaving his son Lothaire, as King of Italy. Lothaire died in A. D. 950, and his death is attributed to Beranger, who at once mounted the throne as Beranger II.

Beranger II. endeavored to compel Adelaide, the young and beautiful widow of Lothaire, to wed his son Adalbert, and upon her refusal to do so, threw her into prison, and treated her with great cruelty. She succeeded in escaping, and appealed to the German king, Otto the Great, for protection. Otto crossed the Alps, defeated Beranger, and married the beautiful Adelaide himself. He took the title of King of the Lombards, but allowed Beranger to retain his crown and Lombardy as his vassal, A. D. 951. Otto returned home in triumph, leaving Beranger to govern northern Italy. After ten years of violence and discontent, during which the Lombard nobles succeeded in winning the uncompromising hostility of the Pope John XII.,

whose infamous life had disgusted all Europe, the pontiff put an end to the disorders by inviting Otto to assume the imperial crown. He was crowned with Queen Adelaide at Rome, in February, A. D. 962.

Although the pope had urged Otto to assume the imperial crown he did not remain faithful to him. Otto had scarcely passed the Alps on his return to Germany when John began to plot against him, and finally plunged Rome into a revolt against its German master. This drew upon him the vengeance of the emperor, and he was solemnly deposed from his high office for his crimes, and the Romans were deprived of their independent institutions and placed under the rule of Leo VIII., a pope of the emperor's own selection, and devoted to his interests. Thus the power of Otto was firmly established in Rome. Otto endeavored, but without success, to add southern Italy to his empire, and even went to the extreme of war with the Greek emperor, Nicephorus Phocas, for this purpose. His son, Otto II., carried out the policy of his father in this respect, and with the aid of the Lombard Duke of Beneventum attempted the conquest of southern Italy. The people, however, allied themselves with the Saracens, and in the bloody battle of Crotona inflicted a severe defeat upon Otto's forces, and saved the Lombard Theme for the eastern emperor (A. D. 982), whose power in Italy was greatly increased by this victory. Upon the death of Pandulf Ironhead, Duke of Beneventum, the ally of Otto, that duchy fell into decay and finally broke up into a number of small parts, the majority of which became subject to the eastern emperor.

The Romans attempted to regain their independent municipal government during the latter part of the reign of Otto II., and set up a consul named Crescentius, who compelled Pope John XV. to acknowledge his authority. In A. D. 996, however, Otto III. came to Rome at the head of a powerful army, put an end to the consular government, and was crowned emperor by Gregory V., a German pope, whom he had placed in the chair of St. Peter. As soon as the emperor had departed from Rome Crescentius raised the city in revolt against him, set up a Greek as antipope, and appealed to the eastern emperor for assistance. Otto promptly returned to Rome, deposed the antipope and cruelly tortured him, and laid siege to the Castle of St. Angelo, in

which Crescentius had taken refuge. He drew Crescentius from the castle upon the promise of accepting his surrender, and then faithlessly put him to death. Self-government was now at an end in Rome, and the power of the emperor was supreme. Otto even dreamed of reviving the ancient glories of the Roman empire, and of reigning as master of the world with Rome as his capital, but his early death put an end to his plans. One of his last acts was the elevation to the papal throne of his tutor, Gerbert, who was esteemed the most profound scholar and most daring thinker of his day. Gerbert assumed the title of Sylvester II., and used his power in behalf of science and learning. "The genius of this famous pontiff," says Mosheim, "was extensive and sublime, embracing all the branches of literature; but its more peculiar bent was turned toward mathematical studies. Mechanics, geometry, astronomy, arithmetic, and every other branch of knowledge that had the least affinity to these important sciences, were cultivated by this restorer of learning with the most ardent zeal, and not without success, as his writings abundantly testify; nor did he stop here, but employed every method that was proper to encourage and animate others to the culture of the liberal arts and sciences. The effects of this noble zeal were visible in Germany, France, and Italy, both in this and in the following century; as by the writings, example, and exhortations of Gerbert, many were incited to the study of physic, mathematics, and philosophy, and in general to the pursuit of science in all its branches. If, indeed, we compare this learned pontiff to the mathematicians of modern times, his merit, in this point of view, will almost totally disappear under such a disadvantageous comparison; for his geometry, though it be easy and perspicuous, is merely elementary and superficial. Yet, such as it was, it was marvellous in an age of barbarism and darkness, and surpassed the apprehension of the pygmy philosophers, whose eyes, under the auspicious direction of Gerbert, were just beginning to open upon the light. Hence it was that the geometrical figures, described by this mathematical pontiff, were regarded by the monks as magical operations, and the pontiff himself was treated as a magician and a disciple of Satan."

The disorders which had marked the tenth century in Italy continued through-

out the eleventh century. After the death of the Emperor Otto III. Rome passed again under popular government, and the great cities of northern Italy continued to enjoy, under various forms, much of the liberty which had marked their earlier his-

to do to preserve her liberties against her archbishop. In the eleventh century the municipal governments of Italy were generally conducted by two or more consuls, chosen by the people. These were charged with the duty of administering justice, pre-



A KNIGHT IN FULL ARMOR.

tory. The great trouble against which they had constantly to contend was the repeated effort of some powerful noble to make himself absolute master of some important city. Even the bishops, not content with their spiritual privileges, strove hard to acquire such power, and Milan especially had much

siding over the councils of the city, and calling out and leading the militia in time of war or insurrection. Each city had usually two councils: one smaller one, which in later times came to be called the *Consiglio di Credenza*, and which carried out the laws and general policy of the city; and

one greater body, consisting of more members, called the *Great Council* or the *Senate*, in which new measures were discussed and adopted. The supreme power lay with the whole body of the people, who were summoned together in the principal square by the great bell of the town. These assemblies were called "Parliaments."

The great Italian republics were more elaborately organized than their minor sisters. The first of these was Venice, the foundation of which we have already related in the history of Rome. Though practically independent it owed a nominal allegiance to the eastern emperor. By holding aloof from the great struggles which convulsed Italy it had managed during the six centuries of its existence to direct its energies to its steady growth. In the eleventh century it was one of the most powerful as well as one of the richest Italian states, and was just entering upon its remarkable commercial career. It was the only Italian republic which never submitted to the German emperors, and no foreign power had as yet been acknowledged within its walls. The chief magistrate of the republic was styled the Doge, or Duke, and possessed all the powers of a king. The beginning of the crusades marks the commencement of the commercial glory of Venice. Her admirable maritime position had already led her to engage in ship-building to a great extent, and had enabled her to rid the Adriatic of the pirates of Istria and Dalmatia, and to extend her power to the eastern shore of that sea. She was in a condition to supply the demand of the crusaders for ships to transport them to Asia, and the money earned by this service brought large sums to the republic. The masters of these vessels judiciously invested their earnings in the silks and other products of the East, and these were sold in Europe at handsome profits. Thus was laid the foundation of the extensive commerce which made Venice the mistress of the seas. At a later period glass-making became one of the chief industries and sources of wealth of the Venetians.

Pisa, following the example of Venice, next rose to wealth and importance, and became the principal commercial rival of Venice. The marshes of the lower Arno were drained by the large-minded merchants of Pisa, and the entire district of Maremma, which is now almost deserted, was converted into one of the most beautiful and populous

regions of Italy. The greatness and wealth of the Pisan republic were won in the face of a sharp opposition, and were maintained only by a determined struggle. The islands of the Mediterranean were closed against her by their Saracen masters, and Venice and Amalfi resented, and punished when they could, all the attempts of Pisa to secure a share in the Mediterranean trade, which they claimed as their own. In A. D. 1017 the allied Pisans and Genoese attacked Sardinia, and in 1021 wrested it from the Saracens. The island was finally parcelled out in fiefs among the nobles of Pisa.

Genoa, the third of the Italian republics, rose to wealth and power more slowly than the others. She was always the enemy of Venice and the rival of Pisa, though sometimes the ally of the latter state. Her territory ultimately embraced the cities of the two *Rivieras*, and extended around the head of the Gulf of Genoa from Nice to Spezzia.

After the death of Otto III. a struggle set in for the possession of the Italian crown. It was decided by the coronation of the German king, Henry of Bavaria, at Milan. At his death the struggle was renewed, and though the Italian crown passed to the Emperor Conrad, the disturbances went on with but little intermission. They simply changed their character, and became a contest between the people and the nobles. The absence of the emperor removed the only check which could have restrained this discord.

In the meantime the south of Italy was the scene of a contest the result of which was to change its character. At the opening of the century the Italian islands of the Mediterranean were held by the Saracens, who had also a footing upon the mainland. Southern Italy was subject to the Greek emperors. In A. D. 1010 a body of Norman knights, on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, stopped at Salerno, and while there turned aside for a while from their journey to aid Gaimar, a Lombard prince of the city, against the Saracens. Encouraged by their success, their countrymen some years later swarmed into Sicily, drove out the Saracens, and took possession of a large part of the island. In A. D. 1030 they attacked Apulia, conquered it, and added it to their Sicilian possessions. Pope Leo IX., alarmed by their rapid progress up the peninsula, organized a league against them, and applied to the Emperors Henry III. and Constantine IX. for aid. These sovereigns being

unable to render him any assistance, the pope took the field in person against the Normans, with an army composed of Italian, Greek, and Suabian mercenaries. The Normans were inferior in force to the papal army, but they were all veterans, and were led by such tried commanders as Counts Humphrey, Richard, and the famous Robert Guiscard. They totally routed their opponents in the battle of Civitella in 1053, and captured the pontiff himself. To his surprise, instead of treating him with harshness, the Normans paid him the most profound reverence, and humbly asked pardon of the father of Christendom for the hard fate which had compelled them to defend with arms against him the lands they had won from the heretical Greeks and the infidel Saracens. By this politic course they completely gained the good-will of the pope, and received from him the investiture of their past and future conquests in Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, which they agreed to hold as a fief of the Holy See. This was a great gain for the pope, as the Italian Normans were thenceforth his stoutest champions. Robert Guiscard continued these conquests on the mainland, and added the greater part of southern Italy to his dominions. He was made count by Pope Nicholas II. Count Roger, the brother of Robert, conquered Sicily after a long and arduous struggle. At the death of Robert he succeeded to his dominions on the mainland. His son Roger, the great Count of Sicily, took the important town of Bari, in 1071, and rapidly acquired the remainder of southern Italy. He erected his possessions and conquests into a single state, and took the title of King of Sicily.

The Norman conquest of southern Italy destroyed the commerce of the Greek cities of Naples, Gaeta, and Amalfi, which had until now controlled the trade of the Mediterranean, and drove it into the hands of Venice, Pisa, and Genoa. The Venetians maintained a powerful fleet in the Adriatic, and effectually checked the conquests of the Normans in that quarter.

The early part of this century saw the church plunged in a state of deep corruption, from which there seemed scarcely any escape. Being corrupt it was necessarily weak. The great cause of this weakness was simony, which robbed the church of its sanctity as a profession, and enabled the temporal power to interfere with its preferences. From an ecclesiastical point of

view there was a second cause of weakness, namely, the marriage of the clergy, which prevented the priests from devoting themselves exclusively to the task of making the church independent of the state and the most powerful body on earth, and which stripped the clergy of the semi-miraculous character which the most ascetic arrogated to themselves, and exhibited them to the laity as mere men. The first was a genuine cause of corruption; the latter was a great barrier in the path of papal ambition. The Emperor Henry III. endeavored to bring the church up to its true position by the appointment of German popes, who, being free from the petty local jealousies of the Italians, would devote their energies to the whole of Christendom. The first two died too soon to accomplish anything. The emperor then appointed Leo IX., his kinsman. Leo began with vigor a reformation which was destined to accomplish more than Henry either desired, or believed possible. In the end the papacy became the powerful and determined rival of the empire, with both the will and the ability to inflict many humiliations and losses upon it. Leo made an uncompromising war upon the practice of simony, for which no defence was attempted. It had become too universal a practice, however, to be destroyed in a single reign. In the reign of Gregory VII. the contest assumed a formidable character, as we shall see. The effort to enforce celibacy upon the clergy met with a determined resistance, especially in Milan, where the married clergy could bring the precepts of St. Ambrose and the example of some of his successors to sustain their course.

The ruling spirit of the papal court at this time was Hildebrand, a Tuscan monk, who from an obscure position had raised himself by the force of his own genius to the post of Archdeacon of Rome. A man of unbending will and profound ambition, he conceived at an early day a plan which aimed not only at reforming the church of the abuses which pervaded it, but of rendering the ecclesiastical independent of and superior to the civil power. "To this end he laid down two main rules, one that the clergy might not marry, the other that no temporal prince should bestow any ecclesiastical benefice, as was then commonly done in Germany, England, and most parts of Europe." That Gregory sincerely desired to bring the church back to its ancient purity, none may doubt, and in this work he

merits and should receive the gratitude of all good men. His error was that he was not satisfied with this reformation, but strove to make the civil power of all Europe subject to the will of the Bishop of Rome, and to exalt the clergy, with the pope at their head, into a superior and separate body from other men, and to place them above, and free them from, all obedience to the civil law, exempt them from taxation, and make them, in short, dependent solely upon the pope for their guidance and control. These facts should not be forgotten in considering his career.

During the reigns of Leo IX. and his successors, a period of more than twenty years, Hildebrand was the ruling spirit of the Roman court. His haughty and aggressive policy pervaded the acts of these pontiffs, and foreshadowed the bold career he had marked out for himself when he became, as he meant to be, pope. While only Archdeacon of Rome he began his reforms, wisely seeking first to constitute the clergy a compact and harmonious body dependent solely upon the Roman see. In the name of Stephen X. he gave orders for the married priests to be displaced and separated from their wives, and exerted himself to stir up the populace against the offending clergy, a task in which he was so successful that in some cases the mob put the objects of their fanatical wrath to death. The virtues of celibacy were held up to popular admiration, and Hildebrand's invectives against marriage and his praises of the sanctity of a single life were listened to with delight. "The secular clergy were forced to adopt the unsocial and demoralizing principles of their monkish rivals; and when all family affections were made sinful, and the feelings of the pastor concentrated on the interests of his profession, the popes had secured, in the whole body of the church, the unlimited obedience and blind support which had hitherto been the characteristic of the monastic orders." Through the reigns of the several successors of Leo IX., Hildebrand, who managed with unerring skill to make himself the confidential adviser, and in reality the guide and master of each, pursued with unwavering firmness the carefully matured plan by which he intended to increase and consolidate the power of the papacy. Nor can we regard him as wholly disinterested in this work. From the first his eye appears to have been fixed upon the chair of St. Peter, and each step

he took brought him nearer to it. He did not aspire to be simply Bishop of Rome; he meant as pope to give laws to the world.

In A. D. 1073 Hildebrand was elected pope, and took the name of Gregory VII. He was the greatest of the Roman pontiffs, and it was not long before he struck a decisive blow at the abuse which he had not been able to reach in his subordinate station. In France and Germany the bishops were either nominated or confirmed by the sovereign, and in England by the Parliament. The parish priests and other clergy received



GREGORY VII.

their positions from the nobles. The ceremony by which these offices were bestowed was called *Investiture*. The practice often led to the purchase of the offices with money, and their bestowal upon persons unfit to hold them. Gregory was resolved to put a stop to this practice, which he denounced as simony, but as more than half the lands in Germany had been granted to churchmen as feudal fiefs, it was evident that to attempt to make these independent of the king would strike a terrible blow at the sovereign. Nevertheless the pope did not shrink from it, as it was the first step in the task by which he meant to bring the emperor to his feet.

The German throne was filled at this time by Henry IV., then twenty-three years of age. He was a prince of great talents and of a naturally noble character, but his education had been defective, and his guardian, Adalbert, Archbishop of Bremen, a gay, easy-going prelate, had allowed him to fall into evil ways, and had trained him to distrust the dukes to such an extent that by the time of Gregory's elevation, the greater number of these princes were in open revolt. The father of Henry had treated the pope as his dependent, and had raised no fewer than four Germans successively to the papal throne. Upon his death, however, and during the minority of Henry IV., Hildebrand had so directed the policy of the Roman see as to make it practically independent of the emperor, and the German clergy, inspired from Rome, had shown so much hostility to him, that Henry had become greatly prejudiced against them.

Gregory waited two years before breaking with the king. In A. D. 1075 he addressed to him a haughty and imperious letter, commanding him to abstain from simony, and to discontinue the practice of investiture by the ring and cross. These, he claimed, were the signs of spiritual dignity, and their bestowal was inherent in the pope. Gregory had chosen his opportunity sagaciously, for Henry was engaged in a hard struggle with the Saxons, who were in revolt. In this emergency he promised to comply with the pope's demand, but, upon putting down the Saxon rebellion, refused to be bound by his promise. The pope summoned him to Rome to be tried for his crimes, and he answered by convening a synod of German bishops at Worms in 1076, and deposing Gregory. The pope then solemnly excommunicated the king, and declared him deprived of his crown and his subjects released from their allegiance to him, and proclaimed it a crime for any one to render him the slightest assistance. Thus began the famous "war of the investitures."

Henry had alienated all classes of his subjects by his harsh treatment of them, and they promptly rose against him, glad to cloak their hatred of him under the guise of zeal for religion. The pope energetically fomented the rebellion, and in the end Henry was obliged to yield. In mid-winter he crossed the Alps, and presented himself at the gates of the Castle of Canossa, where the pope was then sojourning

with his devoted friend, the Countess Matilda. Gregory refused at first to receive the king, who had come to throw himself upon his mercy, and his Christian charity exhibited itself in allowing Henry to remain barefooted in the snow and without food in the outer court of the castle for three days and nights. When at length he consented to receive him, he would only promise that the king should be tried with justice for his "crimes," and if found innocent should be restored to his throne, but if proved guilty should be punished with the utmost severity of the ecclesiastical law, A. D. 1077.

The pride of the Germans revolted against the unheard-of indignity with which their sovereign was treated, and they rallied to his support, and enabled him to inflict a decisive defeat upon Rudolph of Suabia, who had been encouraged by the pope to head the rebellion against him. The war now went on with unremitting vigor. The chief ally of the pope in Italy was the Countess Matilda of Tuscany. Her first husband, the Duke of Lower Lorraine, had been a staunch supporter of the emperor, but after his death, in A. D. 1076, she retained the government of Tuscany, the greatest of the Italian fiefs, in her own hands, and consecrated her wealth and army to the service of the pope. Lombardy, and especially Milan and Ravenna, remained faithful to Henry, for the pope was not so much revered in Italy as he was in Germany. The monks and clergy everywhere sustained the pope as the champion of their order against the secular power, and he had another element of strength in the sympathy of the common people, who beheld in him one sprung from themselves, endeavoring, as they wrongly believed, to relieve them of the oppression of the great. The imperial party regarded the pope simply as the first subject of the emperor, invested by him with his bishopric and its possessions, and in support of their view they cited the examples of Otto the Great and Henry III., who had judged, deposed, and appointed popes. The clerical party claimed that the pope was above all earthly sovereigns, as things spiritual were above things temporal, and reminded their opponents that it was the coronation by the pope which could alone make a German king Augustus.

The true cause of Henry's weakness was the discontent which his tyranny had caused

in Germany. The discontented nobles now chose Rudolph of Suabia emperor, and after defeating Henry at Mülhausen, Rudolph was crowned by Gregory. Henry thereupon set up an antipope in the person of Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna. Rallying from his reverse, Henry overthrew Rudolph, who was slain, A. D. 1080, and then turned his arms against the pope. Entering Italy he was received with great joy in Lombardy. The Countess Matilda endeavored to stay his march, but her army was defeated near Mantua, and Florence, her capital, was threatened by the king. Advancing to Rome, Henry laid siege to the city, and continued it for three years, retiring every summer to avoid the heat, and returning again in the winter. The Eastern emperor, whose dominions were invaded by the Norman, Robert Guiscard, who was an ally of the pope, made a league with Henry, and supplied him largely with money. The absence of Robert Guiscard in the East deprived Gregory of his ablest champion, and allowed Henry to work his will in Italy. The imperial troops overran Tuscany, and many of the adherents of the Countess Matilda deserted the papal cause. Henry carried the Leonine city (the Vatican quarter) and forced the pope to take refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo. At length the city proper opened its gates to the Germans, who took possession of it, and on Palm Sunday, A. D. 1084, Guibert, Henry's pope, was consecrated with the title of Clement III. After his consecration he crowned Henry Emperor of the Romans. Gregory, secure in the impregnable fortress of St. Angelo, still held out against Henry, and at length help came to him. Robert Guiscard, returning from the East, advanced towards Rome with a large army, of which the Saracens of Sicily, who were the subjects of his brother Roger, formed a large part. The emperor withdrew from the city upon the approach of the Norman leader, who entered Rome without opposition, A. D. 1084. A tumult broke out among the citizens, and so enraged the Normans that they gave the city up to pillage. It was remorselessly sacked, and the Cœlian quarter was destroyed by fire. The Normans conducted Gregory to the citadel of Salerno, where he died in A. D. 1085, using his last breath to utter curses upon the Emperor Henry, and protesting that he died in exile because he had "loved righteousness and hated iniquity"—to so great an extent

can men, even in the supreme moment of death, deceive themselves.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE DEATH OF GREGORY VII. TO THE SICILIAN VESPERS.

Arrogant Claim of the Pope—Henry V. Defeats Pope Paschal II.—Is Crowned Emperor—Death of the Countess Matilda—Her Bequest to the Pope—Settlement of the Question of Investitures—Gains for the Germans—The Independence of the Papacy Secured—Quarrels of the Italian Cities—The Guelphs and the Ghibellines—Arnold of Brescia—Barbarossa Emperor—Puts Down the Revolt in Northern Italy—Milan Submits—Renewal of the War—The Lombard League—Defeat of the Emperor at Alexandria—Treaty of Constance—Gains of the Lombard Cities—Their Increase in Political Importance—Establishment of the Venetian Influence in the East—War Between the Pope and Otto II.—Henry II. Emperor—His Quarrel with Pope Gregory IX.—Excommunication of the Emperor—His Crusade—War with the Pope—Blasphemous Claim of Innocent IV.—Alarms the Sovereigns of Europe—The Pope Refuses to be Reconciled to the Emperor—Death of Frederick II.—Decline of the Imperial Power in Italy—Charles of Anjou Made King of Sicily by the Pope—Defeats Manfred—Gregory X.—The French in Sicily—Their Tyranny—Revolt of the People—The Sicilian Vespers—Massacre of the French—Establishment of the Inquisition.

THE death of Gregory did not end the struggle which he began. His successors continued his policy, the true character of which is shown in his published declaration: "There is but one name in the world, and that is the pope's. He only can use the ornaments of empire. All princes ought to kiss his feet. He alone can nominate or displace bishops and assemble or dissolve councils. Nobody can judge him. His mere election constitutes him a saint. He has never erred, and never shall err in time to come. He can depose princes, and release subjects from their oaths of fidelity." The successors of Gregory stirred up enemies against Henry in his own household, in the end drove him to a miserable death, and not content with this, refused him Christian burial.

The wrongs of Henry IV. were to a certain extent avenged by his son and successor, Henry V., notwithstanding the fact that Henry had been aided by Pope Paschal II. in his unjustifiable rebellion against his father. Entering Italy with a large army, in 1111, he overran the country, and threw Pope Paschal II. into prison, and only released him on his promise to crown

him emperor, and to resign the investiture of all bishops and abbots in the empire. Upon the death of the Countess Matilda she left her large territories to the pope, but the emperor claimed them, and took possession of Tuscany, and held it until his death. The popes, however, did not surrender their claims to the dominions of the Countess Matilda, though unable to maintain them.

At length, in 1122, the question of investitures was decided. A concordat, or treaty, was entered into at Worms between the emperor and the pope, by which the emperor surrendered the right of investiture by ring and staff, and granted the right of free election to the clergy, while the pope consented that the temporal possessions of the German Church should be received from the emperor, a concession which made the German a National Church. The ring and crozier, the symbols of spiritual authority, were to be conferred by the pope alone. The loss of the emperor was a gain for the German king; but the greatest gain of all was that of the pope, who became independent of the emperor in all things, while the emperor still received his crown from the hands of the pope. The independence thus gained was the sure stepping-stone to papal supremacy.

One of the chief results of the war of investitures was the growth of the Italian cities in importance and freedom from control. The first effect of this growth was to cause them to engage in numberless quarrels with each other, but, as we shall see, they afterwards made common cause against the emperor. At the first, northern Italy was divided into two great parties by the long feud between Milan and Pavia. Milan was successful, and became the acknowledged leader of Lombardy early in the twelfth century. Florence, which was now ruled by consuls, and had become a republic, rose into prominence, and began to extend its territory during the first half of this century. Many noble families were compelled by force to become citizens of the new republic. Pisa continued her career of prosperity; Lucca was forced to make peace, and the Pisans captured the island of Majorca from the Mohammedan pirates. In the struggle with Lucca, Florence took part as the ally of Pisa.

Upon the death of Henry V., the Saxon Duke Lothaire was made king by the German electors, and was supported by the

Guelfs or Welfs, the reigning family of Bavaria. Lothaire died in 1138, after a reign of three years, and his rival, Conrad of Hohenstaufen, became king. The Welfs were partisans of the pope; the Hohenstaufen were opposed to the papal party in Germany, and were the champions of imperial law and order. The Welfs possessed not only the duchies of Saxony and Bavaria in Germany, but also the large hereditary estates of the Countess Matilda of Tuscany. In the struggle which ensued their war-cry was their family name, "Welf," while their enemies shouted "Waiblingen," the name of a village which was the home of the Hohenstaufen family. Though these names belonged to Germany, they were soon adopted in Italy to distinguish the partisans of the pope and the emperor, and in their Italian form became "Guelf" and "Ghibelline."

The papacy meanwhile had been divided between Innocent II. and Anacletus, the antipope, but Innocent had triumphed over his rival, who was removed by death about 1139. Upon the accession of Conrad III. to the German throne, Innocent endeavored to strengthen himself by a close alliance with King Roger of Sicily, who was so formidable an adversary that both emperors, Manuel and Conrad, formed a league against him. In Rome itself, the authority of the pope was for a while set at naught by the people, who, influenced by the stern denunciations of priestly ambition by a monk named Arnold of Brescia, threw off the rule of their bishop, and set up a senate and a patrician named Giordano.

Conrad III. died before he could interfere in these affairs, and was succeeded by his nephew, Frederick Barbarossa, who came into Italy in 1154, and at a great diet held at Roncaglia received the submission of all the Italian states. Frederick came with both the intention and the power to restore the imperial authority, and he proceeded at once to do so. Complaints were made to him by the enemies of Milan, and as that city had deeply offended him by denying his authority and refusing the supplies which as emperor he was entitled to, he decided against Milan. Tortona, an ally of Milan, being also accused, shared the same condemnation. He destroyed Asti and Chieri, and took and burnt Tortona, the allies of Milan. He spared the lives of the inhabitants, and they took refuge in the last-named city. He then proceeded to

Rome, where he was crowned emperor by Pope Adrian IV. By authority of the emperor, Arnold of Brescia was put to death, and Rome was once more placed under the rule of the pope. Milan was obliged to submit to the emperor, who placed the imperial eagle on the spire of its cathedral, in token of his supremacy. In a little while, however, the pope and the emperor began to quarrel over the territories of the Countess Matilda, and this misunderstanding soon grew into an effort on the part of the pope to strip the emperor of all his rights over Rome and his Italian possessions. Upon the death of Adrian IV., in 1159, two popes were elected—Alexander III. by the papal party, and Victor IV. by the imperialist party. Each pope excommunicated his rival and his followers, and all Christendom was divided into two parties. Alexander III. was more generally acknowledged, and a war which now broke out between the emperor and the Lombard cities enabled him to make a stout resistance to his formidable enemy—Frederick.

The submission of Milan to the emperor was only temporary. In the year of the death of Pope Adrian, 1159, Milan rebelled, and Frederick marched against it in person, and after taking Crema, the ally of the Milanese, and destroying it, compelled Milan to surrender. The lives of the citizens were spared, but the city itself was utterly destroyed. The fall of Milan broke the resistance of northern Italy, and made Rome an unsafe place for Pope Alexander. Sicily was so torn with violence and civil strife that it no longer offered the pontiff his accustomed asylum, and he fled into France, where he remained three years. During this period Victor, the antipope, died, and his place was filled by Guido of Crema, who took the name of Paschal III. Events in Germany kept the emperor there, and Alexander took advantage of this to return to Rome, A. D. 1165.

The enemies of the emperor, comprising the cities of the Veronese march and the whole Guelfic party, now rallied around Pope Alexander. Even Cremona and other cities which had formerly opposed Milan, joined the alliance against the emperor, which was definitely organized in 1167 under the name of the "Lombard League." The power of the emperor was seriously threatened by this combination, and about the same time the Eastern Emperor Manuel

obtained a footing in Italy, and won over Ancona. Frederick promptly took the field against his enemies, and after vainly attempting to capture Ancona, marched upon Rome. The pope fled at once, but the advantage of Frederick was neutralized by the breaking out of a pestilence in his army, which forced him to retreat in haste. In 1174 he endeavored to capture the new Guelfic city of Alexandria, near Pavia, but after a siege of seven months was obliged by the army of the league to withdraw. In 1176 he was defeated at Legnano, about fifteen miles from Pavia. The defeat was brought about chiefly by the withdrawal of Henry, Duke of Saxony, the head of the Guelfic party. The emperor escaped with difficulty from the field. This battle decided the war, and a truce was soon arranged at Venice by which Frederick and Pope Alexander were reconciled. Alexander was acknowledged as pope by the emperor, who was allowed to retain the territories of the Countess Matilda until his death, when they were to revert to the pope. The truce was for six years, but upon its expiration, in 1183, a permanent peace was arranged at Constance, a city of Suabia. By this treaty the emperor "ceded to the towns all rights within their walls; he allowed them to administer their own laws, and to make peace and war on their own account; he retained the ancient regalian rights (the right to food, quarters, and clothing for his army when in the territory of these cities), but they were defined, and precautions allowed against future disputes; he allowed the consuls to be retained, but they were nominally invested by him, and each city was to admit an imperial judge of appeal." By these provisions the Lombard cities became virtually independent, while at the same time they continued to form a part of the empire. Left to themselves, they became the chosen resorts of great men, and the nurseries of science and art. The removal of the imperial rule, however, left them divided and arrayed against each other, with no power capable of harmonizing their quarrels.

Frederick after this gained another advantage over the pope. The Norman King of Sicily had been the most faithful ally of the pontiff. The emperor married his son Henry to Constance, the daughter of King Roger, who, on the death of William II., the reigning king, who had no children, would be the direct heir to the Sicilian

crown. After some disputes Henry, who had in the meantime succeeded his father, became King of Sicily, in right of his wife, in 1194. He treated his new subjects with such cruelty, and so disgusted the Italians with his tyranny, that they hailed his death in 1197 with joy. Previous to his death Henry had made his German followers counts of various territories in Italy, and had bestowed Tuscany upon his brother Philip. Upon the death of the emperor, the pope revived the Lombard League, placed himself at its head, and drove the Germans into the south of Italy. Constance, the widow of Henry, acknowledged the pope as her feudal lord. She died in 1198, and left Pope Innocent III. the guardian of her infant son Frederick. The Germans, under the Regent Markwald, kept Sicily in a state of confusion, and gave great trouble to the pope.

In the dispute over the empire, which followed the death of the Emperor Henry VI., the Ghibelline party in Italy supported the claims of his brother Philip, while the Guelfs sustained those of Otto, the son of Henry the Lion. The house of Bavaria had always supported the church against the emperor, and Pope Innocent III. naturally desired its triumph. Philip was successful, but he was soon after assassinated, and in 1209 Otto received the imperial crown. This secured the triumph of the Guelfs.

Since the close of the war with the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, the cities of northern Italy had been improving their systems of self-government. As has been remarked, they became practically independent states, with full rights, including those of making war and concluding peace; but at the same time they remained parts of the empire. Their increase in political power and importance brought about a corresponding depression of the nobles, who found themselves unable to continue their former system of aggression against these communities. The cities were now in a condition to defend themselves, and to combine for their mutual protection, while the nobles were divided and without either a common head or a common cause. The great princes remained in their previous condition, but the weaker nobles now sought to preserve their importance by enrolling themselves among the citizens of the towns which overshadowed them. Their military prowess made them useful to the

cities in time of war, but in peace their feuds and violence gave great trouble to these communities. They often set the law at defiance, and erected strong edifices in the cities in which they could resist the power of the magistrates. To curb them the cities appointed a chief magistrate called a *podesta*, who held office for a year, and enforced the laws against all classes. The nobles gave the *podestas* a great deal of trouble to keep them in order.

Venice had taken but little active part in Italian affairs up to the opening of this century. The necessities of the warriors of the Fourth Crusade, which forced them to go to Venice to obtain the shipping requisite for their transportation to the Holy Land, threw a golden chance into the hands of the Venetians for increasing their wealth and power, of which they skilfully availed themselves. As has been stated, the Venetians made use of the crusaders to obtain possession of some towns on the Dalmatian coast, especially that of Zara. The conquest of Constantinople by the Latins added very much to the wealth of the Italian cities, especially to that of Venice, which city, having borne a prominent part in the capture of that capital, received a considerable share of the lands of the Eastern empire, and especially many islands and places on the sea-coast. The Genoese divided the trade of the Levant with the Venetians, but could not deprive them of their supremacy in that quarter. The Genoese rendered the Nicean Emperor Michael Palæologus great assistance in his reconquest of Constantinople, and expected to receive from him the monopoly of the trade of the East; but he was neither willing nor able to disturb the Venetian or Pisan traders.

Soon after becoming emperor, Otto IV. changed Pope Innocent from a friend to an enemy by claiming as his right the sovereignty of the territories of the Countess Matilda, and of the kingdom of Sicily. Innocent took advantage of the emperor's unpopularity with the German princes who supported the Suabian house, to encourage them to offer the imperial crown to Frederick, the young King of Sicily. The state of affairs which ensued was singular enough. In the war which now opened the pope was the ally of the Ghibellines, and Otto, the head of the Guelfic party, was his antagonist. Otto was finally defeated in the battle of Bouvines, in 1214, and was soon obliged

to retire to private life, and in 1215 Frederick II. was crowned king at Aix la Chapelle. In 1216 Pope Innocent III., who had contributed in a marked degree to the increase of the power of the see of Rome, died. The next year Otto IV. died, and Frederick II. was left without a rival to dispute his claim. In 1220 he went to Rome to be crowned emperor by Pope Honorius III. A large part of his history concerns itself with Italian affairs, and not unnaturally. Though of German descent, he was a Sicilian by birth, and he was thus endowed by nature with certain qualities and habits of mind which did not belong to his Teutonic blood. He had been carefully educated, and had even sought knowledge at the hands of Mohammedan teachers, and his acquirements and depth of thought placed him far in advance of his time. He was a man of liberal views, and his southern training had inclined him to a liberality about religious matters especially which the churchmen regarded as downright irreligion. He was not undeservedly named the "Wonder of the World." He early learned to hate the pope with a bitter hatred, and this feeling in the end was the cause of much trouble to him.

The first years of his reign were the happiest. In his own kingdom of Sicily he was free to carry out his own policy, and it enjoyed under him a security and prosperity which his predecessors had failed to confer upon it. He established the reign of law, and compelled the nobles to submit to it, thus securing protection to the weak; and he encouraged learning and art by founding the University of Naples and assisting those of Bologna and Salerno. During his reign the Italian language began to assume its modern form.

The good understanding between the emperor and the Holy See was soon disturbed. Frederick had promised Pope Honorius to lead a crusade for the recovery of Jerusalem, as the price of his coronation as emperor. The emperor delayed his departure longer than the pope desired, and Honorius assumed the right to censure him for his tardiness. Gregory IX., the successor of Honorius, pursued a similar course, and in 1227 Frederick was excommunicated by the pope for venturing to fall sick at the time the pontiff expected him to set sail for Palestine. He treated the excommunication with utter contempt, and this so enraged Gregory that in 1228 he threatened

the emperor with still more severe penalties. There was a strong party in Rome who were devoted to the emperor through gratitude for his generous assistance of them in a time of famine, and these, indignant at the pope's unjustifiable course, rose against him and compelled him to quit Rome.

The pope, who had excommunicated the emperor for his delay in not setting out on the crusade just when he was ordered, now attempted to prevent him from sailing when all was in readiness; but Frederick paid no attention to his mandate, and proceeded on his voyage to Palestine, where he arrived in September, 1228. The hatred of Gregory followed him even there, and arrayed the Hospitallers and Templars and the ecclesiastics against him. The two military orders absolutely refused to fight under him, and grossly insulted him. In spite of this, however, he proceeded to the work before him, seized Jaffa, and induced the Sultan of Egypt, with whom he had long been on friendly terms, to surrender to him the city of Jerusalem. This accomplished, he proceeded to Jerusalem to complete his pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre. "The emperor had not arrived in Jerusalem," says Milman, "before the Archbishop of Cæsarea appeared with instructions from the Patriarch of Jerusalem to declare him under excommunication, and to place the city of Jerusalem under the ban. Even the sepulchre of the Lord was under interdict; the prayers of the pilgrims even in that holiest place were forbidden or declared unholy. No Christian rite could be celebrated before the Christian emperor, and that disgrace was inflicted in the face of all the Mohammedans! Immediately on his arrival the emperor visited the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The church was silent; not a priest appeared; during his stay no mass was celebrated within the city or in the suburbs. An English Dominican, named Walter, performed one solitary service on the morning of the Sunday. Frederick proceeded again in great pomp and in all his imperial apparel to the Church of the Sepulchre. No prelate, no priest of the Church of Jerusalem was there who ventured to utter a blessing. The Archbishops of Palermo and of Capua were present, but seem to have taken no part in the ceremony. The imperial crown was placed on the high altar. Frederick took it up and with his own hands placed it on his head."

Returning to Europe in 1229, Frederick

found that the pope had revived the Lombard League against him, and was even endeavoring to stir up against him a crusade of all Europe. This attempt was unsuccessful, however, and in 1230 a peace

dinary power claimed by the priests of the Romish Church. Gregory, jealous of the great influence of Frederick in Italy, soon brought on another war with him by inducing the people of Milan to encourage



FREDERICK II. REFUSED ADMISSION TO THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

known as the Treaty of San Germano was signed between the emperor, the pope, and the Lombard League. Frederick then gave his assistance to the pope in persecuting the religious sect known as the *Paterini*, which had ventured to dispute the extraor-

the emperor's son Henry, King of the Romans, to rebel against his father. The emperor quickly suppressed this revolt and put his son in prison, where he died. A new quarrel now arose in northern Italy, where the oppressions of Eccelino da Ro-

mano, the leader of the imperial party, drove the Guelfic party in Padua, Vicenza, and Verona into resistance. Milan arrayed itself on the Guelfic side. In 1237 Frederick entered Italy, and defeated the Milanese at the battle of Corte Nuova. He captured the podesta of the city, who was a son of the Doge of Venice, and put him to death for his rebellion. This execution so enraged the Venetians that they joined the Lombard League against the emperor. Genoa also embraced the Guelfic quarrel. Gregory resorted to his old weapon of excommunication, and summoned a general council of the church at Rome to ratify it; but through the capture by the Pisans of the Genoese fleet bearing the French and English bishops, some of whom were drowned and others made prisoners in the engagement, the council failed to accomplish anything. In 1241 Gregory IX. died.

Innocent IV., who became pope in 1243, was a bitter personal enemy of the emperor. Frederick at once acknowledged him as pope and made offers looking to a reconciliation. Innocent, however, being determined to crush Frederick, would accept no settlement of the quarrel but the unconditional submission of the emperor, and in order to place himself beyond the reach of the emperor, fled from Rome and took refuge in the free city of Lyons, which was not yet a part of the kingdom of France. The arrogance of the pope, and, above all, the bitter and cruel hatred which he exhibited towards the emperor, disgusted the great princes of Europe, and even the saintly Louis IX. refused to allow him to take up his residence within the French dominions. The King of Arragon in courteous terms declined the dangerous honor of receiving the pope in his dominions, and when the King of England was appealed to for this purpose, the blunt Henry III., who had only a little while before dismissed the papal legate at the demand of the barons, with the hearty adjuration, "The devil take thee away to hell!" exclaimed: "We have already suffered too much from the usuries and simonies of Rome; we do not want the pope to pillage us." The crowned heads of Europe were alarmed by the growing power and the ungovernable ambition of the pontiff, who claimed absolute authority over all the kingdoms of the world, to set up and pull down whom he pleased, and whose claims were well expressed by the remark of Innocent IV.: "We are no mere

man; we have the place of God upon earth!" Nor did Innocent content himself with merely asserting his pretensions. He was prompt to enforce them by the power of the sword. Compelled by the coldness of the great powers to remain at Lyons, Innocent summoned a council at that city, which met in June, 1245, but which was very far from representing the whole church. The pope accused the emperor of many crimes of the most serious nature. Frederick was ably and fearlessly defended by the learned juriconsult Thaddeus of Suessa; but the hatred of Innocent prevailed over every form of law and justice recognized by the church, and the emperor was again excommunicated, the empire was declared vacant, the pope was urged to appoint a new king for Sicily, and the princes of Germany were ordered to elect a new emperor. When the decision of the council was made known to Frederick, he exclaimed haughtily: "I hold my crown of God alone; neither the pope, the council, nor the devil shall rend it from me!"

The struggle which now ensued was desperate and infuriated. The emperor's enemies engaged in plots against his life, and he was nowhere safe. No weapon seemed too insignificant, no plot too base to receive the sanction of the pope. Frederick's better nature was overcome by this mode of warfare against him, and he became suspicious and cruel. His supporters did him much harm with the people of northern Italy by their severities, and he rapidly lost ground there. The efforts of the pope to find a new emperor were not as successful as he had hoped they would be. None of the crowned heads of Europe, nor any of the great princes, would aid him in his war upon Frederick by acknowledging by their acceptance of the imperial crown his assumed right to deprive Frederick of it. At length Henry Raspe, Landgrave of Thuringia, consented to become emperor, and was chosen by the papal party. The German cities stood firmly by Frederick, and Henry died in February, 1247, of mortification at his failure to accomplish anything. The pope then appointed as Henry's successor William of Holland, a youth twenty years of age.

At first Frederick was successful. He quelled the revolt in the Sicilian kingdom, and threw his enemies entirely on the defensive. The cruelties of Eccelino and the

emperor's lieutenants in the north neutralized these successes, and in 1247 Parma revolted from Frederick, who was unable to recapture it, though he besieged the city vigorously for many months. Florence was captured by his natural son Frederick, but in 1249 his son Enzo was made a prisoner by Bologna, and kept in captivity until the close of his life. In 1250, worn out by the constant struggle which the hatred and ambition of Gregory IX. and Innocent IV. had forced upon him in both Italy and Germany, Frederick died, and so passed beyond the power of his enemy. But "the hatred which pursued him to the grave, and far beyond the grave, described him as dying unreconciled to the church, miserable, deserted, conscious of the desertion of all. The inexorable hatred pursued his family, and charged his son Manfred with hastening his death by smothering him with a pillow. By more credible accounts, he died in Manfred's arms, having confessed and received absolution from the faithful Archbishop of Palermo." His body was carried in state to Palermo and buried in a magnificent tomb. To Sicily he had been always one of the wisest and best of sovereigns.

The death of Frederick II. ended the great power of the emperors in Italy. The towns of northern Italy soon became strong enough to resist the occasional efforts of the German emperors to control them, and in southern Italy the power of the imperial crown was soon secured by other claimants. Indeed the affairs of Germany occupied the successors of Henry so thoroughly that they were not able to give much thought to Italy.

Conrad, the son of Frederick II., succeeded his father as King of Sicily. In Germany his crown was contested by William of Holland, the pope's emperor. Conrad left Sicily in charge of his brother Manfred and went to Germany. During his absence from Italy, Pope Innocent stirred up a rebellion against him in Naples, and offered the crown to Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III. of England. Richard had the good sense to refuse the offer, but Henry accepted it for his son Edmund, and the pope, who was sadly in need of money, made him pay an enormous sum for the empty honor. Conrad died in 1254, after a hard struggle for his kingdom, and was followed in the same year by his brother Henry. Conrad left an infant son named

Conradin, and his brother Manfred ruled the kingdom as regent for his nephew. The government of Sicily being unsettled and there being no emperor, the Guelfic party made great gains during this period, and secured once more the government of Florence, from which they had been driven by the younger Frederick. The Florentines in 1254 advanced their power by the capture of Volterra and Siena and the humbling of Pisa. A year or two later Eccelino, who had been ruling in the Veronese march since the death of Frederick II., roused the Guelfs and many of the Ghibellines against him by his cruelties. He was defeated and taken prisoner in 1259, and died soon after.

In 1258 Manfred, who had reigned in Sicily as regent for his nephew, assumed the crown upon a rumor of the death of Conradin. He made a league with the Ghibelline party of Florence, and in 1260 the confederate army of the Guelfs was defeated at Montapert, on the Arbia, in consequence of which Florence passed into the hands of the Ghibellines. Manfred was from this time recognized as the head of the Ghibelline party in Italy; and what was more, he had effectually checkmated the plans of Pope Alexander IV. for the transfer of the Sicilian crown to a foreigner and the subjection of all Italy to the papal authority.

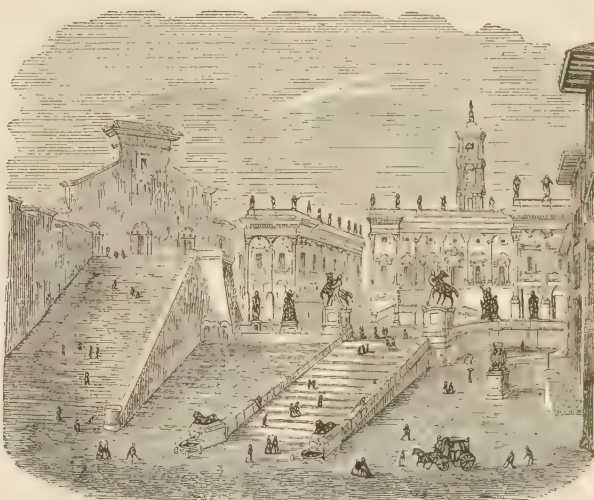
Alexander died in 1261. His successor was a Frenchman, who took the title of Urban IV. He took no part in the dispute between Richard, Earl of Cornwall, of England, and Alfonso X. of Castile for the imperial crown, as it was his policy to keep the empire vacant as long as possible and thus continue his own importance. Neither would he offer the Sicilian crown, Manfred's right to which he would not acknowledge, to either of these contestants. He offered the latter crown to Louis IX. of France, but that good king refused to claim it. His brother Charles, Count of Anjou, was not so conscientious, and promptly accepted it when Urban offered it to him. Charles was a brave and energetic man, and in addition to his county of Anjou was also Count of Provence by his marriage with Beatrix, the heiress of that county. He went to Rome, where, in 1265, he was crowned by Pope Clement IV., the successor of Urban. He promised to hold Sicily as a fief of the Holy See, that it should revert to the pope upon the failure of heirs in his

family, and that it should never be held by the emperor.

Charles was obliged to conquer his new kingdom, in which he had no supporters but a few traitors. The pope provided him with an army by proclaiming a crusade against Manfred, and levying the tax usually assessed upon the churchmen for the prosecution of a holy war. A large army of Frenchmen was assembled under Charles, and the invasion of Sicily was begun. Manfred was defeated and slain in a bloody battle at Grandella, near Benevento, and Charles quickly made himself master of the kingdom. This victory restored the Guelfs to power once more in Florence, which city chose Charles its "signor" for two years. Pisa, jealous of her rival's power, joined the Ghibellines, and declared young Conradin King of Sicily. This gallant prince was defeated by Charles in 1268, and falling into his hands was beheaded by his order at Naples. Soon after this, Charles went on a crusade against the infidels, and for two years was absent from Sicily. Upon his return he attempted to put in execution a plan he had long cherished, and which was to make him master of all Italy. He even aspired to the imperial crown, and doubtless would have succeeded had not his way been barred by a new and unexpected obstacle.

The new pope, Gregory X., was a very different man from his predecessors. He sincerely desired peace and a restoration of prosperity in Italy, and he was not slow to perceive that the success of the ambitious schemes of Charles would simply bring fresh misery to the peninsula. Moreover, the predecessors of Gregory had given the Sicilian crown to Charles as a protection to themselves. Frederick II. had surrounded the papal dominions with his territories, and had thus hemmed the pope in, and they meant that such a state of affairs should not occur again. Gregory was true to this much of their policy, and exerted himself to check the plans of Charles and preserve the balance of power. To this end he brought back the Ghibelline exiles, and compelled them for a while to live peaceably with the Guelfs. At the same time

he secured the election of Rudolph of Hapsburg, the founder of the second house of Austria, to the imperial throne in 1273. Rudolph solemnly promised the pope not to interfere with Charles in Sicily or in Tuscany. In 1277 Nicholas III. became pope. He improved upon Gregory's policy by compelling Charles to resign the offices of vicar of Tuscany and senator of Rome, and by raising the Ghibelline power throughout Italy. Having obtained the renunciation by the Emperor Rudolph of his claims upon Rome and the territories of the Countess Matilda, the pope became a powerful territorial sovereign, and was able to support his independent policy with arms. The Ghibellines, under the Archbishop Otto Visconti, came into power in Milan about this time, and that city thus became an ally



STAIRS OF THE MODERN CAPITOL AT ROME.

of the pontiff. Charles submitted with a bad grace, but on the death of Nicholas he secured the election of a Frenchman to the papal throne, who took the name of Martin IV. With the new pope for his tool he began a second attempt to extend his power, when he was checked as suddenly as he had been before.

The French had earned the bitter hatred of the Sicilians by their cruel and tyrannical treatment of them, and a conspiracy was organized by the latter to transfer the crown to Pedro, King of Aragon, who claimed it in right of his wife, Constance, the daughter of Manfred. Pedro asked the aid of the Greek Emperor Michael Palæologus, which was promised him. The

leader of the conspiracy was John di Procida, a Sicilian noble, who had been greatly wronged by the French. Procida was a steady partisan of the Hohenstaufen family. His own wrongs, added to those experienced by his friends, goaded him to revenge. The conspiracy was well concealed, but Charles was not ignorant of the fact that his life was in danger, nor was he wholly unprepared. The outbreak was precipitated by an accident which occurred in Palermo. On the evening of Easter-Monday, March 30, 1282, a French soldier grossly insulted a young Sicilian bride in the presence of her friends. It needed but this spark to kindle the flame. The cry was immediately raised, "Death to the French." The call was promptly obeyed. The Sicilians rose in a body. The flames spread over the whole island. It had been a terrible provocation. It was now a terrible revenge. Neither age nor size nor condition was a recommendation to mercy. The French were hunted from town to town, and from village to village; like wild beasts they were pursued through the valleys and by the hillsides, and even from the churches, from beneath the very horns of the altar, where they vainly sought an asylum, they were dragged and mercilessly put to the sword. Vengeance was allowed to fall with special severity on the unfortunate women who had been weak enough to enter into marital relations with Frenchmen. The exact numbers of the slain it has never been possible to ascertain. It is claimed, however, that by the people of Palermo alone, not fewer than eight thousand persons were slain. This terrible massacre has passed into history under the name of "The Sicilian Vespers."

Naturally enough, such an outburst of passion created deep and wide-spread excitement. It gave birth to a bitterness of feeling between France and Sicily, a feeling which to-day, in spite of the healing influences of six hundred years, is something more than a mere memory. It provoked the severe displeasure of the then Pope, Martin IV., and all the more so that Sicily claimed independence, and placed upon her island throne Pedro III. of Aragon. Pedro was excommunicated and his throne was offered by Pope Martin to Charles of Valois. But the Sicilians maintained their ground, and Sicily was linked for centuries with the destinies of the House of Aragon.

CHAPTER IV.

GROWTH OF THE ITALIAN REPUBLICS.

Henry VII. in Italy—Rise of the Italian Republics—Growth of Venice—Its Government—The Council of Ten—Prosperity of Genoa—Wars with Venice—The Genoese Fleet at Chioggia is Forced to Surrender—Losses of Venice—Genoa Places herself under French Protection—Rise of Florence—State of Affairs under the Florentine Republic—Employment of Mercenary Troops—The Golden Age of Florence—Affairs in the South of Italy—Robert of Sicily—Troubles at Naples—The Jubilee of Pope Boniface VIII.—His Quarrel with Philip the Fair—His Death—Clement V. Pope—Removes from Rome to Avignon—Loss of Power by the Pope—Troubles at Rome—Rienzi—Becomes Tribune—His Fall and Death—Gregory XI. Returns to Rome—Election of Urban VI.—Clement VII.—The Great Schism—The Plague of Florence—Anarchy in Northern Italy—Sicily Becomes a Spanish Possession—Queen Joanna—Alfonso of Aragon Becomes King of Naples—Rise of the Medici at Florence—Political Divisions of Italy at the Middle of the Fifteenth Century—The Council of Constance—Martin V. Made Pope—The Council of Basle—Nicolas V. Pope—Defends the Independence of the Papacy—St. Peter's Founded—The Turks in Italy—The French Expelled from Genoa—Cosmo de' Medici—Lorenzo the Magnificent—Ludovico Sforza Becomes Duke of Milan—Plots the Assassination of Lorenzo de' Medici—Failure of the Attempt—The Pope Excommunicates the Florentines—Troubles at Naples—Prosperity of the Italian Republics—Death of Lorenzo de' Medici—Alexander VI. Pope—His Infamous Character—Cæsar and Lucrezia Borgia—The Pope Invites the French to Conquer Naples.

THE death of the Emperor Frederick II., and especially the interregnum, closed the reign of the imperial power in Italy. Though the German sovereigns still retained the titles of "King" and "Emperor of the Romans," they were possessed of little or no power in Italy. Several of Frederick's successors were never crowned emperor, and though others visited Italy at different times, and made changes in the government and political divisions of that country, they were never able to re-establish their power in, or to retain any lasting hold upon, Italy. Henry VII., who entered Italy in 1310 with a small German army, was the last of the emperors whose authority was respected in that country. The Pope Clement V. was a captive at Avignon, and was fearful that the influence of France would be extended over Italy and thus make it impossible for him to be free from the power of the French king, and he induced the Guelfic party to receive the German king with favor, while the Ghibellines met him as their natural lord. Milan

gave him a ready welcome, and he received there the iron crown of the Italian kingdom on Christmas day, 1310. That city was divided between the adherents of two powerful nobles, Guido della Torre, the leader of the Guelfs, and Matteo Visconti, the leader of the Ghibellines. Each sought to secure the favor of their sovereign by costly presents, but Henry's demands for money became so enormous, that both parties rose against him. Matteo, however, took advantage of the occasion to betray his rival, and got possession of the city, which from this time continued to be held by the Visconti. Pisa and the other cities hostile to Florence received the emperor with joy, but Florence shut her gates upon him and made an alliance with Robert, King of Naples. That king also sent a garrison to Rome, and Henry, unable to get into St. Peter's, was crowned emperor in the church of St. John Lateran. The emperor now made an alliance with the island kingdom of Sicily, and marched south to attack Florence, but was taken sick and died on the way, August 24th, 1313. He was buried at Pisa. After him no emperor received the hearty support of the people of the Italian kingdom.

With the decline of the imperial power, another change of great importance occurred in northern Italy. We have seen in our account of the twelfth century how the principal cities became so many independent commonwealths. These little commonwealths during this century disappeared, and larger and more important states took their places by the grouping together of a number of cities in a single government. Of course the more powerful cities extended their authority over their weaker sisters. It frequently happened that the lord or tyrant of one city got possession of several cities, which enabled him to form them into a large continuous domain. In such cases, to give the color of legality to his proceeding, he obtained from the pope, or the emperor, the investiture of these dominions as a fief, and became an hereditary prince by obtaining from the same source the title of duke or marquis. In this way Milan, the sovereignty of which had been contested throughout the whole century by the Visconti family and their rivals, came by degrees into the possession of that family. In 1395 Gian Galeazzo Visconti bought a charter from Wenceslaus, King of the Romans, creating him Duke of Milan. Under

the rule of its dukes, Milan became a powerful state, her power extending over Pavia and a number of the Lombard cities, some of which acknowledged her supremacy for the sake of enjoying her protection, others of which were forced to submit to her. By the close of the century the power of Milan had been extended over Pisa, Lucca, Perugia, and Siena. These Tuscan conquests were lost in the next century.

While Milan was thus growing in power, Venice, which had held aloof from Italian politics, until the last century, continued to extend her territory and influence in northern Italy. The government of the Venetian republic was, like that of most of the Italian commonwealths, administered by three councils. The laws were enacted by the great council, and executed by the senate and the doge. The third council had charge of the criminal justice of the city. The great council consisted only of the higher nobles, and was self-elective, an arrangement which excluded the lesser nobles, as well as the commons, from all share in the government. In 1297 a law was enacted forbidding the election to the council of any one but a member of the great noble families. This measure gave rise to serious disaffection, to check which a *secret Council of Ten* was established in 1310. This council well served the purpose for which it was intended—to keep the people subject to the nobles. Its practices were similar to those of the Romish inquisition. Accusations were made to it, and the accused were arrested privately and immured in its dungeons, where every effort, including torture, was exerted to compel them to confess the crimes with which they were charged. Its punishments were secret, and were death or a living death in its dungeons. In the end, the Ten became the real and terrible rulers of Venice, and subjected even the nobles to their authority.

Genoa grew with rapidity, and soon became the successful commercial rival of Venice in the Levant. For a while her government was conducted entirely by the nobles in their own interest, but in 1039 a check was placed upon their power by the choice of a doge. After this the old noble families lost their political power to a considerable extent. Genoa, like Venice, held aloof from Italian politics, but was always the constant foe of that republic. The hostilities between the two states were chiefly carried on in the Levant, where each sought

the monopoly of the trade of the East. The Genoese rendered important services to the Greek emperors in their recapture of Constantinople, and were given the quarter of allied fleet of the Greeks and Venetians, and compelled the emperor to send away the Venetians and grant the Genoese the trade of the Levant. Genoa, indeed, seemed



THE BRIDGE OF SIGHS, VENICE, SHOWING THE DUCAL PALACE AND THE PRISON.

Pera, or Galata, which they in course of time fortified. In 1349 they made war upon the Emperor John Cantacuzene in the harbor of Constantinople, to compel him to drive away the Venetians, and defeated the

on the point of reducing the Greek empire to the position of a tributary.

In 1378 the Genoese entered into an alliance with Louis the Great, of Hungary, and with Francesco da Carrara, Lord of

Padua, the object being the conquest of Cyprus, and the recovery for Louis of the Dalmatian cities which the Venetians had conquered. The Venetian fleet was destroyed by the Genoese, and upon his return home the Venetian admiral, Vittorio Pisani, was thrown into prison. Meantime, the allied forces sailed up the Adriatic, captured the town of Chioggia, situated about twenty-five miles south of Venice, on one of the little islands commanding the Lagune. The capture of the place was mainly the work of the Genoese, but by the terms of the alliance it was given to the Lord of Padua. Venice was now in serious danger. The way to the city lay open to the allies, and the Venetians were divided and almost panic-stricken. In their dilemma they released Pisani from his prison and begged him to save them. He generously consented to do so, and set to work vigorously to prepare for the defence of the city. At the same time the great naval commander, Carlo Zeno, arrived from the Levant with his squadron to the assistance of his countrymen. He co-operated cordially with Pisani in the defence of the city. The Genoese were blockaded in Chioggia by the Venetian fleet, and were forced in the early summer of 1380, after a siege of six months, to surrender. The war was closed by the treaty of Turin, in 1381. Venice lost her Dalmatian territory, which was taken by the King of Hungary, and surrendered Treviso, her first conquest on the Italian mainland. It passed to Leopold of Austria, who subsequently transferred it to the Lord of Padua. Venice, in spite of her losses, rallied quickly, and soon became as powerful as ever. Genoa, however, never recovered from her disaster. Internal disorders and civil war followed the struggle with Venice, and in these troubles the republic was so greatly weakened that in order to save themselves from being absorbed by Milan, the Genoese conferred the Signoria on Charles VI., of France, A. D. 1396.

Florence rose rapidly into prominence during this century. Its government was neither a close oligarchy like that of Venice, nor a simple tyranny like that of Milan. Its history during the fourteenth century is a constant struggle to preserve its independence against the attacks of its neighbors, and to establish successfully the democratic principles upon which the Florentine state was based. In consequence of this a greater

freedom, intellectual as well as political, existed in Florence than in any other part of Italy, and her people were able to acquire a greatness in literature and art which have stamped their influence indelibly upon Italy and the world. Towards the close of this century the constitution of the state was definitely settled. The industries of the citizens constituted the broad foundation upon which this constitution rested. The citizens were divided into "Arts," or trades unions, similar to the "Guilds" of England and the Netherlands. Chief magistrates could be chosen only from these arts, and were elected every two months, while the grand council of state was chosen every four months. This arrangement brought the whole of the properly qualified class of citizens to the discharge of the duties of the state, and gave to each one a personal interest in it. No magistrate received any reward for his services; the honor of the position was deemed ample compensation. The industry of the Florentines consisted in the manufacture of silks and woollen goods, and jewelry. Banking was also a prominent source of the wealth of the republic. The Tuscan bankers shared with their Lombard rivals the task of collecting and distributing the wealth of Europe by bills of exchange and loans. The kings of all countries borrowed of them, and the Florentine *florin*, a beautiful gold coin, first issued in 1250, became a general standard of value. In spite of the severe struggles she was obliged to wage throughout the century against her neighbors, and especially against Milan and Lucca, for the preservation of her independence, Florence prospered and managed to grow rich. We shall see in our account of the next century how she fell below the standard of a pure democracy, which, in this period, she seemed about to reach.

One striking feature of the wars waged by the Italian republics against each other was the employment by all of mercenary troops, who sold their services to the highest bidder, and whose only interest in the quarrels in which they were engaged was to earn their pay. "The different tyrants knew that it was safer for them to employ mercenaries, who were wholly at their disposal, and who cared not for the cause for which they fought, but only for the man who paid them. This change was liked by the people, for campaigns now lasted a much longer time than formerly. Before the fourteenth century a campaign lasted only

a few days. A pitched battle was fought, or a town was attacked, and then the citizen soldiers went back, every man to his own affairs, till they were called out again. But now warfare had become an art, and campaigns and sieges lasted for months, and the citizen would have been ruined because his shop or his office would have been shut while he was at the wars. The mercenaries were soldiers by profession, and thus were far better fitted for war than the militia, who went to war only when some need arose. In order to pay these troops, the states contracted heavy debts to different private persons; these debts were *funded*, or placed in one stock with the same security for payment and the same rate of interest, and so the present system of national debts and securities arose. At first the mercenaries were foreigners, but towards the end of the century a famous school of generalship arose in Italy. This was the company of St. George, founded by Alberigo, Count of Barbiano, and from that time the great tacticians of the Italian school were themselves Italians, as Jacopo del Verme and others. These mercenary troops often gave a tyrant power to extend his territories; but sometimes they enabled a free state, like Florence, to defend herself against those who wished to enslave her."

As the three centuries preceding the fourteenth witnessed a rapid revival and growth of architecture and the arts in Italy, so the close of the thirteenth and the whole of the fourteenth century saw the sudden blossoming of Italian literature. Dante, the greatest of Italian poets, was born in Florence in 1265, but his writings belong almost entirely to the fourteenth century. Petrarch, also a native of Florence, wrote his love songs about the middle of the century, and Boccaccio, another Florentine, laid the foundations of the school of modern Italian prose. The two Malaspini, the earliest Italian chroniclers, and Giovanni Matteo and Filippo Villani, who wrote one of the earliest Italian histories, were also Florentines. Florence soon drew to itself the brightest and most vigorous intellects of Italy, and ere long learning found a permanent home there. It must not be forgotten, however, that the true greatness of Florence in literature was co-existent with her civil freedom. When liberty began to decline, not even the munificence of the Medici could give to Florence the grand thinkers who had illustrated her earlier and freest

period. Dante made his city illustrious in return for the liberty with which she blessed him.

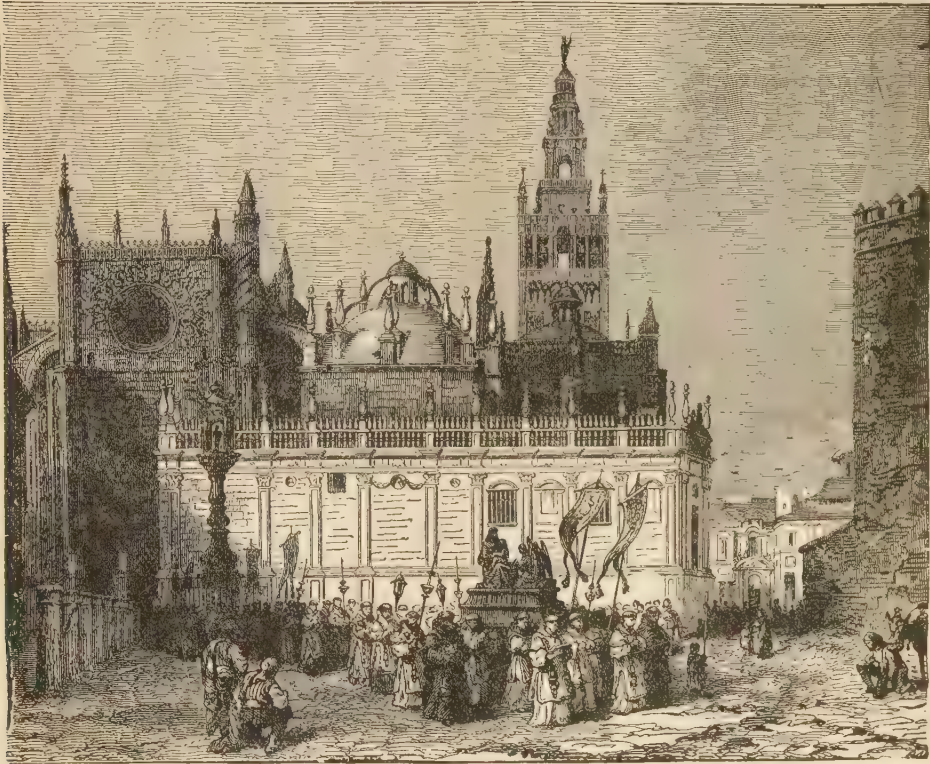
South of the papal territory Italy was divided between the Two Sicilies. The kingdom on the mainland was known as Naples, was the largest in size, and was one of the most powerful of all the states of Italy. Some of its kings played an important part in Italian affairs, but not all. Robert, who reigned from 1309 to 1343, was the acknowledged head of the Guelfic party, and as such was enabled to offer a stout resistance to the Emperor Henry VII. After the death of that emperor, Robert took advantage of the disorders which prevailed in the peninsula to increase his own power, and at length aroused a strong opposition to himself, as it was clear that he was aiming at nothing less than the crown of Italy. In 1327 he compelled the Emperor Louis of Bavaria to abandon Rome; but when John of Bohemia came to Italy, Robert, being too old to take the field, could only use his influence against him; but in the end John was obliged to quit Italy. Robert died in 1343, and was succeeded by his granddaughter Joanna, who had married her cousin Andrew, the heir to the crown of Hungary. He was soon murdered, as it was believed, by her orders. The citizens of Naples compelled Queen Joanna and her paramour, Louis of Tarento, to fly from the city. Louis the Great succeeded his brother Andrew on the throne of Hungary, and in 1347 invaded the kingdom of Naples. A war of four years ensued, in which Naples suffered severely, especially from the mercenary troops, or "free companies," as they were called. Peace was made between Naples and Hungary in 1351. Queen Joanna had no children, and her heir was her cousin Charles of Durazzo. The queen married her fourth husband after the peace, and to thwart Charles, she adopted as her heir Louis of Anjou, the son of King John of France. Charles was crowned King of Naples, however, by the pope, and Louis of Hungary sent him a strong body of troops. He took the queen prisoner, and put her to death. The death of Louis of Anjou in 1383 removed his only rival. Upon the death of Louis of Hungary, who was his uncle, Charles went to that country to claim the crown, and was murdered there. After his death Naples was again distracted by a war between the adherents of his son La-

dislaus, and the French, who wished to set up a king in the person of Louis II., who was also a child. Charles at length succeeded in expelling the French.

The history of the papacy during the fourteenth century is both eventful and important. In the year 1300 a jubilee was celebrated at Rome by Pope Boniface VIII., and the Eternal City was thronged with pilgrims of all ranks from all parts of the world, who came to avail themselves of the pontiff's liberal offers of indulgence and remission of sins. It seemed that the de-

years old, but his age had not dulled his ambition, or eased his vanity. He took part in the procession clad in the imperial robes, and before him were borne two swords and the globe of sovereignty, significant of his desire to rule the world. In front of him walked a herald, who cried: "Peter, behold thy successor! Christ, behold thy vicar upon earth!"

Alas for his ambitious hopes! The world was moving in spite of his efforts to hold it back. Europe was beginning to settle down into that system of distinct nations which



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votion of the Catholic world to its spiritual chief was never greater or more enthusiastic; but there were great minds watching the display, which looked under and beyond all this show of devotion, and saw that the day of faith, of unquestioning belief in and submission to the papacy, was past. Among these observers was the poet Dante, whose keen vision saw the truth, and refused to be blinded by the sham with which it was covered over. Least of all, did the reigning pontiff, Boniface VIII., realize the actual state of affairs. He was more than eighty

compelled the popes to content themselves with their true character—that of Italian princes. Even in spiritual affairs the pontiff was beginning to lose his power over other nations. We shall see that in Germany the popes found it impossible in this century to play the part they had acted in the last; that the King of France, so far from yielding humble obedience to the pontiff in all things, did not hesitate to seize and punish one, and made another his tool and virtual captive; and that in England the great shield of the common law had be-

come strong enough to break the force of every blow by which the pontiff tried to bring England to his feet, as Innocent had done in the days of King John. These matters belong to the history of these respective countries, and will be related there. Not long after the jubilee, Boniface VIII. quarrelled with Philip the Fair of France, who seized him. The pope died soon after. His successor, Benedict XI., reigned less than a year. He meditated the restoration of the papacy to its former power, and announced his intention to bring to punishment the parties concerned in the arrest of Boniface VIII. This alarmed his enemies. One day a nun of the convent of St. Petronilla presented him with a basket of figs, and at the end of the week the pope was in his grave. "No one thought that a death so seasonable to one party, so unseasonable to another, could be in the course of nature."

Clement V., the successor of Benedict, was a Frenchman, and his election was procured by Philip IV. of France, who meant to use him as his tool, and did so use him in carrying out certain measures. To please the French king, Clement removed his residence from Rome to Avignon in Provence, just outside the French border, and belonging to the French Kings of Naples. By this arrangement the pope really became the prisoner of the King of France, who was not slow to make him feel his dependent position. For seventy years the popes continued to reside at Avignon. This period came to be called "the Babylonish Captivity," 1305-1376. Pope John XXII., who was also a Frenchman, and resided at Avignon, took an active part in Italian affairs against the Emperors Henry VII. and Louis of Bavaria, but was not able to accomplish anything against either. He excommunicated Louis, but that potentate paid no attention to the anathema, and proceeding to Rome received the imperial crown from the hands of two excommunicated bishops, A. D. 1327. Louis declared his enemy, John XXII., deposed from the papacy, and set up an antipope, but both the antipope and the emperor were quickly driven away by Robert of Naples. Benedict XII., who became pope in 1335, seemed at one time on the point of restoring the moral supremacy of the papacy, and of settling the troubled state of Christendom, but his death, in 1342, put an end to all such hopes.

Clement VI., the successor of Benedict XII., was able, through the discontent with which the Germans regarded the Emperor Louis of Bavaria, to gain some advantages over the emperor; but these were not real gains, for the pope's strength lay in the dislike of the Germans for their king, rather than in any reverence for, or fear of, the power of Rome. Queen Joanna fled to Avignon, with her guilty lover, Louis of Taranto, after the murder of her husband, and was married to her paramour with the consent of the pope, to whom she sold the city of Avignon.

In the reign of Clement stirring events transpired at Rome. The city had been for forty years deserted by the popes, and for the time had ceased to be the religious capital of the world. The throng of pilgrims which had once poured into it with unbroken regularity now journeyed towards Avignon. The city was nominally governed by its magistrates, but there was little of law and order within its walls. The nobles, particularly the families of Orsini, Colonna, and Savelli, kept the city in constant confusion with their quarrels, which they fought out in the streets. In 1347 Cola di Rienzi, a young man of low birth, but of great talents, who had embraced the profession of a notary, undertook the task of arousing the Romans to a sense of their ancient greatness, and of restoring good government in the city. For many months he had been laboring to rouse the popular indignation against the nobles, who trampled on the rights and abused the persons of the citizens. Nightly meetings were held on the Aventine in the spring of 1347, and these were addressed by Rienzi with impassioned eloquence. "He compared the misery, slavery, debasement of Rome, with her old glory, liberty, universal dominion. He wept; his hearers mingled their tears with his. He summoned them to freedom."

At length, everything being in readiness, the Roman people were summoned to appear unarmed at the capitol on the 20th of May. They met in force, and a form of popular government, called "the Good Estate," was instituted. Rienzi was chosen tribune. He put in force a number of necessary reforms, and by his strong measures reduced the nobles to obedience to his government. The people upheld him in his acts, and the pope, whom Rienzi treated with the utmost reverence, though he trespassed far upon some of his prerogatives,

was at first inclined to regard his course with approbation. The success of the tribune had been too sudden, too easy; it completely turned his head. He became puffed up with a childish, yet dangerous pride, and seemed to regard himself as the successor and the destined restorer of the power of the Cæsars. Instead of forgetting the wrongs he had suffered as a private citizen, he showed himself ready to use his official power to revenge them, and alarmed and disgusted all classes by his ambitious plans and threats. On the 15th of August, 1347, at the height of his splendor, he was solemnly crowned in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore. Elated by his success, he gave utterance in the course of his remarks to these impious words: "As Christ in his thirty-third year, having overthrown the tyrants of hell, went up crowned into heaven, so God willed that in the same year of my life, I, having conquered the tyrants of the city without a blow, and alone given liberty to the people, should be promoted to the laurel crown of the tribune." His words were greeted with enthusiasm, but in the midst of the joy of his followers, one of his most zealous supporters, Fra Gulielmo, was seen to stand apart in a corner of the church, weeping bitterly. One of Rienzi's domestic chaplains asked him the cause of his sorrow. "Now," replied the servant of God, "is thy master cast down from heaven. Never saw I man so proud! By the aid of the Holy Ghost he has driven the tyrants from the city without drawing a sword; the cities and the sovereigns of Italy have acknowledged his power. Why is he so arrogant and ungrateful against the Most High? Why does he seek earthly and transitory rewards for his labors, and in wanton speech liken himself to the Creator? Tell thy master that he can atone for this only by streams of penitential tears." It was like the warning of one of the old Hebrew prophets, and when it was repeated to Rienzi that evening by the chaplain, it appalled him for a time; but the tumult and hurry of business soon drove it from his mind.

Nor was the tribune alone to blame for his failure. He had reared the splendid edifice of "the Good Estate" upon a shifting quicksand. The Romans for centuries had been steeped in degradation, slavery, superstition and misrule, and it was not possible for them to possess the virtues of freemen, the frugality, the discipline, the

respect for the law, the morality and integrity necessary to make them good citizens, in so short a time. These are virtues which grow slowly, and cannot be improvised. And so both tribune and people found themselves unequal to the task they had laid upon themselves. The latter became discontented, and the former, giving way to the temptations of his position, fell miserably below his august ideal, and forfeited his claim to the public confidence. The popular discontent was fanned by the papal party, who now began in earnest an effort to drive out the tribune and restore the authority of the pope. Rienzi soon perceived the growing discontent of the people, and as he had always known that the nobles were his foes, and would seek to overthrow him at the first opportunity, he attempted to break their power by professing the warmest friendship for and confidence in them, and then seizing them and throwing them into prison. He sought to atone for this act of base treachery by speedily releasing them and granting them a pardon for their offences, but the nobles and people attributed his course to cowardice, and two months later the Colonnas took arms against him, and were joined by other nobles. They were defeated by their own imprudence rather than by the skill of Rienzi, but the tribune struck a death-blow to the remains of his popularity by brutally insulting the corpses of his foes. The pope now declared against him in the strongest terms, and in December, 1347, Count Pepin of Minorbino, in the kingdom of Naples, dashed into Rome at the head of 150 men-at-arms, and intrenched himself in the Colonna quarter. The tocsin rang to summon the Romans to arms, but they refused to respond to the call of the tribune, and Rienzi took refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo. For three days the nobles were unwilling to enter the city to join Count Pepin. Then they came in and overthrew the tribune's government and his acts, and restored the old forms. Rienzi, in the disguise of a monk, fled to the Apennines, where he remained concealed for two years and a half among a company of Franciscan monks, from whom he kept his name a secret. Going thence to Prague, he shocked the Emperor Charles IV. by his heresies, and was sent as a prisoner to the pope at Avignon. There he was imprisoned for a while, but was finally released and sent back to Rome by Innocent VI., in 1354, to try to

restore order to the turbulent and distracted city. He came now as senator, to govern in the name of the pope. He had lost his popularity, and as he no longer came to offer freedom to the people, he had no influence over them, and was slain in a tumult a few months after his arrival in the city.

The Romans regarded the absence of the popes from Rome as the cause of all their troubles. It was certainly the cause of their pecuniary embarrassments, for the presence of the pontiff in the city drew to it crowds of strangers from all parts of Europe, and the expenditures of these visitors and of the papal court was a source of considerable wealth to the citizens. They exerted themselves by all means in their power to induce the pontiff to return to their city. Finally, in 1377, Gregory XI. came back to Rome, and the city once more became the religious centre of the world. Gregory died the next year, and the Romans took up arms to compel the cardinals to conduct the election for his successor at Rome and choose an Italian pope, or at all events a pope who would remain at Rome. They even invaded the hall where the conclave had assembled with shouts of "A Roman Pope! we will have a Roman Pope." Though persuaded to retire, they thronged the streets for two days, shouting their demands and threatening the cardinals with death if they refused to comply with them. In the midst of such scenes the trembling cardinals elected the Archbishop of Bari, an Italian, to the papal throne. At this very moment the mob made a fierce attack upon the hall, intending to make short work of the cardinals. The frightened ecclesiastics induced the venerable cardinal of St. Peter's to appear as the newly chosen pontiff. He presented himself at the window, "hastily attired in what either was, or seemed to be, the papal stole and mitre. There was a jubilant and triumphant cry, 'We have a Roman Pope! the Cardinal of St. Peter's. Long live Rome! Long live St. Peter!'" The mob, now wild with joy, burst into the hall. The supposed pope was seized by his enthusiastic friends, his gouty and swollen hands and feet were pressed and kissed with such fervor that he shrieked with pain, and swore to them in very emphatic language that he was not the pope.

It was an undignified and unseemly election. It reflected credit on none of the

parties concerned—neither cardinals, nor populace, nor pontiff elect. In spite of his protestations, the Archbishop of Bari, Bartolomeo Prignano, was proclaimed pope and took the name of Urban VI. He was about sixty years of age, irritable of disposition, violent of temper, rash in action, and of unbending will. He sought reform in the church; but he did so by measures which were not always wise, and in a manner which was often the reverse of conciliatory. The result was that he completely alienated from himself the sympathy of the French cardinals, who retired to Anagni, and elected another pope, in the person of Robert of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII., and established himself at Avignon. This was the beginning of the "Great Schism," a schism which divided the church for thirty-eight years, and which was not ended till 1414.

In the middle of this century Italy was scourged by a terrible plague, which had already laid waste the eastern world. It broke out in Italy in 1348, and raged with terrible fury. It is said that Naples lost 60,000 inhabitants, and that in Pisa seven persons out of every ten died. It utterly destroyed the prosperity of Siena. Florence also suffered severely. The scourge is generally known as the *Plague of Florence*, because the Florentine Boccaccio has left us a vivid account of its ravages in his native city.

One consequence of the "Great Schism" was that the Italian princes treated the rival popes with contempt, and northern Italy fell into a state of anarchy. The duchy of Milan was divided between the sons of Gian-Galeazzo Visconti, who became noted for their cruelties. A number of petty tyrannies sprang up in the duchy, but these were subdued at length by Filippo Maria Visconti, who reunited all his father's dominions. In 1402 the only independent sovereigns in northern Italy were the Count of Savoy, the Marquis of Montferrat, and the Lords of Padua, Ferrara and Mantua.

Francesco da Carrara, Lord of Padua, took advantage of the death of Gian-Galeazzo to seize Verona. Venice, the old enemy of Padua, made an alliance with the Lord of Mantua, retook Verona, and besieged Padua. Francesco da Carrara was compelled to surrender his city, and, with his two sons, was sent to Venice, where all three were put to death by order of the Council of Ten. This war placed Venice

in possession of Treviso, Feltro, Verona, Vicenza and Padua, and, by thus giving her a considerable territory on the mainland, raised her to the dignity of a leading Italian state.

The death of Gian-Galeazzo also freed Florence from the danger with which he had constantly menaced her. In 1406 Florence extended her dominion over Pisa, and though she treated her old enemy with

Angevin line, and Louis II., the head of the new French party. In the end Ladislaus was able to drive out his rival and establish his own rule, but the contest between the rivals served greatly to prolong the schism in the church, as each sustained the rival of the pope favored by his antagonist. Ladislaus was succeeded by his sister, Joanna II. She was twice married but had no children, and adopted as her



VERONA.

airness, the Pisans left their homes in large numbers, and the greatness and commercial prosperity of the city declined rapidly.

Genoa was governed at the opening of the century by a viceroy of Charles VI., King of France. In 1409 the island kingdom of Sicily was united with the Spanish kingdom of Aragon by the marriage of Mary, Queen of Sicily, to Martin, King of Aragon. The kingdom of Naples, which also bore the name of Sicily, was disputed between Ladislaus, the head of the old

heir Alfonso, King of Aragon and Sicily. Becoming dissatisfied with him, she adopted Louis III. of Anjou in his place. The rivals went to war for the possession of the Neapolitan crown, and divided all Italy by their quarrel. The Duke of Milan and Sforza, the general of Queen Joanna, sustained Louis; while the pope, the Florentines, Braccio, and the Lord of Rimini sustained Alfonso. The Florentines, being hard pressed by Milan, made an alliance with Venice, and the Duke of Milan was

obliged to make peace in 1426. In Naples Louis of Anjou gained the upper hand, and Alfonso could accomplish nothing. At the death of Louis, Queen Joanna adopted his brother René of Anjou in his place, and the war between the Angevin and Aragonese parties broke out again. It continued until 1433, to the general advantage of the Angevin party and their allies. In that year peace was made at Ferrara through the interposition of Sigismund, King of the Romans. In 1435 Queen Joanna II. died, and Alfonso attempted to seize the kingdom. The claim of René was supported by the Duke of Milan, who, with a Genoese fleet, defeated Alfonso and took him prisoner off the island of Ponza. Soon after this the duke, becoming alarmed at the growing power of the French, drove René out of the kingdom, and established Alfonso on the throne. Alfonso was now King of Naples, Sicily and Aragon. He made Naples his capital, and won the hearts of his new subjects by his kind treatment of them and his liberality and literary taste. He remained throughout his reign the constant ally of Milan.

Ever since the insurrection in 1382 Florence had been ruled by an oligarchy composed of the old Guelphic families and the new *popolani grossi*, or rich men of the people. In 1433 the head of this oligarchy was Rinaldo degli Albizzi. The leader of the opposition was a rich merchant named Cosmo de' Medici. Cosmo was a man of immense wealth, which he used liberally for the assistance of his fellow-citizens. His genial and affable disposition, and his generous support of all literary men, made him generally beloved in the city, and excited the hostility of Albizzi and his followers, who determined to secure his ruin. In 1433 he succeeded in procuring his banishment, but the next year Cosmo was recalled by the Florentines and received with enthusiasm, and hailed as the "Father of his Country." The Medici took advantage of this triumphant welcome to place themselves at the head of the state, and thus secured a power which they never afterwards entirely lost. Neither Cosmo nor his successors assumed any particular title. "Their power was of a different kind from that of the lords or tyrants, either in old Greece or in other cities of Italy. Nor was it such a power as that of Pericles at Athens, as it passed on from father to son. It was more like the power of Augustus

and the other Roman emperors, who respected the forms of the commonwealth." The party opposed to Cosmo fled to Milan, and induced the Duke Filippo Maria Visconti, who was already at war with Pope Eugenius IV., to attack Florence. The pope fled to the Florentines, who, with the Venetians, espoused his cause. The Florentine army was placed under the command of the pope's general, Francesco Sforza, and in a brilliant campaign, well conducted by both sides, the Duke of Milan was badly worsted. Filippo Maria, seeing his danger, drew Sforza over to his side by giving him his natural daughter, Bianca, as a wife, with the cities of Cremona and Pontremoli for her dowry. Sforza soon secured a peace between Florence, Venice, and Milan.

Francesco Sforza lived on very bad terms with his father-in-law, and when Filippo Maria died, in 1447, without male heirs, he claimed the duchy of Milan in right of his wife, although it was a fief which could descend only through the male line. His claim was denied by the Milanese, but as they were at war with Venice, they were obliged to employ him to conduct their campaign. He took advantage of this to seize the state, and was formally acknowledged by the Milanese as their lord and duke in February, 1450. The middle of the century saw Italy divided between four great temporal powers—the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and the republics of Venice and Florence. A fifth power—the papacy—now began to assume its true place among the Italian states.

The schism which had so long divided the church was brought to an end by the Council of Constance, which deposed all three of the rival popes, and appointed Martin V., who was everywhere acknowledged as a true pope, A. D. 1416. This council was followed by another which met at Basle, which sought to place the pope under the control of the councils of the church. Eugenius IV., the reigning pontiff, energetically resisted this action, and with the aid of Æneas Sylvius, the secretary of the council, succeeded in maintaining his independent authority, and secured the undisputed election of his successor, Nicolas V., 1447. The new pope was one of the greatest of the Roman pontiffs, and the failure of the Council of Basle having freed the papacy from control, he had a fair opportunity to exert his abilities for the good of the world. The captivity at Avignon

and the schism had greatly weakened the moral power of the papacy, and from the time of Nicolas V. the popes must be considered, not as the head of Christendom, power, for he was one of the best as well as one of the greatest of the popes. He was a lover of learning and art, and gave a powerful support to the revival of the study of



CATHEDRAL OF MILAN.

but as powerful Italian princes. Nicolas soon established his authority over the states of the church, which embraced the gifts of Pepin and Charlemagne and the Countess Matilda. He made a good use of his

Greek literature, which took place in consequence of the communication between Italy and the Greek empire in the last days of that power. Under him Rome became once more a centre of learning and

art, dividing the supremacy in Italy with Florence. He adorned the city with splendid churches, began the great cathedral of St. Peter, and built the magnificent palace of the Vatican. He also restored the fortifications of Rome and the Roman states; founded the noble library of the Vatican; and encouraged learning, which was greatly assisted by the introduction into Italy about this time of the art of printing. From the first he took a prominent stand among the princes of Italy, and one of the first uses he made of his political power was to bring about the peace of Lodi, in 1454, between Venice, Milan, and Naples. He died in 1458, and was succeeded by Æneas Sylvius, who took the title of Pius II.

Pope Pius was at once called upon to exert himself to stay the progress of the Turks, who, after their conquest of Constantinople, had embarked in an effort to bring the rest of Europe to their feet. He endeavored to unite all Christendom in a crusade against them, but died in 1464, before anything could be accomplished.

The Venetians endeavored to hold their possessions in the Archipelago, but were invariably defeated by the Turks, who took Lesbos, Eubœa, and other islands from them, and put them to great exertions to maintain their supremacy in the Adriatic. In 1477 a powerful Turkish army invaded Italy by way of Friuli, defeated the Venetians, and ravaged the country as far as the Piave. In 1480 the Turkish army under Ahmed Keduk, the greatest general of Mohammed, crossed the Adriatic, took the strong city of Otranto by storm, and massacred the inhabitants. The Venetians secretly favored this expedition as a means of injuring the King of Naples. Mohammed II. was greatly encouraged by this success, as he fully intended to attempt the conquest of Italy; but his death and the quarrels of his successors prevented the Turks from advancing any farther, and obliged them to return to the other side of the Adriatic.

Alfonso, King of Naples, died in 1458. He left Aragon and Sicily to his legitimate son John, and bestowed Naples upon Ferdinand, his illegitimate son. The cruelties of Ferdinand caused his subjects to rebel against him, and they offered their crown to John of Calabria, the son of René, who had been King of Naples before Alfonso. René, who was the French Governor of Genoa, endeavored to induce the neighbor-

ing Italian princes and the French king to help him and his son, but all refused. The result of the matter was that the Genoese, led by their archbishop, drove the French out of Genoa and set up a new government. The Duke of Calabria was unable to accomplish anything against Ferdinand of Naples. The new government of Genoa was so oppressive that the Genoese overthrew it and transferred their allegiance to the Duke of Milan, to whom Louis XI. of France ceded all his rights to Genoa. For the time French influence was utterly dead in Italy.

Cosmo de' Medici used his great wealth to acquire almost absolute power in Florence. Though his authority was much too great for the safety of a free state, he used it with moderation, though neither he nor any of his family had any sympathy with popular freedom. He was a great friend of literature and the arts, and steadfastly and liberally encouraged them. During his administration of affairs the beautiful dome of the cathedral of Florence was built, and the city was adorned with works of art and enriched with a valuable library. Cosmo died in 1464, and was succeeded in power by his son Pietro, who, though a constant invalid, was a man of great vigor of mind. Until a few years before his death he directed the affairs of the state himself with energy and ability, but as his health became worse he was forced to delegate his powers to others, who did not always act in accordance with his wishes. He died in 1469, leaving two sons, Lorenzo and Giuliano, who were too young to direct the government, which was for some years administered by the ministers of Pietro. At length Lorenzo took the management of affairs in his own hands. Thus, though they possessed no particular title, the Medici were able to transmit their power from father to son, and each one became more powerful than his predecessor. They had unlimited control of the public treasury, and often made use of the public funds to sustain the commercial credit of their house, though on the whole their power was used for the good of the city. An event now occurred which greatly strengthened Lorenzo.

The Duke Galeazzo Sforza, of Milan, whose cruelties had exasperated his people, was assassinated in December, 1476. His brother, Ludovico Sforza, finally succeeded in setting aside the widow and the young heir of the murdered duke, and made him-

self ruler of Milan. The pope, Sixtus IV., who had begun to intrigue like any other Italian prince, for the extension of his territory and the enrichment of his family, was so greatly encouraged by the success of the plot against Duke Galeazzo that he resolved to imitate it. He wished to establish his nephews in Romagna, but he was checked by Lorenzo de' Medici, who aided the cities of Romagna against him. He therefore re-

Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici, in the cathedral of Florence. At the elevation of the host during the celebration of mass, Giuliano was stabbed to the heart by Bernardo Bandini and the Archbishop of Pisa. Two priests had undertaken the murder of Lorenzo, but they failed in the attempt, and were subsequently put to death. Lorenzo was but slightly wounded. The conspirators then attempted to raise the Florentines



SEIGE OPERATIONS IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY—FROM AN ENGRAVING OF THE TIME.

solved to remove Lorenzo by assassination. A conspiracy was organized by the pope for the overthrow of the Medici, and the elevation of the Pazzi family, the rivals of the Medicean house, to power in Florence. The parties to the conspiracy were the pope, his nephews, the count, and the Cardinal Riario, the Archbishop of Pisa, the Pazzi, and several priests. Ferdinand, King of Naples, also favored the plot. On Sunday, April 26th, 1478, an attempt was made to kill

in behalf of the Pazzi, but the people, who had no wish to lose the benefits of the wealth of the Medici, rallied enthusiastically to the support of Lorenzo, and the conspirators were seized. Some were despatched on the spot, and others were executed with more form. The Archbishop of Pisa, clad in the robes of his sacred office, and Francesco de' Pazzi were hanged side by side. The pope was very angry at the failure of the conspiracy; he excommunicated the people of

Florence, and, finding that weapon ineffectual, made war upon them.

The power of Lorenzo was greatly increased by the failure of the plot against him. The Florentines gave him a guard to watch over his safety, and he conducted his court on a scale of splendor, which won him the surname of "the Magnificent." He paid for this splendor out of the public funds, but he gathered about him men of letters, artists, poets, and all who could contribute to the glory of his reign, and maintained them liberally. Under him Florence was at the height of her magnificence, but



POPE ALEXANDER VI.

the cause of popular liberty steadily declined. The quarrel with the pope was arranged in 1480. The presence of the Turks in Otranto endangered the safety of Rome, and rendered the pontiff anxious to make peace. Soon afterwards the Neapolitan barons again rebelled against their cruel king, and sent to Pope Innocent VIII. for aid, reminding him that Naples was a fief of the Holy See. The pope offered the throne to René, Duke of Lorraine, but the duke delayed so long that he lost the opportunity. Lorenzo Medici aided Ferdinand against the pope, and finally arranged a settlement by which order was restored in

the Neapolitan kingdom. Ferdinand, in violation of his promises, took a bloody revenge upon some of the leading nobles who had opposed him.

The twelve years covering the period from 1480 to 1492 were in the main peaceful. The King of Naples, the Duke of Milan, and Lorenzo de' Medici had a common motive for desiring peace—their fear of Venice, which was stronger than either of them alone, and was sure to derive some advantage from any war in Italy. The King of Naples also feared that the French party in his kingdom, which was growing stronger, would take advantage of a war to rise against him. The ruler of Milan, Ludovico Sforza, also feared the French. His nephew, the rightful heir of Milan, was the cousin of Charles VIII. of France, and Ludovico was fearful that the French king would seek to restore him to his rights. Lorenzo de' Medici desired to preserve the balance of power, and upheld the authority of Ludovico in Milan, as he regarded that duchy as the best bulwark of Florence against the aggressions of Venice.

During this period of peace all classes of the Italian people increased in material prosperity. Literature and the arts flourished. The prosperity of the people, however, did not stay the tide of corruption and vice which had swept over the country. "Sensuality was the natural result of absolute rule over rich and prosperous states, for men had no scope for lawful political ambition." In Florence, one of the best and most gifted of the Italians of any age endeavored to check the evil by his eloquent denunciations of it. This was the famous Girolamo Savonarola, a Dominican monk. He accomplished little, and soon fell a victim to the hostility of the enemies he had raised up against him.

In 1492 Lorenzo de' Medici died, leaving three sons, Pietro, who succeeded him in the government of Florence; Giovanni, who had been made a cardinal at the age of fourteen, and who subsequently became Pope Leo X.; and Giuliano. In 1493 Innocent VIII. died, and was succeeded by Roderigo Borgia, who bought his election of the college of cardinals, and took the name of Alexander VI. This pope was a man of shamefully and openly vicious life, of inordinate ambition and covetousness, false in his friendship and relentless and cruel in his hatred. He was a man of great ability, and used his power to advance the

ambitious schemes of his children. Cæsar and Lucrezia Borgia were the most noted as well as the ablest of these children. The accession of such a ruler to the papal throne should have inclined the master of Florence to a policy of great caution; but Pietro at once departed from the wise course of his father, and forming a close alliance with Ferdinand of Naples, undertook to thwart the plans of the Duke of Milan and the pope. Ludovico, whose nephew was the son-in-law of Ferdinand, was fearful that the Neapolitan king would seek to restore the dispossessed duke to the throne of Milan, and he made an offensive and defensive alliance with the pope and the Venetians, and, distrusting both his allies, invited Charles VIII., of France, to enter Italy and take possession of the kingdom of Naples. Charles, who had a sort of a claim to the crown of Naples, which he had inherited from the house of Anjou, accepted the offer, and prepared to invade Italy. He conceived the plan of conquering Naples, crossing the Adriatic and driving the Turks out of Greece, freeing Constantinople from their rule, and finally rescuing Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre from the keeping of the infidel. His wisest ministers earnestly begged him not to attempt the invasion of Italy; but dazzled with his brilliant hopes, he refused to listen to them.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE FRENCH CONQUEST OF NAPLES TO THE BATTLE OF LEPANTO.

Preparations to Meet the French Invasion of Italy—The Army of Charles VIII.—The War Commenced in Italy—The French Army Crosses the Alps—Charles VIII. and the Duchess of Milan—Ludovico Sforza Becomes Duke of Milan—The French at Florence—Charles Occupies Rome—Enters Naples—League of the Italian States Against the French—Charles Returns to France—Failure of the French Campaign—Louis XII. Revives the French Claim to Naples—Enters Italy—Captures Ludovico Sforza—Takes Naples—Driven from the Kingdom by the Spaniards—The Papal Forces Conquer the Romagna—Cæsar Borgia Made Duke—Death of Pope Alexander VI.—Florence Subdues Pisa—Position of Venice in the Italian Quarrels—Her Power—The League of Cambray—War Between the League and Venice—The Pope Changes Sides—The Holy League Formed—Battle of Ravenna—Death of Gaston de Foix—The French Driven from Italy—Leo X. Pope—His Selfish Schemes—Louis XII. Tries to Recover Milan—His Death—Francis I. Renews the French Claim to Milan—Invades Italy—Battle of Marignano—Francis Conquers Lombardy—His Contemptuous Treatment of Venice—Is Cheated by the Pope—Charles V. Becomes Emperor—

Helps the Pope to Drive the French from Milan—Power of the Spaniards in Italy—War Between Charles and Francis—Reverses of the French—Francis Enters Italy—Battle of Pavia—Francis Made Prisoner—Charles Master of Northern Italy—He Oppresses the People—The League Against Charles—Rome Captured and Plundered—Treaty Between the Pope and the Spaniards—Rome Taken and Sacked by the Spaniards—Escape of the Pope—Genoa Declares for the French—Revival of the Holy League—Treaty of Cambray—Charles Crowned Emperor by the Pope—His Power in Italy—Florence Compelled to Submit to the Pope—Destruction of the Florentine Republic—Reign of Pope Paul III.—War Between France and Spain—Fall of Siena—Abdication of Charles V.—Treaty of Cateau Cambresis—The Reformation in Italy—The Council of Trent—Foundation of the Society of Jesus—Work of the Jesuits—The Inquisition—Wars With the Turks—Battle of Lepanto—Position of Savoy.

WHEN the intention of the French king to invade Italy became known in that country, Ferdinand, who knew the slight hold he had upon his Neapolitan kingdom, made an alliance with the pope, and promised to aid him in his scheme for enriching his children. He also tried to make terms with Ludovico, but was not successful. Ludovico deceived him, for he was not ready to come to an open rupture with him until the assistance of the French was sure. Ludovico had for a long time held the government of Milan, and had enjoyed all the power, but he had not dared to assume the title of duke, though for convenience we have spoken of him as such. He knew he was hated by the Milanese, and he was afraid that, by assuming the ducal crown, he would bring on a war with the King of Naples, who was the father-in-law of the rightful duke. He had burdened the Milanese so heavily with taxes that they were ready and anxious to rebel against him.

Charles VIII. gathered a powerful army in Dauphiny, and collected a strong fleet at Genoa. His army was composed of tried veterans from France, Germany, and Switzerland, and was paid by the king. It was the finest body of troops that had yet been assembled in Europe, in equipment, material and efficiency. Its cavalry were especially good, and the artillery consisted of light brass cannon drawn by horses, which could manœuvre with the troops in the field and be served with great rapidity. The French used iron balls instead of stone. Before Charles began his march, Ferdinand of Naples died early in 1494, and was succeeded by his son Alfonso. The new king was hated more than his father had been,

and was much crueller, and more obstinate and haughty. He renewed the alliance with the pope. Before Charles set out from France the war began in Italy. Don Frederic, the son of King Alfonso, attempted to seize Genoa, but was defeated at Rapallo by the Duke of Orleans and a body of Swiss troops. In August, 1494, Charles began his march, crossed the Alps, and entered Italy. At Pavia he visited the dispossessed Duke of Milan, who with his wife was kept by Ludovico in the castle of Pavia. The duchess threw herself on her knees at the feet of the King of France and pleaded for her husband with such eloquence that Charles was greatly moved. He had gone too far to retreat, however, and her appeal was in vain. Soon afterwards the duke died, poisoned, as it was generally believed, by his uncle Ludovico, who, safe under the protection of the French, openly took the title of Duke of Milan.

Charles had sought to secure the friendship of Venice, but as yet the republic held aloof from the quarrel. It was necessary to secure Florence before he advanced farther south, and the king determined to march through Tuscany. The Florentines were friendly to him, as they hoped he would rid them of Pietro de' Medici, but Pietro remained faithful to the King of Naples. The French entered Tuscany, and formed the siege of Saranza. Pietro, now alarmed for his safety, went secretly to the French king and made the most abject terms on his own account, agreeing to surrender Pisa, Leghorn, Pietra Santa, and Librafatta, and pay the king a large sum of money, of which Charles stood greatly in need. Upon his return to Florence, Pietro was driven out of the city by the indignant Florentines. He took refuge with the Lord of Bologna, and never went back to his native city again. On the same day the Pisans appealed to Charles to relieve them of their subjection to Florence. The king granted their request, and though this annoyed the Florentines very much, they remained friendly to the king, who a few days later entered Florence. The citizens were fearful that he would seek to deprive them of their liberties, and this fear was justified by the assertion of Charles, that as he had entered the city in arms he had the rights of a conqueror. A few days later, during an interview between the king and the Florentine commissioners, Charles insisted so obstinately upon certain measures

which the Florentines deemed disgraceful to them, that Pietro Capponi, one of the commissioners, indignantly threatened to raise the city against him. Charles was unwilling to risk his army in a street fight with the burghers, and agreed to accept the subsidy which the Florentines offered him, and promised that when he had taken Naples he would restore Pisa and the other fortresses surrendered by Pietro de' Medici.

From Florence Charles passed on to Rome, which he entered without resistance. He compelled the pope to cease his opposition to him, and sanction certain of his measures. He then continued his march southward. Alfonso of Naples abandoned his throne and fled to Sicily, where he did penance for his sins, which were many. His son Ferdinand succeeded him, but his general betrayed Capua to the French, and the people of Naples rose against him, and obliged him to fly to Ischia. Charles entered Naples on the 22d of February, 1495, amid the general rejoicings of the people.

Though successful so far, Charles had left a formidable body of enemies behind him. The Venetians were hostile to him. The pope wanted the French out of Italy because they interfered with his schemes for the advancement of his family, and the Romans had become the enemies of Charles, because of his failure to dethrone the pope, whom they hated. The Florentines, sore over the loss of Pisa, had also become hostile to the king; and the Duke of Milan, alarmed by the success of the French, who had shown him that they no longer needed him, began to plot their ruin. Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, fearful that Charles would attack Sicily, which belonged to them, and Maximilian, King of the Romans, who had been told that Charles aimed at the imperial crown, were also ready to assist in a movement for the expulsion of the French. The Duke of Milan formed an alliance against Charles with the pope, the German king, the Venetians, and the King of Spain. The joy of the Neapolitans was cooled by the insolent conduct of the French army and the grants of Neapolitan lands made by Charles to his followers, and they too joined the league for the expulsion of the French. Charles being informed of the combination against him, resolved to go back to France. He left the Count of Montpensier to govern Naples and finish the conquest of that kingdom,

and in May, 1495, set out upon his northward march. On his return to Rome the pope refused to see him, and left the city. Charles avoided Florence and alienated his only faithful ally by refusing to restore Pisa and the other cities he had promised to give back. The Duke of Orleans was besieged by the Duke of Milan in Novara, and the armies of Milan and Venice, under the Marquis of Mantua, endeavored to stop the progress of Charles at Fornovo, immediately after his passage of the Apennines. They were defeated, and Charles reached Turin in safety. In order to save the Duke of Orleans, who was reduced to great straits in Novara, Charles made a separate peace with the Duke of Milan, and returned to France.

The retreat of Charles was followed by the loss of all he had gained in Italy. Within a year Ferdinand reconquered the kingdom of Naples. He died in 1496, and was succeeded by his uncle Frederic. The Florentines were very indignant at the failure of the French king to restore Pisa to them. Charles gave up the citadel of that place to the citizens of Pisa, and sold the other Florentine fortresses to Genoa and Lucca. The Duke of Milan was very anxious to get possession of Pisa, but the Pisans placed themselves under the protection of Venice, which resolved to uphold the city as a free state. The duke then tried to restore Pietro Medici to Florence, but the citizens prepared to resist him, and Pietro fled. The war went on in a desultory manner. In 1497 a truce was made between France and Spain, which included the Italian allies of both powers, and thus peace was restored to Italy. The invasion of Charles had resulted in utter failure. The only person who had really gained anything by the war was the Duke of Milan.

In 1499 Louis XII., who had succeeded Charles VIII. on the French throne, revived the claims of that monarch, and also asserted his right to the duchy of Milan as the representative of his grandmother, Valentine Visconti, the only daughter of the last duke of that family. In August, 1499, the French army entered Italy, and advancing rapidly to Milan, drove Ludovico out of that city, and occupied it in September.

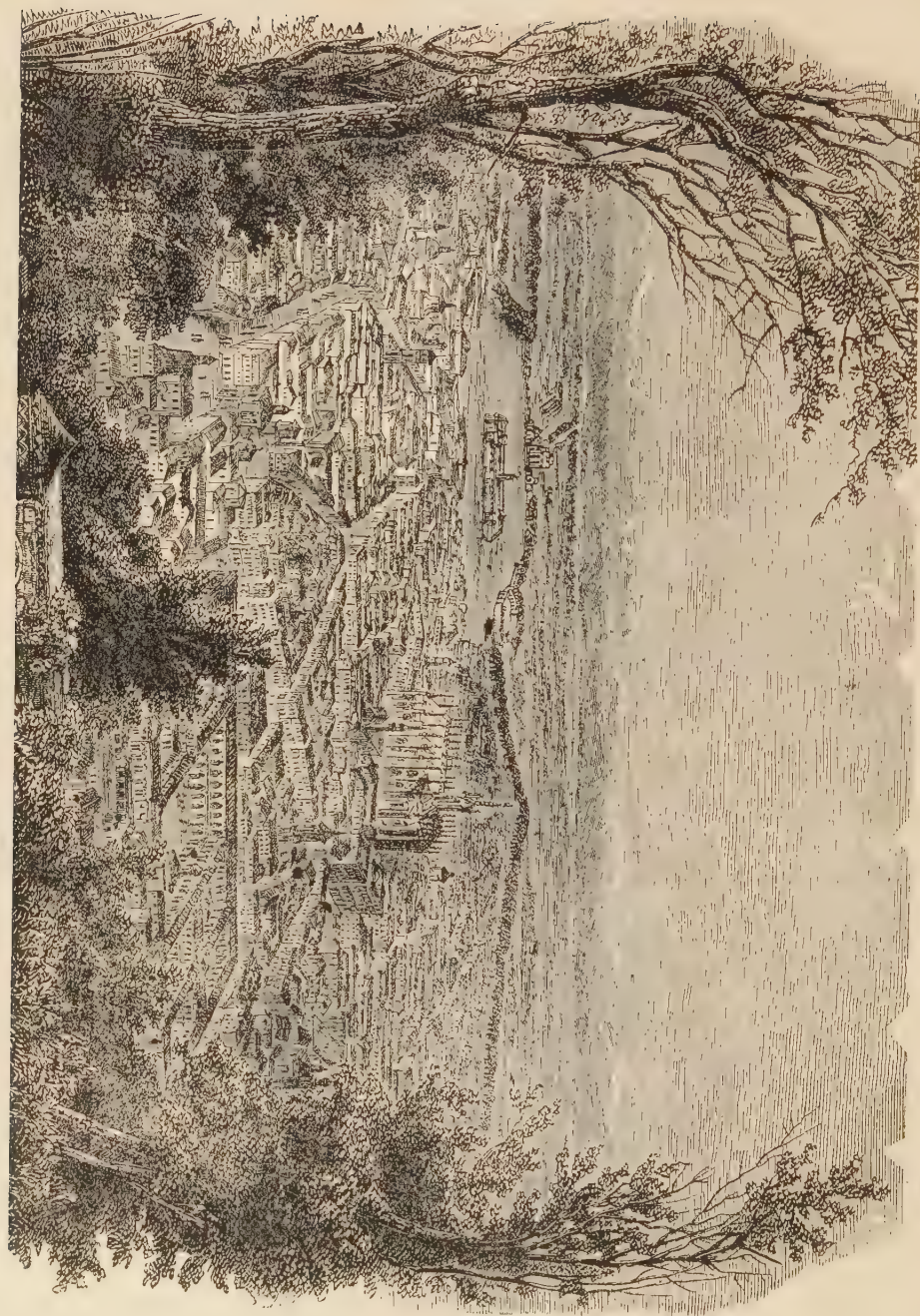
The capture of Milan by the forces of Louis XII. of France was soon followed by a change of fortune. The oppressive conduct of Trivulzio, the French

viceroy, drove the Milanese into a revolt in January, 1500, and the French were expelled from the city. At the same time Ludovico Sforza returned at the head of a large force of Swiss mercenaries, and regained the duchy. Louis despatched another army, in which were 10,000 Swiss, into Italy. The Swiss in the pay of Ludovico betrayed their employer by refusing to fight against their countrymen in the French ranks. Ludovico, in an attempt to escape, was seized by them and delivered to the King of France, who kept him a prisoner in the castle of Loches until his death ten years later. Louis was now undisputed master of the duchy of Milan. On their return home the Swiss seized the important post of Bellinzona, which commanded the entrance from Switzerland into the duchy of Milan. The French king suffered this bold act to pass unnoticed.

Louis now determined to make himself master of Naples, and entered into an alliance with Ferdinand of Spain for the partition of the Neapolitan kingdom between them. Ferdinand was in some measure pledged to protect Frederic, King of Naples, who was his cousin, but he was not able to withstand the temptation held out to him by Louis. Naples was conquered, and Frederic and his son were made prisoners. The former was sent to France; the latter to Spain. The French and Spaniards then began to quarrel over the division of the conquered territories, and a war broke out between them. The Spaniards, led by Gonsalvo of Cordova, their "Great Captain," defeated the French in 1503 in the decisive battles of Seminara and Cerignola, and in 1504 at Mola, near Gaeta. These victories made them absolute masters of the kingdom of Naples, from which the French were entirely expelled.

The pope and his son Cæsar Borgia had taken advantage of the French invasions of Italy to push their schemes forward in all quarters. The Romagna, though a nominal possession of the pope, was really ruled by a number of petty lords. With the aid of some French troops furnished by Louis, Cæsar Borgia wrested the Romagna from these rulers, and in 1501 was made Duke of Romagna by the pope. Louis would not allow him to add Bologna to his possessions, as the lord of that city was under French protection. The Duke of Valentino, as Cæsar was called, then frightened the Florentines into taking him into their

MILAN.



pay, but in spite of this he gained considerable territory at their expense. At the beginning of the quarrel with Spain about Naples, Louis refused to allow Cæsar to plunder the Florentines any further, as he wanted their alliance in this war. Cæsar then seized Urbino, but this bold move united some of the most powerful Italian nobles against him, and he was obliged to relinquish the city. He was a man of unquestioned ability, handsome, daring, and utterly unscrupulous, cruel and licentious; and was regarded with distrust and dread by all the Italian states. In 1503 Pope Alexander VI. died in consequence of having by accident drank of some wine which his son had poisoned for the purpose of destroying the Cardinal of Corneto, and with his death Cæsar's good fortune came to an end. He was stripped of his possessions as suddenly as he had gained them, and was made a prisoner by the Venetians. The next year he was liberated and went to Naples, where he was seized by Gonsalvo and sent to Spain. He escaped after an imprisonment of two years and took refuge with his brother-in-law, John, King of Navarre, in whose arm, he served until his death shortly after.

The conquest of Milan by the King of France made him also master of Genoa, which had been subject to Milan. Dissatisfied with the arbitrary rule of the French, the Genoese attempted to revolt in 1507, but were compelled to submit. Louis now listened to the overtures of the Florentines, who were anxious to obtain possession of Pisa. By bribing both the Kings of France and Spain, the Florentines induced them to leave Pisa to its fate, and in 1509 that city was compelled to submit to the army of Florence, which entered it in triumph. The Pisans in large numbers left their homes rather than submit to the Florentine yoke.

In 1503 Venice, which for fifty years had been at war with the Turks, made peace with them. Relieved from the necessities of this struggle, the republic began to extend its possessions on the mainland of Italy, and among other acts for this purpose, after the death of Pope Alexander VI., seized upon several cities in the papal states, which had been taken by Cæsar Borgia. They thus arrayed the pope against them, and also made an enemy of the Emperor Maximilian, by defeating him in the valley of the Cadore, in 1508, in his attempt to enter Italy to take part in the affairs of that country. Venice was now at the height of

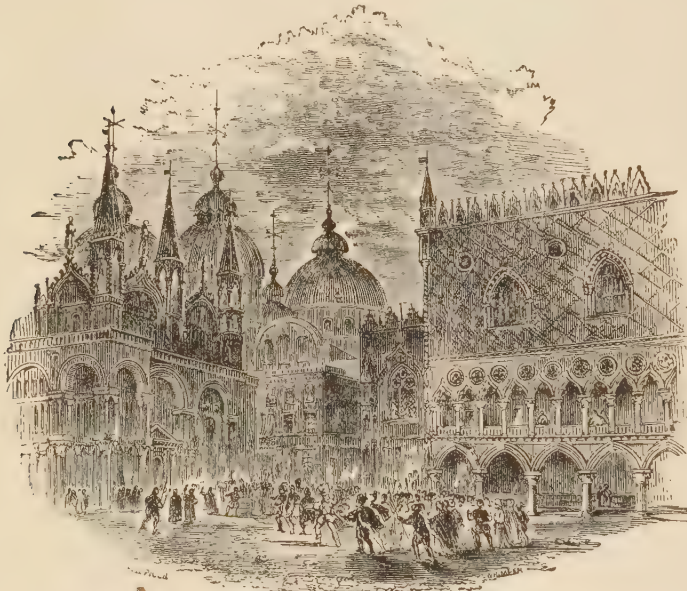
her power. Her territory stretched from Aquilcia to the Adda, and as far south as Ravenna and Rimini. It included also Friuli, the coast of Dalmatia, some of the Greek islands, Cyprus, Crete, some points in southern Greece, Brindisi, and some other coast towns in the kingdom of Naples, which Ferdinand II. had pledged as security for loans from the Venetians. This prosperous condition excited the jealousy and alarm of the powerful neighbors of the republic. Louis XII. of France, as Duke of Milan, wished to recover the Lombard towns which he had been forced to yield to the Venetians by treaty during his wars with Ludovico Sforza; the pope claimed as his own the territory granted by Pepin and Charlemagne, which included Rimini, Faenza, and some other towns; Ferdinand of Spain wished to recover Brindisi and the other Neapolitan towns; the Emperor Maximilian claimed Padua, Vicenza, and Verona, as lapsed fiefs of the empire, and Roveredo, Friuli, and Treviso, as the property of the house of Austria; and the Duke of Savoy, as the descendant of Guy de Lusignan, claimed the island of Cyprus. In order to get possession of what he claimed as his share, Pope Julius II. endeavored to negotiate with the republic; but finding the Venetians averse to surrendering what they regarded as their lawful prize, he changed his policy and organized a league of the leading European states against them. The Emperor Maximilian, the Kings of France and Spain, the Dukes of Savoy and Ferrara, and the Marquis of Mantua, joined in the pope in this confederacy, which was known as the League of Cambray. War was declared by the confederates in 1509. Louis XII. at once took the field, defeated the Venetians at Agnadello, and soon won back the old territories of his duchy. He also gained possession of Verona, Vicenza, and Padua, the keys of which he sent to Maximilian. The pope, who began his part of the undertaking by excommunicating the Venetians, won back the cities of the Romagna; the King of Spain recovered the Neapolitan cities he had claimed; and the Duke of Brunswick regained Friuli for the emperor. Venice seemed on the point of ruin, but, abandoning its possessions in northern Italy, the republic prepared to concentrate its energies upon the defence of its home territory. The slowness with which the German Emperor Maximilian executed his movements enabled the Vene-

tians to rally from their first reverses; and, taking heart, they recaptured Padua. Maximilian besieged the city with an army of 40,000 men, but was obliged to raise the siege.

The pope now suddenly changed his position. He had gained all that he desired, and he now began to fear that the power of Venice would be reduced too low for her to offer any obstacle to the efforts of the French to get possession of northern Italy. He dreaded the effect of foreign supremacy in Italy, and set to work to drive out the French and Germans. He began with the French. By a series of intrigues he broke

but the French commander, Gaston de Foix, the nephew of Louis XII., compelled them to raise the siege. The French were so hard pressed, however, that Louis ordered Gaston to force the allies to a decisive battle. This was brought on before Ravenna on the 11th of April, 1512. The papal and Spanish forces were defeated with great loss, but it was a dearly-bought victory to the French, who lost their gallant young commander, Gaston de Foix, Duke of Nemours. The position of the French king also became more critical; for England was annoying him greatly by repeated descents upon the coast, and Spain had conquered Navarre.

Maximilian now joined the Holy League, and 20,000 Swiss invaded the duchy of Milan. The French were driven out of Lombardy, which was overrun by the Swiss, who seized some of the frontier posts of that region with the intention of adding them to their own possessions. Maximilian Sforza, the son of Ludovico, was proclaimed Duke of Milan, and Bologna, Ferrara, Parma, and Piacenza fell into the hands of the pope. Genoa rose in revolt, and of all the conquests of the French in Italy, only two or three fortresses remained to



EXTERIOR DUCAL PALACE, VENICE.

up the League of Cambray, and formed another, known as the *Holy League*, with the Swiss and Venetians, the latter of whom he relieved from the excommunication. He began the war with forces furnished by these, but was defeated by the French commander, and Louis XII., in revenge for this attack upon him, induced a number of the cardinals to summon a general council, which was to meet at Pisa for the purpose of investigating and condemning the conduct of the pope. The council proved a failure, and the pope retaliated by inducing the emperor to make peace with the Venetians, and by drawing the Kings of England and Spain into the Holy League. Bologna, which had fallen into the hands of the French, was besieged by the allied forces,

them. Florence, which had during the war refused to break with the King of France, was now compelled by the allies to depose its chief magistrate and receive back the Medici, who were sufficiently hostile to the French to guarantee the future policy of the republic. Affairs were restored to the position in which they were before the flight of Pietro de' Medici, in 1494. Having succeeded so well with the French, Pope Julius determined to rid Italy of the Spaniards. "If heaven allow," said he, "the Neapolitans shall soon have another master." His death, in 1513, dissolved his plan. He was succeeded by the Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, who took the title of Leo X. The policy of Alexander VI. and Julius II. had been to play off the French

and Spaniards against each other, but to prevent either from becoming supreme in Italy, and at last Julius endeavored to rid the peninsula of both. Leo X. sought, above every other interest, the perpetuation of the power of his family in Florence, and as he owed its re-establishment to the Spaniards, his policy was to continue the alliance with them.

Besides the pope the only really independent Italian power at this time was the republic of Venice. The Venetians, becoming offended at the refusal of the other members of the Holy League to restore the territory that had been taken from the republic, began to plot with Louis XII. for the restoration of Milan to him. That duchy was nominally governed by Maximilian Sforza, but its real rulers were the Swiss, who sustained him. The Milanese had grown weary of the tyranny of these mercenaries, and were favorably inclined to the French king. Genoa revolted, and the French army suddenly swept down from the Alps and entered Milan amid the acclamations of the people. Maximilian fled to Novara, which was defended by the Swiss. The French, attempting to take that place, were defeated on the 6th of June, 1513, and were driven back over the Alps. Genoa was reduced to submission by the Spanish viceroy, and Venice was attacked by the viceroy and the German king, and its territory cruelly ravaged, for aiding the French against a member of the league. The Swiss invaded France, and the English defeated the army of Louis at Guinegate. About the same time James IV. of Scotland, the ally of Louis, was defeated by the English at Flodden. These reverses made Louis very anxious for peace. He succeeded in making terms with the pope, the German king, and the Kings of England and Spain, but the Swiss refused to treat with him.

Matters were greatly changed by the death of Louis XII. in 1515. He was succeeded by Francis I., who at once revived the French claim to the duchy of Milan, and prepared to maintain it. Venice and Genoa embraced the French cause; but the pope, the Spanish viceroy, the Florentines, and the Swiss sustained the claim of Duke Maximilian, as none of them wished to see the French again established in Italy. The Swiss were stationed to hold the passes of Piedmont, and the French commander Trivulzio was forced to choose another

means of entering Italy. By one of the most brilliant movements on record, he passed his army, with its artillery and baggage, over Monte Viso, and before the allies were aware that he had begun the ascent of the mountain was safe in Lombardy. The pope's general, Prosper Colonna, was captured at Villafranca, and the French army advanced towards Milan. On the 13th of September the Swiss attacked the French camp at Marignano, about ten miles from Milan. The battle continued late into the night and was renewed the next day. It was one of the bloodiest fights ever waged, and resulted in a complete victory for the French. The Swiss abandoned the duchy in consequence of their defeat, and never after this interfered in Italian affairs. They made peace with the French king soon after. Francis was now master of Lombardy, and had he been an abler man might soon have extended his power over Tuscany and the papal states, and even over Naples. The pope, however, was the abler of the two, and taking advantage of the prejudices of the king, who was never entirely satisfied with his alliance with the "mercantile" republic of Venice, the pontiff concluded a treaty with him at Bologna. The French king made a close alliance with the pope and the Medici of Florence, and allowed himself to be cheated of the most important consequences of his victory. At the pope's persuasion he consented to defer his attempt upon Naples until the death of Ferdinand of Spain. Then, appointing the Constable de Bourbon his lieutenant in Milan, Francis disbanded the bulk of his army and returned to France. The pope, freed from danger at his hands, now devoted himself to advancing the interests of his family in Florence.

In 1516 Ferdinand of Spain died, and was succeeded by his grandson Charles, Archduke of Austria and also Lord of the county of Burgundy and the Low Countries, which he had inherited from his mother. Three years later, 1519, Charles was elected German king. He thus became the most powerful sovereign of Europe, as he was King of Germany and Spain, Archduke of Austria, Count of Burgundy, and Lord of the Low Countries. The Reformation now began to move Europe with powerful force, and Charles, who was a devoted Catholic, was unwilling to see his religion supplanted by the doctrines taught by Luther. More-

over, he was fearful that the resistance to spiritual tyranny might become a revolt against civil authority also, and both these feelings caused him to side with the pope. In Italy he was also the rival of the King of France and the natural ally of the pope, and so in 1521 a treaty was negotiated between the pope and Charles, and the latter was urged by the pontiff to come and drive the French out of Italy. It was agreed

that he would do in its intellectual achievements, was a curse to his country. Michael Angelo and Raphael shed a glory over it, but the ambition and the falseness of the pope were the cause of serious evils to it. Indeed, in spite of their efforts to rid the peninsula of foreign influence, the policy of the last three popes had steadily increased that supremacy which they dreaded. Alexander VI., by his alliance with Ferdinand against the



FLORENCE.

between them that Francesco, who had become the head of the Störza family by the death of his brother Maximilian, should be made Duke of Milan. The plan was successful. The French were driven out of the duchy and Francesco was proclaimed duke. Parma and Piacenza were restored to the pope. Leo died soon after hearing the news of this success. He was an intellectual epicure, and his reign, though splen-

did in its intellectual achievements, was a curse to his country. The Holy League of Pope Julius II. gave them a strong hold upon central Italy, and the alliance between Leo X. and Charles V. made them masters of the duchy of Milan, for Francesco, the new duke, was but a puppet in their hands. The new pope, Adrian VI., though a far better man than either of those named, contributed to increase the Spanish power

all Italy. He had been the tutor of Charles V., and was therefore naturally inclined to his cause. The persistence of Francis I. in seeking to recover his lost Italian territory compelled the pope to make a direct alliance with the emperor. Venice, tired of the French alliance, also joined the party of Charles, and in 1522 Genoa was captured from the French by the imperial army. Thus the power of Spain was supreme throughout Italy.

Francis, undismayed by his losses, began in 1523 his preparations for a vigorous effort to recover the duchy of Milan. The pope at once organized a league for the defence of Italy, which embraced himself, the Emperor Charles, the King of England, the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, the Duke of Milan, and the cities of Florence, Genoa, Lucca, and Siena. The French army had begun its march into Italy, and Francis was about to follow, when he was detained at home by the discovery of the conspiracy of the great Constable of Bourbon, and was obliged to intrust the command of his army to William de Bonnavet, Admiral of France, who was outgeneralled by the papal commander, and failed to accomplish anything. About the same time Pope Adrian VI. died, and was succeeded by Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, who took the title of Clement VII. The new pope was anxious for peace, for he was fully alive to the danger to Italy of having the King of Spain master of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies and of the duchy of Milan also; but he was unable to accomplish his desire. By the death of Prospero Colonna the Marquis of Pescara succeeded to the command of the allied army. The spring of 1524 witnessed fresh disasters for the French. The Duke of Bourbon entered Italy as the lieutenant of the emperor, and the French commander Bonnavet was forced to retreat. In a battle on the Sesia, near Romagnano, the Chevalier Bayard was killed. Bourbon and Pescara then invaded France by the Cornice road, captured Aix and several other towns, and laid siege to Marseilles. They were soon compelled to raise the siege and retreat into Italy, and Bourbon found that his countrymen had no wish to share in his treachery.

Francis now entered Italy with a fine army of 30,000 men. The Venetians, though they had joined the league, made no effort to interfere with him, being perhaps jealous of the power of the emperor.

Francis threw away the advantages he had gained by halting in his advance to lay siege to Pavia. The pope secretly negotiated a treaty of neutrality with the French king and abandoned his allies, and the King of England was so lukewarm in his zeal for the cause that he failed to furnish the aid and supplies he had promised. Francis was so much elated by this good fortune that he foolishly weakened his army by sending a portion of it, under the Duke of Albany, to conquer the Neapolitan kingdom. This proved his ruin, for the imperial army, reinforced by new levies under the Constable of Bourbon and a German leader named George Frundesberg, attacked him on the 24th of February, 1525, before Pavia, and utterly defeated him. Francis and his brother-in-law, Henry d'Albret, King of Navarre, were made prisoners, and 8,000 men and some of the greatest nobles of France were slain. Francis was imprisoned in the Castle of Pizzighittone, near Milan, and was afterwards removed to Madrid, where he was confined in the Alcazar.

The victory of Pavia made Charles absolute master of northern Italy, to the great dissatisfaction of the pope and the Venetians, who had expected his defeat. He was too powerful to be a safe neighbor, and the Venetians endeavored to induce the pope to aid them in forming a league with the Regent of France, the Duke of Ferrara, and the Swiss for the purpose of checking the emperor and securing the release of King Francis, but the pope was afraid to offend the emperor, and signed a treaty with the commanders of the imperial army. In order to support the large force which the emperor maintained in the peninsula, the various Italian states were burdened with heavy taxes. The people of the duchy of Milan were almost ruined by this imposition, and were annoyed and driven to desperation by the brutality of the troops who were quartered upon them. The duke, seeing the sufferings of his people, and feeling that he himself was but a mere puppet in the hands of the Spaniards, resolved to make an effort to throw off their yoke. He was urged to this step by the advice of his chancellor, Girolamo Morone, and was secretly encouraged by the pope and the Venetians. He succeeded in drawing the Spanish commander, the Marquis of Pescara, into the plot, by offering, in the name of the parties to the plot, to guarantee him

the crown of Naples if he would assist in driving the Spaniards and Germans out of Italy. The marquis at first gave his adhesion to the scheme, but in a short time betrayed his confederates to the emperor, arrested the chancellor, and besieged the Duke of Milan in his castle. By command of the emperor he seized on all the fortified places of the duchy except Cremona and Milan, which still held out for Duke Francesco. Towards the close of 1525 the Marquis of Pescara died, and the command of the imperial army in Italy passed to the Duke of Bourbon, who was given the duchy of Milan by the emperor.

Francis I. regained his liberty early in 1526 by signing the humiliating treaty of Madrid, renouncing, among other things, his claims to Naples, Milan, Genoa, and Asti. Immediately upon his return to France he repudiated the terms of the treaty on the plea that he had been compelled to sign it while a prisoner. The sufferings of the Italians were very great, and all now turned to the King of France as their only hope. The Duke of Bourbon promised to remove the troops from Milan upon the payment of 300,000 crowns, but when this sum was raised he found himself powerless to fulfil his promise, as the troops refused to obey him. They had not been paid for a long time, and they supplied their needs by plundering the unhappy Milanese. The business of the city ceased; no man dared to open his shop lest he should be instantly robbed of all his goods by the troops. In this state of affairs the pope, the Venetians, and the Duke of Milan formed a league with the King of France, which, as the pope was at the head of it, was called the *Holy League*. Its objects were declared to be to compel Charles to release the sons of Francis, who were detained in Spain as hostages, and to restore Francesco to the duchy of Milan. In case Charles refused these demands he was to be attacked first in Milan and then in Naples.

In the meantime the people of Milan were made to suffer all the more because their duke was a member of this league. An effort of the Venetian army to expel the Spaniards from Milan was defeated by the Constable of Bourbon. Cardinal Colonna, a personal enemy of the pope, now collected an army and marched suddenly to Rome. His troops plundered the Vatican and the church of St. Peter, and the pope, who had taken refuge in the Castle

of St. Angelo, was compelled to surrender and make terms with the ambassador of the emperor. About the same time the imperial army in Italy was strongly reinforced. Among the new troops was a splendid army of German infantry, commanded by George Frundesberg. Frundesberg had raised these troops himself, and they had followed him in the hope of plunder, which his great military fame seemed to promise them. They were quartered at Mantua. Bourbon's army at Milan was almost in an open mutiny because of the failure of their pay, and Frundesberg's men soon became equally discontented. Bourbon was soon joined by the Viceroy of Naples with his forces, and by Frundesberg and his troops. It being impossible to extort anything more from the Milanese, the constable led the army into central Italy in the hope of finding some means of contenting them.

The pope, who had broken the truce forced upon him by Cardinal Colonna, sent a force to ravage the country estates of the Colonnas, and caused their palaces at Rome to be destroyed. He also made an unsuccessful attempt against the Neapolitan kingdom. The news of the march of the imperial army under Bourbon southward filled him with alarm for the safety of both Florence and Rome. He made a hasty peace with the Spanish viceroy and disbanded nearly all his troops. The viceroy promised that the imperial troops should not approach either Florence or Rome, but neither he nor their commanders could stay the march of the army, which was excited and urged on by the thought of the rich booty which the capture of the Eternal City would afford them; and it is most probable that Bourbon himself had no wish to spare the city. Passing by Florence, the army at length arrived before Rome. The pope endeavored to stay the advance of this terrible force, but without success. Frundesberg, in attempting to quell a mutiny of his men, was seized with a fit which afterwards cost him his life, and Bourbon was left in sole charge of the army. On the 6th of May, 1527, Rome was carried by storm, and for two weeks the city was given up to plunder, massacre, and the most horrid deeds of violence. "The splendor of Rome, which had outlasted so many heathen and barbarian invasions, perished at last from the cruelty and brutality of a Christian army." The Duke of Bourbon having



DEATH OF THE DUKE OF BOURBON.

been killed in the assault upon the city, the Prince of Orange was chosen by the troops to command them. The pope, who had fled to the Castle of St. Angelo, surrendered on the 5th of June because of the failure of the supplies of the castle. He was kept a prisoner until September 9th, when he escaped to Orvieto.

The Florentines, taking advantage of the absence of the imperial army from Tuscany, drove out the Medici, and, placing themselves under the protection of France, restored their republican form of government. Genoa also threw off the Spanish yoke, and, under the lead of Andrea Doria, declared for the French. The Holy League was revived, and a French army entered Italy. Pavia was taken by storm and sacked in revenge for the defeat of Francis before its walls. Lautrec, the French commander, advanced to Naples, and the Prince of Orange evacuated Rome and threw the remnant of his army which had survived its excesses into that city. Lautrec invested Naples by land, while the combined fleets of France and Genoa blockaded it from the sea. The city must have fallen had not Francis seriously offended the Dorias by his unjust treatment of them. Andrea Doria withdrew the Genoese fleet, and Genoa abandoned the French alliance and went over to the emperor. Lautrec died of a sickness which swept away the greater part of his army, and the remainder were compelled by the Genoese to raise the siege. The French invasion resulted in a complete failure; the Prince of Orange was made viceroy for the emperor, and the power of Charles was riveted upon Italy more firmly than ever.

The pope, who was resolved to become master of Florence once more, now began to negotiate with the emperor for that purpose. In June, 1529, an alliance was formed between these two potentates. Charles, who was only emperor-elect, though spoken of always as emperor, was promised the imperial crown and the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, and he agreed to compel the Venetians and the Duke of Ferrara to restore to the pope some of the territory they had taken from him, and to aid him in his designs upon Florence. In August of the same year the war between Charles and Francis was brought to an end by the Treaty of Cambray, in which Francis, with characteristic selfishness, sacrificed his Italian allies in order to obtain peace.

Thus abandoned, they were obliged to make the best arrangement they could with Charles. The Duke of Milan, who was childless, was allowed to retain his duchy on payment of a large sum, and at his death the emperor claimed the duchy as a lapsed fief. The Venetians were obliged to surrender Ravenna and Cervia to the pope, and their conquests in Apulia to the emperor. The others were allowed to purchase peace on terms more or less favorable. All the Italian states were obliged to admit the authority of the emperor. Florence alone was exempted from the general peace; nothing but the unconditional submission of the republic to the pope would satisfy either Clement or Charles.

In 1530 Charles was crowned King of Italy and Emperor by Pope Clement. He received both crowns at once, and the coronation took place at Bologna, instead of at Milan and Rome. This informality, however, amounted to nothing. Charles V. was supreme monarch of the mightiest realm that had been ruled by any sovereign since the days of Charlemagne. He was absolute in Italy, and in the truest sense king of that country. His coronation did not unite Italy with the empire, however, but with the Spanish crown, to which it passed at his abdication. His coronation closed the long war between France and Spain for the possession of Italy. The results of this struggle were three-fold: the enslavement of Italy; the humiliation of France; and the exaltation of Spain. Charles V. was the last emperor crowned in Italy.

The presence of Charles in Italy was made the occasion of compelling Florence to submit to the pope. The Florentines having refused to receive back the Medici, the Prince of Orange was ordered by the emperor to attack the city. Florence was fortified by Michael Angelo, and was defended with great obstinacy and gallantry by the garrison and by an army without the walls, but its ablest general being slain in battle and another proving a traitor, the city was compelled to surrender in August, 1530. It was obliged to pay a heavy ransom and receive an imperial garrison. The hereditary rule of the Medici was re-established, and this family continued in power until the death of the last Medici in 1737. In 1570 Cosmo de' Medici was made Grand Duke of Tuscany by Pope Pius V. From this time Florence "ceased to have an in-

dependent political life; she was no longer a city-state, but only the seat of the government of the grand duchy."

In 1534 Clement VII. died, and was succeeded by Alexander Farnese, who took the title of Paul III. Pope Paul was a bitter enemy of the Medici, and exerted himself to depress them and advance his own family. He encouraged the Florentines to

30,000 men. In Italy the effort against the emperor was unsuccessful; the Florentines were severely punished, and were obliged to submit to the Medici. After this they made no other effort to rid themselves of their masters. Pope Paul pursued a varying policy, courting the French sometimes, and sometimes leaning towards the emperor, who was the only person with



VIEW OF ROME, SHOWING THE CASTLE OF ST. ANGELO AND ST. PETER'S.

rebel against their lord, and the time seemed favorable for the movement, as a new war had broken out between Francis and Charles. The latter claimed the duchy of Savoy, the reigning duke of which was his uncle, and in 1536 overran the duchy with his troops. Charles by invading France threw his rival on the defensive, but he was unable to accomplish anything, and was forced to retreat with a loss of

the power to advance his family in Italy. As Charles, however, was not willing to do anything more for the Farnesi, the pope was on the whole unfriendly to him, and so incurred his anger. He came to an open rupture with Charles about the duchy of Parma, which the emperor wanted for his son-in-law, Ottaviano, who was also the pope's grandson. In the midst of this quarrel the pope died. in 1549. His suc-

cessor was Cardinal del Monte, who became Julius III. The new pope gave Parma to Ottaviano. Alexander, the son of Ottaviano and Margaret, the daughter of the Emperor Charles, became the most famous of all the generals of Philip II., of Spain. He is known as the Prince of Parma.

In the meantime Francis I. had followed up the withdrawal of Charles from France, by renewing his claims to Savoy and also to Milan, but the war was prevented by a truce in July, 1537, which was finally settled into a definite peace in 1539. Francis was left in possession of Savoy, Bresse, and half of Piedmont; the emperor kept the rest of Piedmont and Milan. The Duke of Savoy, thus unjustly stripped of his territories, was confined to the county of Nice. Geneva, which had been nominally subject to Savoy, now became an independent republic.

In March, 1547, Francis I. died. He was succeeded by Henry II., who, in 1550, became involved in a war with Charles. The chief events of this war occurred beyond the Alps, but it spread to Italy and caused considerable suffering to that country. In 1552 Siena revolted against the Spaniards, and was attacked by the Florentines under Duke Cosmo de' Medici. It was captured after a severe siege of fifteen months, and received an imperialist garrison, but two years later was definitely united to Florence. Many of the Siennese abandoned their homes rather than submit to Florence. On the whole the war in Italy resulted in favor of the Spaniards. The French overran Savoy, but could not obtain a footing in Milan.

In 1555 Charles V. abdicated the throne and retired to a monastery. He was succeeded on the throne of Spain by his son Philip II., and in the empire by his brother Ferdinand. Italy went with the Spanish crown. It had already been ruled for some years by Philip. In the same year Pope Paul III. died, and his successor, Gian Pietro Caraffa, became Pope Paul IV. The latter pope hated the Spaniards cordially, and was anxious to see the French back in Naples. In alliance with Henry II., the Duke of Ferrara, and the Florentine exiles, he brought on a war against Philip II. in the Neapolitan kingdom, and a French army under the Duke of Guise was sent to his assistance. The Spaniards were successful, however; the French were driven away, and the pope was obliged to submit to Philip,

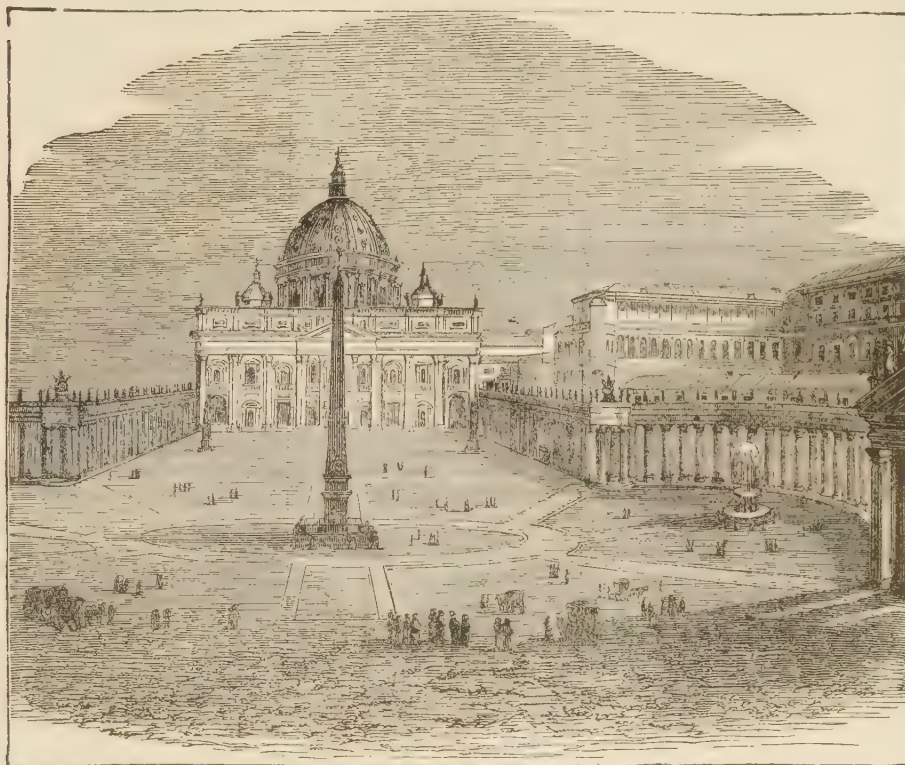
who, however, was too good a son of the church to deprive him of his territory, and restored him all that had been taken from him. The war was decided by the defeat of the French, and Henry was obliged to sign the treaty of Cateau Cambresis, by which he relinquished Savoy and Piedmont, with the exception of Turin and four other towns, and withdrew his troops from Montferrat, Tuscany, and Corsica.

It is one of the singular facts of history—a fact which has often been accounted for, but which has never been satisfactorily explained—that the Reformation which at once almost took firm root in all the northern nations, which threatened at one time to overrun France, and which even made a fair show of strength in Spain, took no firm hold of Italy. There were many who sympathized with the reformers, and who would have welcomed a change; but of these the greater part were deeply attached to the church, and hoped for reform from within and in connection with the old institution. Much was expected by all such from the Council of Trent, which met in 1545. At this time, too, and with a view to reform, several societies sprang into existence. Of these one took the name of the Theatines; and another came to be known as the order of Jesus. The last named was by far the most important.

In such a work as this, it is not possible to give much space either to Ignatius Loyola, or to the society of which he was the natural head. A brief account, however, is necessary. In the Basque Provinces of Spain, at the ancestral castle of Loyola, in the year 1491, just eight years after the birth of Martin Luther, the founder of the Jesuits was born. He was a dreamy and imaginative youth of chivalrous spirit. As was not uncommon with the youth of that period, he fed his imagination with the stories of the knight-errantry of the past, and sketched for himself an ideal future. He would rescue princesses; he would storm castles; he would subdue infidels; he would be no common knight; and he would have no common aim. He joined the army and fought against the French at Pampeluna, where he was severely wounded. He was rendered a cripple for life. His thoughts now took a new turn. The mediæval romances were supplanted by the *Lives of the Saints*. He would still be a knight-errant; but he would be the knight-errant of the spouse of Christ. He dreamed

dreams and saw visions. The Virgin came down from heaven to commune with him. He saw the Trinity in Unity; and he had ocular demonstration of the truth of the doctrine of transubstantiation. He shut himself up in a convent at Montserrat. Next we find him at Barcelona, then at Rome, where he received the papal benediction from Adrian VI. On foot, and as a mendicant, he proceeded to Venice; and there embarked for Cyprus and the Holy Land. On his return, he remained for some time in Paris. He had already be-

majorem Dei Gloriam; and the vow included those obligations to chastity, to poverty, and to obedience, common to all Catholic religious orders, with this important addition, that the members bound themselves unreservedly to go as missionaries to any country which the pope might indicate to them. The rules of the society have no doubt undergone some modification in the long interval which has since elapsed; but whatever changes have been made have related to detail. They have not been radical. The spirit of its general



ST. PETER'S AND THE VATICAN—ROME.

come the centre of a band of enthusiasts, and had formed a conception of a new organization of his own. In 1539 he submitted to Pope Paul III. the rule of the proposed order. The new rule was approved by a bull, dated September 27, 1540; and in the following year the order was inaugurated at Rome with Ignatius of Loyola as its first general. Loyola is described as of middle stature and of olive complexion, having a bald head, eyes full of fire, and an aquiline nose.

The motto of the new order was *ad*

infused itself throughout the whole army; for it was indeed a spiritual army, the influence of which was soon felt not only in every country in Europe, but in Africa, in the far east, and in the new world which was growing up in the west. It gathered into itself all that was most useful in the Catholic Church; and it soon possessed itself of all the strongholds which command or direct public opinion, the pulpit, the press, the confessional, the academies. The Jesuits might not be particularly scrupulous as to their means or methods; but they

worked to win; and they rarely worked in vain. They became all things to all men; and the consequence was that opposition yielded before them. They were everywhere present; and they were everywhere active. Inside the church, they begot reform. Outside the church, they disarmed and undermined opposition. They raised themselves up like a mighty barrier against the aggressive forces of the reformation; and the reform movement was stayed. As Macaulay has well put it, Ignatius Loyola was to the great Catholic reaction all that Luther was to the great Protestant movement.

It was mainly on account of the Jesuits that the reformation never made any headway in Italy. By the Vaudois who had been reformers before the reformation, the new doctrines were eagerly received or warmly welcomed. They were a mere handful of people on the Italian side of the Cottian Alps. It was the misfortune of the territory to which they belonged that it lay on the borderlines between France and Germany, and that its rulers often changed with the changing fortunes of war. During the protracted duel between the Emperor Charles V. and Francis I. Savoy suffered much; and its native rulers were virtually helpless between the two mightier forces. In 1533 the Duke of Savoy having aided the emperor, Francis took possession of the country; and, although he never took a decided position as between the reformation and ultra-Catholicism, he ordered or permitted a course of policy to be pursued towards the unfortunate Waldensians of the most cruel and revolting kind. In 1545 it amounted almost to a wholesale slaughter; and he did not lift a finger to prevent it. In 1559, by the treaty of Cateau Cambrésis, the Duke of Savoy recovered his duchy; and in the following year he attempted to effect the conversion of the Vaudois by a process of ruthless barbarity which amounted to extirpation. These crusades against the Waldenses were repeated, with similar accompaniments of brutality, in 1655 and in 1685. They have for the most part been attributed to Jesuit influence; and if the object was to prevent the spread of the reformation doctrines in Italy, the object was accomplished. It is sometimes said that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church. It is so only when the seed is left in the soil, and then

only in exceptional cases. It would not be difficult to show that persecution has often been too thoroughly effectual in accomplishing its purpose. Bohemia, Italy, Spain, France, even, are easily recalled examples.

The history of this period would be incomplete if it failed to take notice of the part which the Turks had taken in the recent wars. The Turkish power had been greatly increased by the genius and aggressive energy of Sultan Solymán. He had already long since made himself conspicuous by his victories in Syria, by the capture of Belgrade, by the expulsion of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem from Rhodes—an island which they had held for two hundred years—by his repeated invasions of Hungary, and even by his unsuccessful attempt upon Vienna. His long struggle with the imperialists, during the reign of Charles V., at the same time that the latter was warring against France, naturally enough begot something like sympathy between Solymán and Francis I. A treaty was signed between them. Italy had become the battle-ground on which France and Spain, the latter aided to a certain extent by Germany, expended their strength. It was a misfortune for Italy. An adventurous Greek, known as Barbarossa, who then occupied the throne of Algiers, had made himself a power in the Mediterranean. Solymán II. made him admiral of all his fleets. Barbarossa had already defeated the Genoese fleet under the famous Andrea Doria. He had also successfully encountered the fleets of the Emperor Charles and of the Venetian republic. With the help of France he had no difficulty in again ravaging the Italian coasts. The depredations of the Turks continued long after the deaths of Solymán and Barbarossa, and long after the French alliance. In 1571 they made themselves masters of Cyprus, and later they made an unsuccessful attack upon Malta. Finally, however, the Mediterranean powers entered into an alliance against them. The command of the allied fleet was given to Don John of Austria; and, on September 5, 1571, the fleet of the sultan was almost annihilated. The battle of Lepanto broke the power of the Turk in Mediterranean waters.

It has already been noticed that the treaty of Cateau Cambrésis brought the Duke of Savoy back into the possession of

his duchy. Shortly afterwards he was married to Margaret, sister of Henry II. of France. His capital, formerly at Chambéry, he removed to Turin. Subsequent events made Savoy more and more an exclusively Italian state; and thus was laid the foundation of that power which has now become supreme in Italy.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE BATTLE OF LEPANTO TO THE FALL OF NAPOLEON I.

Increase of the Temporal Power of the Pope—He Gains Ferrara and Urbino—Policy of the Papal Government—Venice and Pope Paul V.—Decline of the Power of Venice—Loses Her Eastern Possessions—Decline of the Spanish Power in Italy—Rebellion of Masaniello at Naples—The Outbreak Crushed—The Outbreak in Sicily—Italy During the Eighteenth Century—The War of the Spanish Succession—The Peace of Utrecht—Rise of the Austrian Influence in Italy—The Duke of Savoy Becomes King of Sicily—The Succession to Parma—The King of Sicily Becomes King of Sardinia—The War of the Polish Succession—Re-establishment of the Spanish Influence in Southern Italy—War of the Austrian Succession—The Peace of Aix la Chapelle Leaves the Bourbons Supreme in Italy—Loss of Power by the Popes—The French Revolution—The French Republican Invasion of Italy—Bonaparte's Victories—Treaty of Campo Formio—The Italian Republics—Napoleon King of Italy.

THE history of Italy during the seventeenth century is so closely allied with that of other countries, that we shall be obliged to relate the greater part of it in connection with our accounts of those countries, and shall confine our attention here to those portions relating exclusively or chiefly to the purely Italian history of this period.

The pope had now become a leading Italian prince, and concerned himself more about his temporal than his spiritual possessions. Clement VIII. proved himself one of the most grasping and ambitious of pontiffs. In 1597 Alfonso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, died without children, and left his dominions, consisting of Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio, to his kinsman Cæsare. The pope at once claimed Ferrara as a fief of the Holy See, and Henry IV. of France, who was anxious to win the favor of the pope, as a means of strengthening himself with his Roman Catholic subjects, sent word to his holiness that in case of resistance, he would help him to enforce his claim. Philip II. was old and feeble, and though he espoused

the cause of Duke Cæsare, he took no active steps to support him, and the pope sent his troops into Ferrara and occupied the city. The new duke submitted to what he could not prevent, and retired to Modena, which he held as a fief of the empire. The family of Este continued to reign in Modena until 1794.

In the reign of Pope Urban VIII., the duchy of Urbino passed into the hands of the Holy See as a lapsed fief, upon the failure of the line of Giovanni della Rovere. "The territory of Urbino," says Ranke, "was at once subjected to the system of government prevailing in other districts belonging to the church, and very soon there might be heard throughout the duchy those complaints that the government of priests invariably called forth."

Had the pope been a less selfish ruler, he might have made the beautiful domain over which he was lord one of the happiest regions upon earth. When the states of the church came into the possession of the pontiff, they were rich and prosperous. From the first the pontiff made himself their absolute master, and step by step deprived their people of every liberty or right they had ever possessed. Taxes were levied on everything from which a revenue could be derived; even oil, salt, flour and meat were taxed; the poor were crushed beneath the heavy burdens laid upon them, enterprise was destroyed, and industry discouraged. The popes regarded their temporal possessions merely as a source of gain, and cared nothing for the inhabitants, whom they oppressed and robbed of their earnings. There was no such thing as personal or political liberty in this part of Italy. The power of the papal government extended to every department of life, and any deviation from the exact line of conduct or of thought prescribed by the court of Rome was severely punished. Education was discouraged, and idleness, poverty and vice increased with fearful rapidity.

The pope endeavored to extend his authority over the Venetians, but met with a determined opposition from them. In their religion they were members of the Roman communion, and their chief ecclesiastical dignitary was a patriarch, who was inferior in rank to the pope alone. He was maintained by the Venetians with great splendor, but they resolutely refused to allow him to interfere with their political affairs, and fixed his residence first at Aquileia,

and subsequently at Grado. After the Jesuits became a power in the church, an effort was begun to establish more firmly the spiritual authority of Rome in Catholic Europe, and as a means of doing this the church began a systematic warfare upon education and freedom of thought. Venice had from the first regarded with disfavor the effort to render her subject to Rome, and the warfare upon knowledge which the Jesuits fomented was a direct blow at one of her most important industries. Since the early part of the sixteenth century Venice had been noted for her printing

In 1605 Cardinal Borghese became pope, with the title of Paul V. He was arrogant and grasping, and soon came in conflict with the Venetians in a dispute concerning the boundaries of their respective dominions. The Venetians were in no mood to submit to his arrogant pretensions, and the pope finding it impossible to get the advantage of them in this controversy, began to interfere in their religious affairs by way of revenge. Until now the state had always managed the payment of tithes, and had claimed to be the highest authority for the settlement of disputes concerning ecclesiastical persons or things.

The pope now asserted his right to manage both of these matters, and his claim was strenuously opposed by the senate. The leader of this opposition was Fra Paolo Sarpi, an eminent theologian and lawyer of Venice. The pope laid the republic under an interdict; but the senate ordered that any priest who should seek to put this measure in force should be hanged. The Jesuits offered to celebrate the ordinary services, but refused to celebrate the mass; but neither the republic nor the pope would accept the compromise, and the Jesuits were expelled from Venice. The republic had sustained the cause of Henry IV. of France in



WATER SCENE—VENICE.

presses. The volumes which were issued from the press of Aldo Manuzio commanded the admiration of the world, and are still dear to the antiquary. As the restrictions by which the church sought to destroy the publication of books multiplied, the Venetian printers began to suffer serious loss, and were at length obliged to leave that city and the territory of the republic altogether. Thus the Venetians were embittered against Rome, which had deprived them of an industry which was not only an object of pride to them, but also a source of great profit.

his quarrel with the league, and hoped that he would now assist it in its hour of need, and aid was also expected from James I. of England. Neither of these sovereigns, however, would render the republic the least support; and the Venetians, left alone, were forced to make terms with the pope. They consented to admit his claim to the management of ecclesiastical affairs, but firmly refused to allow the Jesuits to return to the Venetian territory.

For many years Venice took no part in the general politics of Italy or of Europe. In the earlier years of the seventeenth cen-

bury her energies were devoted to the task of freeing the Adriatic from the dangerous pirates who infested it, and who were called *Usocchi*, or "*runaways*." In 1645 the Turks attacked the island of Crete or Candia, which still remained in the possession of the Venetians, and a defensive war of twenty-four years ensued, resulting in the conquest of the island by the Turks in 1669. The successes of John Sobieski against the Turks aroused Venice in 1684 to make a last effort to recover her power in the East. She made an alliance with the Emperor Leopold and the King of Poland, and sent a strong force to the East under Francesco Morosini, who conquered the whole of Peloponnesus, and was subsequently elected doge. The Peloponnesus was confirmed to Venice by the Peace of Carlowitz, in 1699. In 1715, however, after the death of Morosini, the Turks renewed the war and won back Peloponnesus and all the possessions of Venice in the East except the Ionian Islands and a few points along the coast. In 1718 the Peace of Passarowitz closed the struggle which had existed between Venice and the Mohammedans for five hundred years, and the power of the republic in the East came to an end.

From this time Venice steadily declined. The republic "took no share in the great wars of the eighteenth century; it was a period of decline and social disorder in the republic. The success of the Ottoman Turks cut the Venetians off from the trade of the Levant, and hindered their trade through Egypt and the Red Sea; and the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, and the maritime greatness of England and Spain, checked the import of the overland wealth of the East. The strict oligarchy of Venice, which had supplied her with leaders and made her famous in old times, failed to meet the needs of modern days. Her public debt rapidly increased, luxury was unchecked, and pleasure was made the chief business of life. The privileged class of nobles lost all nobility save that of birth. Its members became sunk in helpless indolence and vice; some managed public gaming-tables, and some begged in the streets for alms, when their own vices, or those of their fathers, had left them penniless. Nobles and people alike were at the mercy of the Council of Ten, which was valued and preserved as a check on the numerous rulers of the state. The secrecy of this council enabled it to crush

conspiracies, when those who were engaged in them thought that all was secure. In this way it defeated an obscure conspiracy which was made by the Viceroy of Naples, the Governor of Milan, and the Spanish ambassador at Venice, in 1618, which seems to have had for its object the sack of Venice, the overthrow of the power of Spain, and the accession of the viceroy to the throne of Naples. The plot was revealed to the council, and all on whom the slightest suspicion rested and who were in the city, save the ambassador, were quietly put to death without public trial."

The decline of Spain, which went on steadily throughout the seventeenth century, encouraged her Italian dependencies to endeavor to throw off her authority. Ferdinand and Charles V. had promised the people of Naples that no taxes should be levied upon them without the consent of their own parliament. It was the habit of the Kings of Spain to disregard these promises, however, for they looked upon their Italian possessions simply as an inexhaustible source of revenue. The viceroy neglected to summon the parliament, and levied taxes at his own pleasure. All the simplest necessities of life were heavily taxed, and in 1647 an impost was levied upon fruit, which was the only article of food that had escaped this burden. The poor had already suffered severely from the heavy taxes, and they now rose in insurrection under the leadership of Masaniello, a young fisherman of Amalfi. They got possession of the city of Naples, burned the custom-house, and forced the viceroy to take refuge in the Castle of St. Elmo. About the same time the people of Palermo took up arms against the Viceroy of Sicily. The Viceroy of Naples succeeded in winning over a large part of the insurgents by promises which he never meant to keep, and deprived them of their leader by procuring the assassination of Masaniello. Thus the outbreak was quieted for a while; but it burst forth again in August of the same year. The people compelled Don John of Austria, the natural son of Philip IV. of Spain, to draw off his troops after several days of street-fighting, but they seemed utterly helpless now that they were deprived of Masaniello, in whom they had reposed implicit faith. They chose Gennaro Annesi as their leader, and by his advice invited the Duke of Guise to place himself at their head and help them to found a republic. The duke came

NAPLES, SHOWING MOUNT VESUVIUS IN THE DISTANCE.



promptly, as he hoped to regain the possessions of the House of Anjou, from which he was descended; but the Neapolitans quickly saw through his design, and as they had not thrown off one master to set up another, they became discontented. The duke gave mortal offence to Gennaro, who, in revenge, betrayed the city to the Spaniards, and so put an end to the movement. The Spaniards put many of the popular party to death, the traitor Gennaro among the number, and crushed the spirit of the people by a series of barbarous cruelties.

The insurrection in Sicily was put down more readily. The viceroy disarmed the people by a liberal proclamation of pardon, and having thus disarmed their suspicions, shot down large numbers in the street. Messina undertook another rebellion in 1674, and was at first supported by Louis XIV. of France. Louis abandoned her to her fate in the treaty of Nimwegen, in 1678, and upon her refusal to submit to Spain turned his arms against her and assisted in crushing her. At the same time he was very anxious to annoy the Spaniards in Italy, and to that end made an alliance with the Duke of Savoy. He commanded Genoa to join this alliance, and upon her refusal sent his fleet against her, and compelled obedience by a cruel bombardment.

During nearly the whole of the eighteenth century Italy was the battle-ground of Europe. Many of the most prominent questions of the period were fought out on her soil, and her territory was divided at pleasure by foreign sovereigns, who never troubled themselves to regard or consult the wishes of the Italian people as to these arrangements.

The War of the Spanish Succession had a most important bearing upon the destinies of Italy, which was the scene of a part of it. By the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, the Emperor Charles VI. received Milan, Naples, and Sardinia. The Duke of Mantua, having been the ally of France in this war, was deprived of his duchy. The Duke of Savoy, for his assistance to the house of Austria, was given the island of Sicily, with the title of king, and in the same year was crowned at Palermo. Thus Italy passed from under the power of Spain into the hands of Austria; a change for the better, bad as the rule of the Austrians was. Savoy also received Montferrat and Alessandria, and some towns in Lombardy, and

was recognized by the treaty as an independent power, or, in other words, was relieved of all its former obligations to the empire.

Philip V. of Spain was not satisfied with the provisions of the treaty of Utrecht, and was determined to regain a footing in Italy at the earliest opportunity. On the death of his wife, who was the daughter of the Duke of Savoy, he married Elizabeth Farnese, the heiress of the Duke of Parma. This marriage made him the lawful heir to that duchy and to Piacenza, and also gave him a claim to the succession to the grand duchy of Tuscany, the reigning duke of which was childless, as the Queen of Spain claimed to be descended from a daughter of Duke Cosmo II. This marriage greatly displeased the Emperor Charles VI., who was himself a candidate for the succession to the duchy of Tuscany. Philip was not satisfied with what he had done, but, in violation of the terms of the treaty of Utrecht, seized the island of Sardinia, which was held by the Austrians, and prepared to send an army into Sicily. England, France, Holland, and the emperor made a league known as the Quadruple Alliance, and an English fleet under Admiral Byng was despatched to the Mediterranean in the summer of 1718. Byng annihilated the Spanish fleet in a battle off Cape Passaro, and Spain was obliged to relinquish Sardinia. The King of Sicily was believed to have favored the course of Philip, and was obliged to surrender his island kingdom to Austria, who gave him in exchange for it the barren and rocky island of Sardinia. The emperor by this transfer became King of the Two Sicilies, as he was already King of Naples. The Duke of Savoy, of whom we shall hereafter speak as the King of Sardinia, was thus cut off from participation in the disputes between Austria and Spain, and was able to give his whole attention to the development of his kingdom. One of the first acts of Victor Amadeus was to deprive the Jesuits of their control of public education, as the power they enjoyed in consequence of this control had made them dangerous to the welfare of the state. This action was very popular, and did much to strengthen the national feeling in the new kingdom. In 1730 the king abdicated in favor of his son, Charles Emmanuel III., but immediately tried to recover the power he had surrendered. He was imprisoned in the Castle of Rivoli, where he died in 1732.

The war of the Polish succession settled the question of the succession to the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Tuscany. Louis XV. of France, Philip V. of Spain, and Charles Emmanuel III. of Sardinia, united in alliance to drive the Austrians out of Italy. Don Carlos, the son of Philip V., was to receive the Two Sicilies and the duchies named above, and the duchy of Milan was to go to Sardinia. Charles Emmanuel soon overran all of Milan but Mantua. The war began in October, 1733, and was closed by the treaty of Vienna in November, 1738. The interests of the King of Sardinia were entirely sacrificed by his allies. Don Carlos was acknowledged King of the Two Sicilies, and abandoned his claim upon the duchies. The grand duchy of Tuscany was bestowed upon Francis of Lorraine, the husband of Maria Theresa, the daughter and heiress of the Emperor Charles VI., and the duchy of Parma was given up to the emperor, who was allowed to retain Milan and Mantua. The King of Sardinia, cheated at every point, received Novara and Tortona, which were cut off from the duchy of Milan.

The war of the Austrian succession overturned all these arrangements, and made Italy the scene of a terrible and destructive conflict. The object of the war was to exclude Maria Theresa from the succession to the dominions of her father, the Emperor Charles VI. Both parties sought the alliance of the King of Sardinia, whose action would control that of Lombardy. He at first embraced the cause of the allies, but after the war began abandoned them and supported Maria Theresa, whose rights were gallantly upheld by her Hungarian subjects. The king was anxious to add the republic of Genoa to his possessions, as he wanted a seaport; and the Genoese, in alarm, gave the French and Spanish forces a free passage through their territory into the dominions of Sardinia. These forces defeated the Sardinian army in 1745, and occupied the duchy of Milan. In the same year Francis of Lorraine, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the husband of Maria Theresa, was elected emperor, and the war was ended in Germany. Thus relieved at home, the empress queen sent an army to the assistance of Sardinia. The combined armies of Austria and Sardinia defeated the French and Spaniards in the severe battle of Piacenza in 1746, and the Austrians marched to Genoa, which surrendered at the first

demand, and occupied the city. Their tyranny drove the Genoese into a revolt on the 5th of December. The Austrians were driven out of the city, and withdrew beyond the Apennines. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, ended the war. By this treaty Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla were erected into a separate state, and given to Don Philip, the son of the King of Spain and the brother of the King of the Two Sicilies. The republic of Genoa, and the duchy of Modena and its dependencies, were placed under the protection of France, to which power Genoa ceded the island of Corsica. During the lifetime of the Emperor Francis I. his grand duchy of Tuscany was almost a province of Austria. In 1765 it was given by the emperor to his third son, Peter Leopold, and became independent once more. Leopold reigned with despotic power; but he was a wise ruler and a benefactor to his people. He reformed the evils which had grown up around the administration of justice, brought the clergy under the control of the state, diminished the number of monks, and abolished the inquisition in his dominions. He drained the unhealthy valley of the Chiana, and converted it into a fertile region, and was engaged in draining the Maremma, when in 1790 he succeeded to the empire. He appointed his second son Ferdinand his successor in Tuscany.

From the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle to the period of the French invasion Italy was at peace. Charles Emmanuel employed this interval in urging on the prosperity of his kingdom. He ruled with despotic power, and kept the church and the Jesuits down with a firm hand. He did this not because these powers were enemies of the freedom of Italy, but because they were rivals to him in his own dominions. While he encouraged agriculture, and did a little for the cause of learning, his reign was destructive of the liberties of his people, who had little cause to regret him at his death, A. D. 1773. He was succeeded by his son, Victor Amadæus III., who formed a close alliance with France, and introduced into his kingdom the Bourbon plan of tyranny.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle left the Bourbons supreme in Italy, and greatly weakened the power of the popes, who soon became involved in a series of disputes with the courts of France, Spain and Naples. They claimed the right to nullify every act of the civil powers, and to arrange matters

in Italy to suit their own interests. They were sustained in their most violent pretensions by the Jesuits, whose arrogance threatened to array all Europe against the papacy. In 1769 Pope Clement XIV. was raised to the papal throne, chiefly through the influence of France and Spain. He was a man of liberal principles, and in 1773 dissolved the troublesome order of the Jesuits, to the great joy of all Europe.

The outbreak of the French Revolution did not immediately affect Italy, though it seemed to threaten the despotisms of that country with ruin. In 1792 the French republic was established, and Savoy and Nice were seized and made parts of the French territory. In 1795 France, under a new government, made peace with all the states of Europe that had been opposing her, save England, Austria, and Sardinia. In 1796 the French army, under Napoleon Bonaparte, crossed the Alps and invaded Italy. Bonaparte compelled the King of Sardinia to relinquish his claim to Savoy and Nice, and to surrender Alessandria and Tortona to the French. He next marched against the Austrians, defeated them at Arcola, on the 14th of November, 1796, and at Rivoli on the 14th of January, 1797, and made himself master of Lombardy. He then invaded the dominions of the pope, and compelled him to give up a part of his territory and pay tribute. The Italians believed at first that the French had come to deliver them from their old tyrants, and they everywhere rose against their rulers and drove out the monks and priests. They soon found, however, that the French were not so disinterested, and that they meant to impose their rule upon the peninsula. A growing enmity to the French was now developed in all parts of Italy, and hostilities soon broke out between the Italians and the French. At Verona the garrison left by Napoleon was massacred by the people. Bonaparte at once proceeded to establish his authority more firmly in the peninsula. The Austrian emperor was obliged to make peace, and the French advanced to Venice, which city was surrendered to them by the government without a struggle. The republic was overturned, and all signs of its former greatness destroyed. Bonaparte carried off the famous bronze horses of St. Mark's, and many other splendid works of art, but he also put an end to many of the abuses from which the Venetians had been suffering.

In 1797 the treaty of Campo Formio was concluded between France and Austria. By its terms, Lombardy, Parma, and Modena, the papal states of Bologna, Ferrara, and the Romagna, and the Venetian territory as far as the Adige, were organized into an independent state, called the Cisalpine republic. Venice and all her dependencies in the Adriatic were given to Austria, who occupied them with her troops early in 1798. Napoleon also created the Ligurian republic, with Genoa for its capital; the Cispadane republic, with its capital at Bologna; and the Tiberine republic, whose capital was Rome. Late in 1798 Naples was captured by the French, and made the capital of the Parthenopæan republic. In the same year Charles Emmanuel IV. of Sardinia was deprived of his throne, and Piedmont was occupied by the French. Pope Pius VI. fled from Rome to France, where he died. Napoleon being now absent in Egypt, his work in Italy was rapidly undone by the combination of England, Russia, and Austria, who undertook to restore the old order of affairs in that country. The French were defeated everywhere, and nothing but the sudden return of Napoleon from Egypt enabled them to maintain their conquests.

Italy being from the opening of the nineteenth century to the fall of Napoleon I. entirely under the dominion of France, we shall relate the incidents of this period in the History of France, to which the reader is referred.

On the whole, the period of French rule in Italy was one of order and of observance of law. Much was done for the material and intellectual development of the country. It was during this period that the hope arose that Italy might become once more a united nation. Natives of different parts of Italy were thrown together in the armies of Napoleon, and from this companionship derived a feeling of brotherhood. The idea of unity, once conceived, never died, but grew silently through the long years which intervened between its inception and its fulfilment.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE FALL OF NAPOLEON I. TO THE PRESENT TIME.

The Treaty of Vienna—Austrian Influence All-Powerful in Italy—The Italians Kept in Slavery—Reorganization of the Italian States—Restoration of the Jesuits—Rise of the Secret Societies—

The Carbonari—Insurrection at Naples—Victor Emmanuel I. of Sardinia Abdicates—The Revolution of 1830—It is Crushed by the Austrians—Reign of Charles Albert of Sardinia—Joseph Mazzini—"Young Italy"—Troubles in Sardinia—Efforts for Constitutional Government—The Liberal Italian Writers—Massimo d'Azeglio—Manzoni—Pius IX. Becomes Pope—His Liberal Principles—Revolution of 1848—Uprisings in Italy—War Between Sardinia and Austria—Garibaldi—The Pope Deserts the Cause of the People and Sides with Austria—His Flight from Rome—The Roman Republic—Sardinia Forced to Make Peace with Austria—The French Put Down the Roman Republic—Return of the Pope—Rome Garrisoned by the French—Victor Emmanuel II. Becomes King of Sardinia—His Able and Liberal Measures—Count Cavour—Sardinia Joins France, England and Turkey in the War Against Russia—Success of Cavour's Policy—The War of 1859 with Austria—The Peace of Villafranca—Gains of Sardinia—The Italian Revolutions—Annexation of the Italian Duchies to Sardinia—Garibaldi Frees Sicily and Southern Italy—The Kingdom of Italy Formed—Death of Cavour—Difficulties of the Italian Government—Garibaldi's Efforts Against the Papal Territory—The Aspromonte Affair—The September Convention—Florence Made the Capital of Italy—The Austro-Prussian War—Italy the Ally of Prussia—Defeat of the Italians at Custoza and Lissa—Italy Gains Venetia—Garibaldi Again Invades the Papal Territory—Action of the Italian Government—Garibaldi Defeated by the French at Mentenna—Fall of the French Empire—The September Convention Abrogated—Rome Occupied by the Italian Forces—Is Made the Capital of the Kingdom—Subsequent History of Italy.

THE overthrow of Napoleon was the signal for fresh changes in Italy. The Italian people looked with great anxiety to the proceedings of the Congress of Vienna, never doubting that the allies, who had promised so much, would give them liberty. Their hopes were rudely crushed. As a general rule, the Italian states were restored to the princes who had held them previous to the French Revolution. The Sardinian kingdom was re-established, with the Ticino as its eastern boundary. The Genoese had been encouraged to hope for the restoration of their ancient republic, but Genoa and its territory were annexed to the kingdom of Sardinia. In the end this betrayal of the hopes of Genoa proved to her a blessing in disguise, for her connection with the most liberal state of Italy was of immense advantage to her. Venice and her dependencies were handed over to Austria to compensate her for her small share of Polish territory. Milan was also given back to Austria, and the Emperor Francis II. organized his Italian possessions into the kingdom of Lombardo-Venetia, which he governed through a viceroy.

Parma and Piacenza were given to Maria Theresa, the wife of Napoleon, and the daughter of the Emperor of Austria. At her death these duchies were to revert to the Bourbons of Parma, to whom Lucca was given. Upon regaining their ancient possessions the Parmese Bourbons were to resign Lucca to Ferdinand III., who was made Grand Duke of Tuscany once more. Francis IV., the son of the Arch Duke Ferdinand, was made Duke of Modena, his mother being Beatrice, the heiress of the ancient house of Este. The pope regained all the states of the church. The Austrians claimed and exercised the right to place garrisons in Ferrara and Commachio. Upon returning to Rome the pope at once re-established the order of the Jesuits. This step was taken with the full approval of the allies, who wished to reward the Jesuits for the zeal with which they had championed the cause of the Bourbons. The power of this order was greater after its restoration than it had ever been before. The kingdom of Naples was restored to Ferdinand IV. of Sicily, who took the title of King of the Two Sicilies. With these restorations the Austrian influence once more became supreme in Italy.

The treaty of Vienna gave peace to Italy, but it left her divided and utterly subservient to the will of her despotic masters. All the Italian sovereigns were in close alliance with the Emperor of Austria, who encouraged them to keep their people from exerting any political power, and to refuse their demands for constitutional government. The Italians were obliged to submit to the destruction of their hopes, since their rulers were upheld by so powerful a sovereign as the Austrian emperor. It seemed madness to attempt to overthrow them. The result was that Italy was left dissatisfied and unhappy, as well as divided and helpless. Secret societies were organized for the overthrow of the tyrants and the establishment of democratic government. The most prominent of these societies was the Carbonari, which embraced in its membership thousands of the Italian people. It was very strong in Naples, and in 1820 the Neapolitans, under its guidance, rose in insurrection against King Ferdinand, and demanded that the absolute rule of that king should give way to a constitutional monarchy. Ferdinand was taken at a disadvantage, and granted them a constitution, which he meant to revoke at the

most favorable opportunity. A few months later the Emperors of Russia and Austria, and the Kings of Prussia, Sardinia, and Naples, met at Laybach, in Austria, and agreed to crush out the Neapolitan movement for constitutional freedom, as dangerous to the cause of absolutism. In 1821 a force of 60,000 Austrians entered the Neapolitan territories, and with their aid King Ferdinand revoked the constitution, restored the absolute monarchy, and put down the resistance of his people. He celebrated his victory by treating the liberal leaders with great cruelty.

A similar insurrection broke out in Piedmont, or the Sardinian kingdom, in 1821, and the people demanded of King Victor Emmanuel I. a constitution. Rather than comply with this demand, Victor Emmanuel abdicated his crown in favor of his brother Charles Felix, who was at that time absent in Modena. Until the new king could reach Turin, his cousin Charles Albert, Prince of Carignano, was made regent. Charles Albert was the heir to the throne, as the new king had no children. For some reason he granted the demands of the liberals, but immediately upon his arrival at Turin, Charles Felix set aside the regent's concessions, and compelled the submission of his people by threatening to call in the Austrians to assist him in maintaining his power. Anything was better than an Austrian intervention, and for a while the liberals were forced to submit.

The Jesuits and the Austrian party endeavored to induce Charles Felix to name as his heir Francis, Duke of Modena, who had married a daughter of Victor Emmanuel I., but the king remained faithful to his cousin Charles Albert. Duke Francis began to intrigue with the liberals, and gave them to understand that if they would declare him King of Italy he would adopt their principles, head their party, and unite Italy in a constitutional monarch. For some time they believed him sincere.

The French Revolution of 1830 stirred Italy to its profoundest depths, and aroused the hope that the deliverance of that country from the Austrians, the priests, and the princes was at hand. Duke Francis was obliged by the necessities of the time to show his true character, and the liberals found he had deceived them. An insurrection broke out in Parma and Modena, and the duchess and duke of those states were forced to fly for safety. The insurrection

extended to the territories of the pope, who, having no troops of his own, appealed to the Austrians for aid, and received it. An Austrian army restored the Duke of Modena and the Duchess of Parma to their thrones, and crushed the insurrection in the Romagna. Austrian garrisons were stationed in the papal territory to sustain the authority of the pope, and the liberal leaders in Modena were put to death. The French, jealous of the Austrian occupation of the papal states, threw a garrison into Ancona, and retained that city until the Austrian troops were withdrawn from the states of the church, in 1838. At the close of this revolt Charles Felix died, and was succeeded on the Piedmontese throne by his cousin Charles Albert. The new king found his kingdom without an army, entirely subservient to and at the mercy of Austria, whose power in Italy had been greatly strengthened by the failure of the revolt of 1830.

Charles Albert was inclined to pursue a liberal policy towards his people, and was even willing to grant them the same constitution he had given them as regent, but he did not dare do so, as such a step would have brought on a war with Austria, for which the kingdom was in no way prepared. About this time a new party or secret league was organized by Joseph Mazzini. It was called *Young Italy*, and its objects were the expulsion of foreign rulers by a native army, and the union of Italy in one free state. Mazzini was a man of great genius and a brilliant orator, and he deserves to be remembered as the first Italian statesman to scheme and work for the union of all the petty states of Italy in a single free state. He endeavored to induce Charles Albert to throw himself upon the people and drive out the Austrians, but the king drew back in alarm from so bold a step. Mazzini then tried to seduce the soldiers of the Piedmontese army from their allegiance, but was forced to quit the kingdom. He took refuge in Genoa, from which, in January, 1833, he made a foolish expedition into Savoy for the purpose of inaugurating a revolution. The movement failed, and Mazzini was forced to fly to London. This expedition alarmed the king, who now came to regard the liberals as his enemies, and he allied himself more closely with Austria and the Jesuits, as the best means of maintaining his authority. The Piedmontese, indignant at the invasion of their territory by the Polish and other

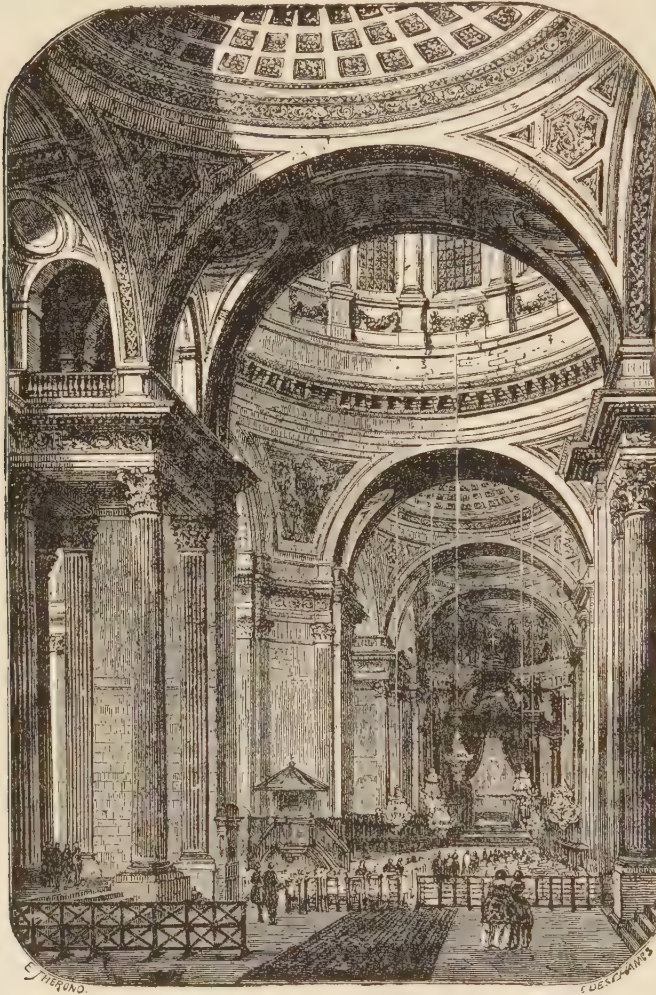
refugees who followed Mazzini, sustained the king in his new policy, and for the next fourteen years Piedmont submitted to the absolute government of the king.

Still the hope of Italian unity and freedom did not die out. A moderate party sprang up, composed of the best men of

principles in political works, essays, novels, and poems, and sought to rouse in the Italian heart the determination to become once more a free and united nation. The Austrians and the pope were denounced as the chief oppressors of Italy, for the latter was but the tool of the Austrian emperor, to whom he owed his throne. Chief among these patriotic writers were Cesare Balbo, the Abate Gioberti, Massimo d'Azeglio, Giuseppe Giusti, the Marquis Gino Capponi, Baron Bettino Ricasoli, and Alessandro Manzoni.

In the year 1846 Pope Gregory XVI. died, to the great advantage of Italy. He was a bitter enemy of all reform, the mere tool of the Jesuit party, whose power in the church was rapidly overshadowing everything, and took his inspiration in political matters from the Emperor of Austria. The supporters of his authority were called Gregorians. The choice of the cardinals fell upon Cardinal Mastai Feretti, who ascended the papal throne as Pius IX. To the surprise and delight of Italy, he began his reign by reversing the policy of his predecessor. He was to be a constitutional pope, and his first acts were full of promise. All political prisoners were liberated, and a general amnesty was extended to offenders of this class. The people of the states of the church were granted liberty of speech and the right to petition for a redress of grievances. The convents and monasteries were

made subject to a rigid inspection, and other reforms were promised. The Gregorians were indignant at such a course on the part of the pope; the extreme republicans were angry because it made the pope the most popular man in Italy; but the great mass of the people of the papal states was delighted. In the autumn of 1846 and the



INTERIOR OF THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. PETER AT ROME, SHOWING THE SIDE CHAPELS AND THE HIGH ALTAR IN THE DISTANCE.

Piedmont, who proposed to accomplish these ends by a peaceful revolution of public opinion, and who looked to Charles Albert as the king under whom they were to succeed in their efforts. This party existed also in Tuscany. Although the Italian press was trammelled by state control, a corps of able writers advocated their prin-

spring of 1847 there were a number of disturbances in the streets of Rome, and the papal troops and the municipal police were found inadequate to the task of preserving the peace. The liberal party demanded of the pope the formation of a national guard; and though the plan was strongly opposed by the Austrian government, the pope, in July, 1847, consented to the formation of a national guard, not only in Rome, but in all his states. The Austrian government, in order to punish the pope for yielding to the popular demand, sent a strong force of Croats into the papal territory. Ferrara was occupied in spite of the protests of the papal legate.

The success of the Roman movement encouraged the other Italian states to compel their rulers to grant them constitutions. The princes looked to Austria to aid them in putting down the popular movement, but for the present were obliged to submit to the people. Early in 1848 an insurrection occurred at Palermo, and the Sicilians made the Duke of Genoa king, and for more than a year opposed a determined resistance to the efforts of Ferdinand V., of Naples, to subdue them. The King of Sardinia took advantage of the occasion to place himself at the head of the Italian movement, and declared his readiness to go to war with Austria if the troops of that power advanced farther into the papal territory.

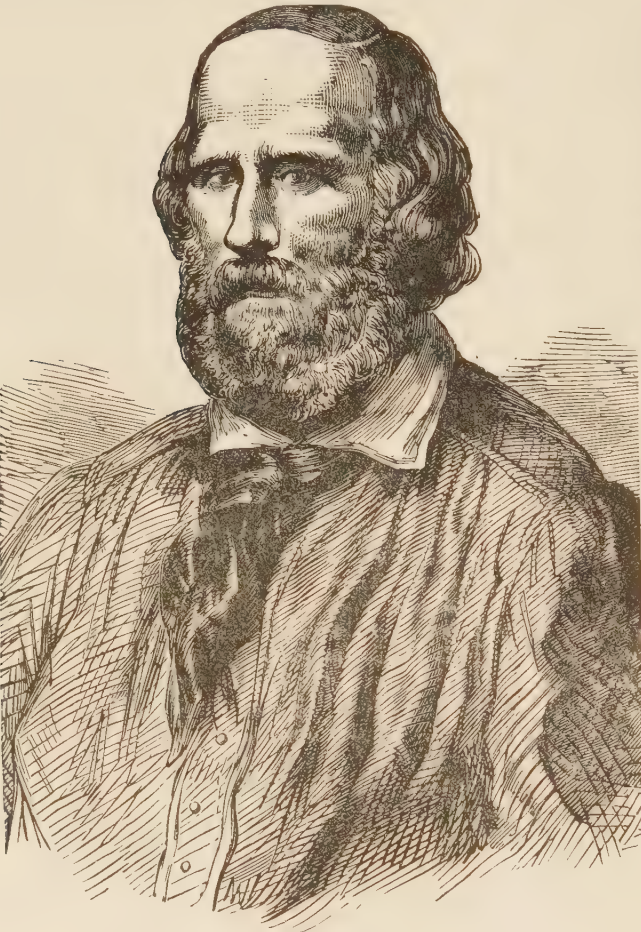
The Revolution of 1848 in France affected the rest of Europe profoundly. The revolutionary spirit spread even into the Austrian dominions, and resulted in an open revolt, and the Hungarians about the same time rose in arms to win back their national independence. The Italians at once took advantage of the embarrassments of Austria to endeavor to throw off her yoke. On the 18th of March, 1848, the Milanese rose against the Hungarian garrison, under Marshal Radetzky, and, after a five days' struggle, drove it from the city. Vicenza, Padua, Brescia, Bergamo, and other places joined the Milanese, and on the 22d of March Venice drove out her Austrian garrison and set up a provisional government under the leadership of Daniel Manin, a Venetian of Jewish descent. The King of Sardinia at once declared war against Austria and marched to the assistance of the insurgents. He failed to declare himself the champion of Italian independence, and so laid himself open to the

suspicion that he was seeking to aggrandize Piedmont at the expense of the rest of Italy. Thus, in the gallant struggle which ensued, there was no point of union for the Italians. Charles Albert had no fixed plan, and was without military skill. He defeated the Austrians at Goito, and in June and July both Lombardy and Venice declared themselves annexed to Sardinia. Radetzky, having been reinforced, attacked the King of Sardinia at Custoza on the 25th of July, and inflicted such a crushing defeat upon him that he fell back behind the Ticino, and the Austrians recovered Milan and proclaimed Lombardy under martial law, which they enforced with great cruelty. Women were whipped in public for the crime of preferring their countrymen to the Austrians. In the mountains of northern Italy a gallant resistance was maintained under the leadership of Giuseppe Garibaldi, but this brave band was at length dispersed. Venice was compelled to surrender on the 22d of August, 1849, after a siege of more than a year, in which the Austrians lost over 20,000 men by disease. The pope and the King of the Two Sicilies, brought face to face with a war with Austria, deserted the popular cause. The former issued an encyclical, in which he declared that his troops had taken part in the war against Austria without his leave. Ferdinand V. deprived his people of the liberties he had granted them, and crushed out their resistance by a brutal massacre in the streets of Naples on the 15th of May.

The pope's encyclical produced great excitement in Rome. The moderate party disappeared, and the pope was left to fight the matter out with the extreme republicans. The papal minister, Count Rossi, was assassinated, and the palace of the Quirinal, in which the pope had taken refuge, was attacked and carried by storm by the citizens. The pope escaped in the disguise of a priest, and fled to Gaeta in the Neapolitan territory. Garibaldi entered Rome with an army of Italian volunteers, and in February, 1849, a Constituent Assembly met in Rome, which deposed the pope and proclaimed the Roman republic. Mazzini, Armellini and Saffi were intrusted with the executive power of the new republic. A revolution broke out in Tuscany in February, 1849, the grand duke fled from his dominions, and a provisional government was set up by the Florentines. Sar-

dinia, though utterly unprepared for such a step, endeavored to take advantage of this new uprising to drive out the foreigner, and declared war against Austria. Marshal Radetzky at once crossed the Ticino, and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Piedmontese army at Novara on the 23d of March. Charles Albert was so much disheartened by this defeat that he abdicated his throne in favor of his son, Victor Em-

manuel II., and left Italy. He died four months later, broken-hearted. Victor Emmanuel made a truce with the Austrians, which was soon converted into a peace, as England and France persuaded the Austrian emperor to withdraw his troops from Piedmont.



GARIBALDI.

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The cause of the pope was espoused by the King of the Two Sicilies, who sent an

army into the papal territory to drive out the republicans. It was defeated on the 11th of May, 1849, by the republican army under Garibaldi at Palestrina. The pope found another champion in the French republic. France had long watched, with ill-concealed jealousy, the Austrian supremacy in Italy, and eagerly seized this occasion to intervene in Italian affairs. An army was sent to Rome under General

Oudinot, which captured the city on the 3d of July, 1849, after a siege of nearly three months. The republican leaders escaped from Rome, and the papal government was re-established, but the pope himself did not return until April, 1850. A French garrison was now permanently established at Rome. Pius IX. returned to Rome a changed man. He no longer trusted his people, but relied for protection upon the French garrison, and submitted himself to the guidance of the Jesuits and assisted them to bring the Roman Church throughout the world into subjection to their order. He kept Rome under martial law for seven years. The Austrians aided the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Dukes of Modena and Parma to recover their dominions, and by the close of the summer of 1849 the Italian outbreak was entirely quelled. One great result had been accomplished—the Italian people had been convinced that freedom and unity could be gained and were worth working for.

The hopes of the best men of Italy were now

fixed upon Sardinia, and the young King Victor Emmanuel II. did not disappoint them. He inaugurated a wise and liberal system in his kingdom, and while the rest of Italy was kept in abject subjection, the Piedmontese enjoyed a constitutional government, a free press, and religious toleration. The king was faithful to his promises to his people, and they grate-

fully called him *Il Re Galantuomo*—"The Honest King." At the outset of his reign the Genoese attempted to rebel, but were compelled to submit. It was greatly to the interest of Victor Emmanuel to ally himself with Austria and embrace the cause of absolutism, but he was a sincere patriot, and was true to his people, and bided his time to take up the work of deliverance which had failed in his father's hands.

In 1853 Camillo Benso di Cavour, who had been minister of commerce since the beginning of the reign, became prime minister and the chief counsellor of the king. He at once began to exert his great genius not only for the advancement of Sardinia, but for the good of all Italy. He made an alliance with the democratic party of Piedmont, which was led by Urbano Rattazzi, and won its support for the government. He enlisted the gratitude of the people of Lombardy for Sardinia by addressing an indignant remonstrance to Radetzky for his cruel measures in the government of that province; and of Naples by protesting, though in vain, against the tyranny of Ferdinand.

For long years Italy had taken no part in European politics. Count Cavour determined to regain for her her true place in the continental system. He could only do this through Sardinia. The Piedmontese army had been brought to a high state of efficiency by General Della Marmora, and was ready for action. Cavour believed that if he could convince the European powers that Italy was a valuable ally, her deliverance would be hastened by foreign intervention in her affairs. Fortunately for her, England, France and Turkey were at war with Russia, and Cavour exerted himself to bring about an alliance of Sardinia with those powers. He regarded Russia as the mainstay of despotism in Europe, and as such desired her humiliation. He found a ready sympathizer in the emperor of the French, Napoleon III., through whose exertions Sardinia was admitted to the Anglo-French alliance against Russia. A Sardinian contingent was despatched to the Crimea, and won considerable distinction at the battle of the Tchernaya. At the assembling of the Congress of Paris to arrange a treaty of peace, the representatives of Sardinia were admitted to its deliberations on an equality with those of France and England. This was a great gain for the Piedmontese kingdom. Cavour took advantage of this

opportunity to lay before the representatives of the great powers of Europe a statement of the unhappy condition of his countrymen under the rule of the pope and the King of the Two Sicilies. England and France remonstrated energetically with the Neapolitan king, but all to no purpose.

Napoleon III. warmly embraced the Italian cause, for which he had fought in the Revolution of 1830, when a boy. The course upon which he determined was due not only to the old French policy of crippling Austria, but to his sincere desire to aid Italy in becoming free and united. He brought about the marriage of his cousin, Prince Napoleon Joseph, the son of Jerome Bonaparte, with the Princess Clotilda, the daughter of Victor Emmanuel. Private assurances were given to Sardinia that France would sustain her in her quarrel with Austria, and matters were brought to a crisis. Cavour declared that Sardinia would make war upon Austria, if that power did not grant a separate and national government to Lombardy and Venetia, and pledge herself not to interfere again in Italian affairs. Austria, on the other hand, demanded that Sardinia should disarm. The Austrian minister at Turin, on the 23d of April, 1859, made a formal demand for the reduction of the Sardinian army to a peace footing. It was refused, and on the same day the Austrian army crossed the Ticino and entered the Piedmontese territory. A French army was immediately despatched from Marseilles to Genoa to the assistance of Sardinia, under the personal command of the Emperor Napoleon III., and another promptly crossed the Alps to Susa. The French and Italian armies moved forward towards the Ticino. At the same time Tuscany, Modena, and Parma rose in revolt, and their dukes fled to the Austrian territory. Victor Emmanuel was proclaimed Dictator of Tuscany. He declined the title, but took command of the Tuscan army, which was united to his own forces. The declaration with which Napoleon III. had begun the war, "Italy must be free from the Alps to the Adriatic," became the watchword of the Italians.

On the 20th of May, 1859, the Austrians were defeated by the French and Sardinians at Montebello, after a hard fight of five hours' duration. On the 30th and 31st of May the allies were again victorious at Palestro. On the 4th of June the Austrians were decisively defeated in the great



battle of Magenta, which was won mainly by the exertions of General MacMahon, who was created by the emperor Marshal of France and Duke of Magenta. This battle settled the fate of Lombardy, which was abandoned by the Austrians; who retreated beyond the Adda. On the 8th of June, Victor Emmanuel and Napoleon III. entered Milan in triumph. After a short halt there, the allies resumed their advance, and on the 24th of June attacked the Austrians at Solferino. A terrible battle ensued, and resulted in the defeat of the Austrians, who withdrew within the "Quadrilateral" formed by the almost impregnable fortresses of Cremona, Peschiera, Verona, and Mantua.

Prussia now avowed her determination to take part in the war as the ally of Austria. The Emperor Napoleon found himself thus brought face to face with a serious difficulty. He had entered into the war with the sincere determination to rid all Italy of the Austrian yoke, but the threatened intervention of Prussia compelled him to modify his plans. The participation of that power in the war, as the enemy of France, would compel him to make extraordinary efforts to protect his eastern frontier, and would oblige him to leave Italy at the mercy of Austria, which was more than a match for her. Other powers might be drawn into the struggle, and there was a very decided probability that in a general European war Italy might lose all that had been won. It seemed best to him therefore, as the disinterested friend of Italy, to bring the war to a close and to rest satisfied with what had been gained. When therefore the allied army arrived before Verona, a meeting was arranged between the two emperors. It took place at Villafranca on the 8th of July, and there Napoleon, without consulting his ally, the King of Sardinia, entered into a treaty of peace with the Emperor Francis Joseph, of Austria. Austria surrendered to France all of Lombardy save the fortresses of Mantua and Peschiera, which territory was to be transferred by France to Sardinia. The Italian states were advised to organize themselves into a federal league under the honorary presidency of the pope. Venetia, which remained a possession of Austria, might become a member of this league. This was very different from the union of Italy in one nation that had been hoped for at the outset of the war; but it was the best that

could be gained under the circumstances. One of the worst features of the arrangement, and one that subjected the French emperor to considerable adverse criticism, was the provision that the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Duke of Modena were to return to their states. Peace was made on these conditions, and the French army withdrew from Italy.

Victor Emmanuel refused to enter into the scheme of an Italian confederation, and Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and the papal state of Romagna petitioned the King of Sardinia to annex them to his dominions. The king proceeded with great caution in acceding to this request. In March, 1860, a popular vote was taken in Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and Romagna, and resulted in an overwhelming majority in favor of annexation to Sardinia. The pope, upon the annexation of Romagna, excommunicated the invaders of his dominions, but without mentioning any one by name. It was understood, however, that this measure was directed against Victor Emmanuel and his supporters. Austria beheld these changes without making any opposition. It was well understood that France, while anxious for peace, would join Italy against any European power that should seek to interfere with a free expression of the will of the Italian people. France was the sincere friend of Italy, but she had an eye to her own interests, and demanded the cession of Savoy and Nice by Sardinia as a return for her support. The cession was submitted to the vote of the people of these provinces, and was ratified by them in April, 1860.

In 1859 Ferdinand of Naples died, and was succeeded by his son Francis II., a pupil of the Jesuits, who proved himself capable of becoming as cruel a despot as his father. In March, 1860, the people of Sicily, maddened by their sufferings and encouraged by the success of their brethren of the peninsula, rose in revolt at Palermo, Messina, and Catania. It was hoped that Sardinia would favor the movement, but both Victor Emmanuel and Cavour deemed it most prudent not to interfere. Aid came from an unexpected quarter. On the 5th of May General Garibaldi eluded the vigilance of the Sardinian government, and sailed from Genoa with a force of 2,000 volunteers. He landed at Marsala and proclaimed himself Dictator of Sicily, "in the name of Victor Emmanuel of Italy." He captured Palermo with his little band,

and defeated the troops of King Francis at Melazzo. This victory made Garibaldi master of all Sicily save Messina, which was held by the Neapolitan troops.

Francis II. now appealed to Victor Emmanuel to put a stop to Garibaldi's attack upon his kingdom. The King of Sardinia,

decide by their votes whether they would become a part of the Sardinian kingdom. Garibaldi refused to obey this order, and on the night of the 20th of August crossed his force from Sicily to the mainland at Spartivento. Pushing on, he defeated the Neapolitan troops at Reggio and San Giovanni.



VICTOR EMMANUEL II.

who had secretly connived at the expedition, declared that he was not responsible for the attack upon the King of Naples. A little later, fearing the tendency of Garibaldi's republican sympathies, Victor Emmanuel ordered him to take no steps against Naples until the people of Sicily should

and moved forward towards the capital. Francis II. fled from Naples to Gaeta in a Spanish man-of-war, on the 7th of September, and the next day Garibaldi entered Naples in triumph.

A number of Neapolitan patriots had taken advantage of the troubles of King

Francis to return to their country, and Garibaldi, upon his entry into Naples, found a provisional government in existence. Great efforts were made to induce the dictator to withhold his conquests from the King of Sardinia, and the democrats hoped to be able to organize a southern republic. Their schemes caused Count Cavour no little anxiety. The papal states were also becoming troublesome by reason of the partisan warfare which the pope's irregular troops maintained against Sardinia, and Count Cavour warned the pope that unless these outrages should cease at once the Piedmontese army would invade his territory. The French emperor entered a protest against this threat, but that was a mere formality. Napoleon, as has been stated, was a sincere friend to the union of Italy, and he stood ready to aid her in case she was attacked by any other power. The Sardinian threat being unheeded by the papal government, an army under General Cialdini entered the papal states, and captured Urbino, Perugia, and a number of other places. In the meantime Garibaldi was joined by a large number of volunteers in Naples, and in October inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Neapolitan army in a battle on the Garigliano. Victor Emmanuel now entered the Neapolitan territory to secure the fruits of Garibaldi's successes, and was met by the dictator, who hailed him as *King of Italy*. The people of Naples and Sicily by an overwhelming vote declared themselves in favor of annexation to Sardinia, and their wishes were complied with. Several of the European states expressed their displeasure at these changes, but none cared to make them a cause of war, especially as a war with Italy on this question meant a war with France also. The English government openly declared its sympathy with the Italian people.

Italy was now united, with the exception of Venetia and the papal territory. In February, 1861, the first Italian Parliament met at Turin and proclaimed Victor Emmanuel KING OF ITALY. So far all had been attended with enthusiasm, and there had been no trouble as far as the people were concerned in forming the Italian kingdom. Difficulties now thickened around the king. Cavour and Garibaldi could not agree, and the latter retired to his island home of Caprera, and his army of volunteers was disbanded. Messina in Sicily and Gaeta on the mainland held out against

Victor Emmanuel; the latter fortress being defended by Francis II. in person, or rather by his young queen, for Francis himself was an imbecile. The people were discontented, for they believed that Garibaldi, who was their idol, had not been fairly treated by the king. The policy which had been pursued in Sardinia towards the convents and other religious bodies was now applied to the Neapolitan provinces, and gave great offence to the superstitious people of that region. Brigandage was rife in the Abruzzi districts, and was encouraged by the priests, as the brigands declared they fought for King Francis. When defeated, these bands would take refuge in the papal territory, and it was charged that they were supplied with arms by the papal authorities. In the fall of 1860 they became so bold and active that Naples itself was not safe, and the whole country was kept in a state of terror. In February, 1861, Francis II. fled from Gaeta to Rome, and the town surrendered to the Italian forces. About the same time Generals Cialdini and La Marmora broke the power of the brigands of southern Italy. The wisdom of the measures of the Italian government was becoming apparent to the Neapolitans, and the happy reforms introduced by Cavour were beginning to conciliate all classes. Confidence in the "honest king" returned, and matters began to wear a hopeful aspect once more.

At this juncture, in the summer of 1861, Count Cavour died. In him the king and country suffered an irreparable loss. He had been the originator of the greater part of the measures that had given freedom and union to Italy, and he left behind him no one really capable of filling his place. He was succeeded in office by Baron Ricasoli.

All parties now looked forward to the time when Rome and the remnant of the papal territory and Venetia should become parts of the kingdom of Italy. Garibaldi was determined to take Rome by main force, and Rattazzi, who had succeeded Ricasoli as prime minister, hoped he might be able to profit by Garibaldi's efforts and secure Rome as the capital of the kingdom. Cavour would have begun by arranging the matter with the Emperor Napoleon, who was the nominal protector of the Holy See. Rattazzi, however, was blind to the necessity of conciliating France, whose troops constituted the garrison of Rome, and to his astonishment found that the French emperor

was determined to put down Garibaldi's movement unless Italy would do so. Rattazzi was therefore obliged to take sides against the very scheme he had encouraged. Garibaldi raised a force of volunteers in Sicily, and landed in Italy. He was met at Reggio by an Italian force under General Cialdini, and defeated it on the 28th of September, 1862. On the 29th Garibaldi was attacked and defeated at Aspromonte by an Italian army under General Pallavicini, and was wounded and taken prisoner. He was conveyed to Spezzia. He declared, in his defence, that he had attacked the soldiers of Italy against his will; that he had been betrayed by Rattazzi, to whose incompetence it was due that a French garrison was still at Rome. This declaration aroused a storm of indignation which drove Rattazzi from office. Garibaldi was conveyed to his home at Caprera, and a general amnesty was extended to his followers. Though his expedition was a failure, it made the Italians more than ever determined to free Rome and Venetia and unite all Italy.

In September, 1864, a convention was entered into by Italy and France, by which the latter power agreed to withdraw her garrison gradually from Rome, in order to give the pope time to form a force for his own defence. The evacuation was to be completed at the end of two years, and with it was to end the interference of France in Italian affairs. The King of Italy, in consideration of this agreement, pledged himself to allow no attack to be made on the pope's government. The papal power was evidently falling to pieces, and would sink into ruin as soon as the protection of France was withdrawn. Italy would then be free to profit by this fall, which she bound herself not to hasten. The Italian capital was at the same time removed from Turin to Florence. This was a wise measure; it was not only one step nearer Rome, but it placed the seat of government in a more central position and where it was safer from the attacks of Austria than at Turin.

In 1866 war broke out between Prussia and Austria. An alliance was made between Italy and Prussia, and the Prussian king bound himself to continue the war against Austria until she surrendered to Italy all Venetia save the city of Venice and the Quadrilateral. We shall relate the events of this war in Germany elsewhere. War began between Italy and Austria on the 20th of June. The Italians

responded with enthusiasm to the king's call for troops. The Italian army crossed the Mincio, and was defeated by the Austrians at Custoza on the 24th of June. The great victory of Prussia at Königsgrätz, or Sadowa, on the 3d of July, reduced Austria to such extremities that she was obliged to concentrate all her energies for the defence of her home territory. Unable to hold Venetia, she relinquished it to the Emperor of the French, by whom it was to be transferred to Italy. On the 20th of July the Austrian fleet inflicted a terrible defeat upon the Italian fleet off Lissa. The war was now brought to a close by the Peace of Nicholsburg on the 30th of August. In spite of her reverses, Italy gained the objects for which she fought, thanks to the vigor and success with which Prussia conducted the campaign in Germany. All of Venetia, including the city of Venice, and the fortresses of the Quadrilateral, were united to Italy. Austria retained Istria, Aquileia, and the former possessions of Venice on the Dalmatian coast.

At the close of the year 1866 the French troops were withdrawn from Rome, in accordance with the terms of the September convention. Garibaldi now avowed his determination to wrest Rome from the pope. Rattazzi, who had returned to office, secretly encouraged the movement, hoping to find in it a chance of winning Rome for Italy, without incurring the risk of a war with France. He managed the affair badly. Garibaldi raised a force of volunteers, and while preparing for the invasion of the papal territory was arrested by order of the Italian government, and conveyed to his home at Caprera. In the meantime his volunteers crossed the Roman frontier without being checked by the Italian government, and on the 14th of October, 1867, Garibaldi was allowed to escape from Caprera and rejoin his forces. The sympathy of the Italian government was so open that he hoped to be supported by the royal troops. This open sympathy, however, had induced the Emperor Napoleon to inform the Italian government that he should regard any further action against the papal dominions as a declaration of war against France. In the meantime Garibaldi had defeated the papal forces at Monte Rotundo, and disturbances had occurred among the people of Rome. The King of Italy issued a proclamation declaring his intention to oppose the further advance of the Garibaldi-



HUMBERT, King of Italy.

ans. The Emperor Napoleon, however, declared the September convention broken, and threw a fresh garrison into Rome. Garibaldi, believing that Italy would be compelled to resent this action of France, prepared to disband his volunteers. His garrison at Mentenna surrendered to the French and papal army on the 4th of November, 1867, after a gallant resistance. Garibaldi himself was arrested on his way to Caprera, by the Italian government, but the indignation of the people was so great that he was released, and allowed to retire to his home. The popular indignation at the failure of the scheme for securing Rome drove Rattazzi from office once more. The disapproval of the re-occupation of Rome by the French was so marked on the part of the great powers, that the Emperor of the French declared it would be terminated as soon as a definite arrangement could be made with Italy.

In July, 1870, war broke out between France and Germany, and the necessities of the former country required the withdrawal of the French army from Rome. On the 8th of August the French troops evacuated Rome, and sailed from Civita Vecchia for their own country. The Roman people were greatly excited, and the ultra republicans, with Mazzini at their head, threatened to wrest Rome from the pope. The king would not allow this, as he considered himself still bound by the September convention with France; and Mazzini was arrested to keep him quiet. On the 2d of September the Emperor Napoleon and the French army surrendered

to the German forces at Sedan. This act was soon followed by the overthrow of the empire and the establishment of the French republic, which declared the September convention no longer binding upon France.

Victor Emmanuel was now free to act, and at once notified the pope that he had taken upon himself the task of preserving order in Italy—a plain intimation that he meant to make himself master of Rome. The pope appealed to King William of Prussia to protect him, but that sovereign



POPE PIUS IX.

declined to interfere in Italian affairs. The Italian troops entered the papal territory, which readily submitted to the king, and in a few days took position before Rome. The pope refused to allow the city to be defended, but caused only sufficient resistance to be made to show that he yielded to force. A small breach was made in the wall, near the Porta Pia, and through this the Italian army entered Rome on the 20th of September, 1870. Rome and its territory were declared parts of the Italian kingdom. On

the 31st of December, 1870, Victor Emmanuel made his public entry into Rome, which now became the capital of free and united Italy.

Thus fell the temporal power of the pope, who was now reduced to his true position of a spiritual ruler. The king carefully respected and consulted the personal comfort, dignity, and independence of the pontiff. The Vatican Quarter, or Leonine City, was confirmed to him, and exempted from the law of the state, that the pope might be free in fact, as well as in theory, from the interference of the Italian government.

Since 1870 the progress of Italy has been marked. She has fairly entered upon her great career of prosperity as a united nation, and is already experiencing the good effects of personal liberty and constitutional government. Her resources are being rapidly developed, and she has taken her true position as one of the great powers of the world.

On the 26th of December, 1870, the tunnel through Mont Cenis was completed. This splendid work pierces the great barrier of the Alps, and gives to Italy direct and uninterrupted railway communication with France and the rest of Europe.

In October, 1872, the Jesuits, who had given considerable trouble to the Italian

government, were expelled from Rome. It is worthy of remark that, on the same day, the first scientific congress ever assembled within the walls of Rome met in the capitol under the presidency of Count Mamiani.

In spite of his fallen fortunes as a civil ruler, the spiritual power of the pope had been greatly increased during these years. On the 8th of December, 1869, an Œcumenical Council met at the Vatican. It was a body which fairly represented the Roman Catholic Church throughout the world. Its sessions were long and elaborate, and on the 18th of July, 1870, resulted in the solemn announcement of the infallibility of the pope in matters of faith and morals. All members of the Romish communion were required to accept this doctrine as an article of faith on pain of eternal damnation. The doctrine was accepted by the church without hesitation.

The contest between the pope and the king became even more bitter after the occupation of the city of Rome by the Italian government. It is still in progress. The Italian government has been driven by the papal party into stern measures for the maintenance of its authority; but the just rights of the pope have been respected.

On the 9th of January, 1878, King Victor Emmanuel died at Rome.

BOOK XVIII.

THE HISTORY OF GERMANY.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE REIGN OF CHARLEMAGNE.

Geographical Position of Germany—The German Race—Tacitus the Principal Authority Concerning the Primitive Germans—Organization and Characteristics of the Germanic Tribes—Family Ties—The Wergeld—Ancient Germany—Political Constitution—Religion—Ariovistus—Efforts of Rome to Conquer the Germans—Defeat of Varus by Arminius—Migrations of the German Tribes—The Franks—The Salian Franks—Their Kingdom—Clovis—Conquers Syagrius—Battle of Tolbiac—Clovis Embraces Christianity—Conquest of the Burgundians—The Visigothic Kingdom Subdued—Relations of Clovis with the Empire—His Death—Division of his Kingdom among his Sons—Quarrels of the Descendants of Clovis—Bruno-

haut—The "Do-Nothing Kings"—The Mayors of the Palace—Pepin of Heristal—Spread of Christianity among the Germans—St. Willibrord—Charles Martel—Defeats the Saracens—The Pope Entreats him to Defend the Holy See—Fall of the Merovingian Dynasty—Pepin the Short Becomes King of the Franks—Protects the Pope against the Lombards—Drives the Saracens from France—Death of Pepin.

GERMANY, or *Deutschland*, occupies a considerable part of central Europe. Its limits have varied at different times, owing to the fact that it has no clearly defined boundaries, and also because, lying in the central portion of Europe, and being surrounded by most of the leading nations

of the continent, the Germans have been more intimately involved than any other people in the general history of Europe. Roughly stated, Germany now extends from the Baltic to the Alps, and from the Rhine valley on the west to the Danube. In the south of Germany the country is mountainous; in the centre it is hilly; but in the north it forms a part of the great plain of northeastern Europe, and is flat.

The Germans are a branch of the great Aryan family. The settlement of the Germanic or Teutonic nations of Europe at the fall of the Roman empire has been related at the close of our history of Rome. It remains but to describe the leading characteristic of the tribes which constituted the ancestors of the modern Germans. Our principal authority respecting them is the Roman historian Tacitus, whose "*Germania*" was written in A. D. 98.

The greater part of Germany was originally covered with forests in which wild animals and game abounded. The climate was damp and foggy, and the winters were colder and longer than at present. The soil was generally fertile, but was marshy in many places. The Germans were distinguished from the southern races by their huge and robust frames, their greater daring and activity, their respect for the honor of their women, and by "a sense they called honor, which led them to sacrifice their life rather than their word." They were divided into a number of tribes, which were grouped at the period of which we write into the confederations or nations we have already enumerated. The various tribes, except the Saxons, who had no kings save in time of war, when the nobles chose one of their own number as a leader, had each a royal family believed to be descended from Odin. From this family the king was chosen by the free votes of his comrades.

The Germans were an agricultural people, but their favorite occupations were war and hunting. They left the tilling of the soil and other peaceful pursuits to men unable to bear arms and to women. Though brave, simple, hospitable and truthful as a rule, they were often fierce and cruel, and were excessively addicted to gambling, drunkenness, and indolence. They celebrated the great deeds of their ancestors in their songs, and were ever ready to die in defence of their freedom. They were divided into two classes—the nobles and the common freemen. The

nobles were generally richer than the freemen, but owed their influence to their personal qualities rather than to their wealth. They were the acknowledged leaders of the people in peace and war. The freemen were all equals, and constituted the great bulk of the nation. Both nobles and freemen held slaves, which class consisted of prisoners taken in war and their children, and persons condemned to slavery for crime. They were the absolute property of their masters, and had no redress against their injustice; but as a rule were well treated. The laws were few. Nearly all crimes committed by freemen or nobles were punished by fines, the amounts of which differed in the various tribes.

Family ties were very strong among the ancient Germans. Marriages did not take place until the contracting parties had fully developed their mental and physical powers. Though the wife was in a certain sense purchased by her husband and was subject to him, her position was one of honor and influence. She was her husband's companion and friend, and accompanied him on distant military expeditions. She was trained to the use of arms, and was brave and virtuous. The father had supreme authority over his children. The orphan children of a freeman were protected by their relatives until able to defend themselves. A freeman's quarrels were espoused by his relatives, and in case of his murder they were bound to see that the *Wergeld*, or price of blood, which was divided amongst his family, was exacted and paid.

Ancient Germany contained no cities. As a general rule the free inhabitants lived in villages, in which each hut or family dwelling stood apart from the rest, surrounded by a piece of ground. At first the lands around the villages were held in common, but in course of time they were divided among individual owners. An undefined number of villages formed what was called a *Hundred*. Each village and hundred had its own chief, elected by the votes of the freemen. Above the chiefs of the hundreds were the chiefs of the tribes. Some of the tribes had kings, elected, as has been said, from certain noble families believed to have sprung from the gods. The chiefs of the hundreds were the princes of the tribes, and constituted the council of the king or principal chief. The princes vied with each other in the number of their

followers, each of whom swore to be faithful to his lord. To violate this oath was regarded as the worst possible crime. In return for their services, the chief supplied his men with war-horses, armor and food.

"Important as was the position of the chiefs in ancient Germany, their power was comparatively limited. Above all chiefs were *meetings of the people*. Even the village had its meeting; but the really important meetings were those of the hundred and the tribe. These meetings were not, like modern parliaments, representative. All freemen had a right to attend them. The meetings of the village and of the hundred did not concern themselves with the affairs of the tribe. These came before the meeting of the whole people. It was in this general meeting that the chiefs were elected—not only the king or other chief of the tribe, but the chiefs of the various hundreds. Here also the young freeman received from his father, or some prince, the arms which were the symbol that he had attained to a position of independence in the tribe. All difficult cases of justice were decided by the meeting of the tribe; it also declared war and concluded peace, and sanctioned the occasional distant expeditions of the chiefs with their followers. When questions of unusual difficulty were to come before the meeting, they were discussed beforehand by the king or other chief and the princes of the tribe; but the ultimate decision lay with the people themselves. The common freemen rarely took a leading part in the deliberations. The chiefs laid their proposals before the people in plain terms, stating the arguments on each side. If the freemen did not agree with their chiefs, they expressed their opinion by cries of dissent; they signified their approval of a proposition by clashing their armor."

The religion of the Germans was in keeping with their habits. Their supreme god was Wodan, or Odin, whose wife was Freya. Donar, or Thor, their son, the god of thunder, was a very powerful deity. Baldur, the sun god, was also important. The gods had no temples erected to their honor, but were worshipped in sacred groves. Sacrifices, sometimes of human beings, were offered to them. Their will was ascertained by means of lots, the flight of birds, and the neighing of sacred horses. The Germans believed that the gods took a direct interest in human affairs, and they acknowl-

edged a future state, in which the brave lived with Odin in Valhalla, feasting on beer and the flesh of the wild boar, and engaging in fierce combats for pastime. From this abode cowards and those who died peacefully were excluded.

In the *History of Rome* we have related the steps by which Germany emerged from her primitive darkness into the light of history. It will not be necessary to repeat the narrative here at length. A quarrel having broken out between the Sequani and Ædui, two Gallic tribes, the former invited Ariovistus, King of the Suevi, a powerful German tribe, to come to their assistance. He did so, but by the year B. C. 60 extended his authority over both tribes, and thus added all of Gaul between the upper Rhine and the Loire to his dominions. Ariovistus at first maintained friendly relations with the Romans, but in B. C. 58 the Gauls appealed to Julius Cæsar for help, and the Roman commander marched against the German king, defeated him, and conquered him. He subdued the Germans on the left bank of the Rhine as thoroughly as he did the Celtic inhabitants of Gaul, and his estimation of the warlike qualities of the Germans was increased to such an extent that he induced many of them to enter his army.

After this we hear but little of Germany until the reign of Augustus, who endeavored to convert the country into a Roman province. Drusus, the stepson of the emperor, won great successes over the German tribes, and in three successive expeditions into their country advanced as far as the Elbe. He erected fifty fortresses along the Rhine to hold the line of that river, and would have conquered a large part of Germany had not his death, in B. C. 9, put a stop to his plans. The Romans continued the war, and Tiberius, the successor of Drusus, conquered the Teucteri and Usipetes in B. C. 8. By treachery he overcame the gallant resistance of the Sicambri, and settled about 40,000 of them in Gaul. It seemed for a while that Germany would be brought under the dominion of Rome; but the advantages won by Tiberius were thrown away by Quinctilius Varus. His tyranny drove the freeborn Germans into rebellion, and they took arms against Varus. The revolt was led by Arminius, or Herman, a young Cheruscan chief. Varus was lured by Arminius into the depths of the Teutoburg wood, where he was attacked, and

his army annihilated, as we have related in the *History of Rome*.

The victory of Arminius destroyed the Roman power in Germany. In the reign of the Emperor Tiberius the Roman army under Germanicus, the son of Drusus, endeavored to regain what Varus had lost; but the Germans, led by Arminius, offered such a stout resistance that the invaders withdrew from the country.

Arminius was then called upon to defend his country against the efforts of the Marcomanni, who had occupied the region now known as Bohemia, from which they endeavored to conquer Germany. The German hero defeated Maroboduus, the Marcomannic king, broke up his kingdom, and compelled him to seek safety at Rome, and so, a second time, preserved the independence of Germany. Arminius was murdered in A. D. 21, at the age of thirty-seven. To this day his memory is deservedly cherished by the German people as the earliest of their heroes.

In the second century the German tribes, encouraged by the apparent weakness of the Roman empire, ventured to invade its dominions. In the reign of Marcus Aurelius the Marcomanni and the Quadi, aided by several non-German tribes, maintained a war of thirteen years against Rome, and compelled the empire to put forth extraordinary exertions to protect its frontiers from them.

Between the third and the sixth centuries occurred the migrations of the German tribes, which determined the geographical position of the nations of modern Europe. Their settlement is related at the close of our *History of Rome*, and need not be repeated here.

The most important of these tribes were the Franks. For several centuries the history of these people is the history of Germany. They conquered Gaul and their own kinsmen, and laid the foundations of the future kingdoms of Germany and France. They began their attacks upon the Roman dominions on the left bank of the Rhine in the third century, and though often repulsed, they persisted in their efforts, which were finally crowned with success. By the latter part of the fifth century they had conquered the whole country between the middle Rhine and the Meuse, and had fixed their capital at Cologne. They were called the Riparian Franks.

The lower Rhine country was held by a

Frankish tribe descended from the most part from the Sicambri, who had been settled there by Tiberius. These people were known as the Salian Franks. They were never willing subjects of Rome, and were always on the watch for an opportunity to regain their freedom. They were severely worsted by the Emperor Julian, but he allowed them to retain the lands they had seized beyond the Rhine, and which extended west of the Meuse. By the opening of the fifth century they had grown so powerful that they no longer recognized the supremacy of Rome, though they still furnished mercenary soldiers to the Roman army.

The Salians were governed at this time by their own kings. The first of these of whom we have any account was Chlodio, who advanced the boundaries of his kingdom as far west as the Somme. He became the ally of Rome, and rendered important aid to the Romans in their efforts against Attila, A. D. 451. The institutions of this kingdom were similar to those of the German tribes. His successor is said to have been Merowig, but nothing is known with certainty of this monarch, who, however, may have existed, as his successors from this time are known as the Merovingian kings. The next king of whom we have any certain knowledge was Childeric. He reigned during the latter half of the fifth century, and had his capital at Tournay. He was a great king, and aided the Romans against the Visigoths. This connection with the Romans paved the way for the events now to be related.

Theodoric II., the monarch of the Visigothic kingdom of Gaul, the establishment and early history of which we have related in connection with that of Rome, was assassinated by his brother Euric, who succeeded him. Euric subdued the greater part of Spain, and compelled the Suevi to hold the kingdom of Galicia as a tributary of the Gothic crown. He died prematurely in the midst of his conquests, leaving his kingdom to Alaric, his son, a mere child.

In the meantime Childeric had been succeeded on the Salian throne by his son Chlodwig or Clovis, a youth of fifteen. His kingdom consisted of the island of the Batavians and the ancient dioceses of Tournay and Arras, and his warriors did not exceed 5,000 in number. His great abilities soon spread his influence over the kin-

dred tribes of the Franks, who were settled along the Scheldt, the Meuse, the Moselle, and the lower Rhine, and who were governed by independent kings, and drew large numbers of warriors to his standard.

The first exploit of Clovis was the conquest and annexation to his dominions of the kingdom of Syagrius, who ruled over the second Belgic and the adjoining districts. He next defeated the Alemanni, who held the territory on each side of the Rhine from its source to the mouths of the Main and Moselle, and who had spread themselves over that portion of Gaul which afterwards comprised the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. Their king was slain and their possessions became a part of the kingdom of Clovis, A. D. 496. In A. D. 493 Clovis had espoused Clotilda, a Burgundian princess, who, though reared in an Arian court, had been trained in the orthodox Catholic faith. Clotilda labored diligently to convert her husband to Christianity, but for a long time he refused to embrace her faith, though he permitted their eldest child to be baptized. The decisive battle of the war against the Alemanni was fought at Tolbiac, near Cologne. It was stubbornly contested, and for a long time the issue was doubtful. In this emergency, Clovis, raising his hands to heaven, invoked "the God of Clotilda," and vowed that if victory should declare for him, he would embrace the Christian faith, and be baptized. He was victorious, and at the conclusion of the struggle he was baptized with great pomp and splendor, together with 3,000 of his subjects, in the cathedral at Rheims.

By his adoption of Christianity and of the Catholic faith, Clovis gained the firm support of that church, "and the alliance was eminently serviceable to the interests of both parties. The church found in the advancing power of Clovis an instrument which might humble the persecuting power of the Visigoths and Burgundians, and unite the whole country in dutiful submission to the See of St. Peter; while Clovis acquired in the church an ally possessing the full confidence of the people whose land he aimed to conquer, and ready to proclaim him as the chosen of Heaven, whose sceptre would prove the surest guarantee of a nation's prosperity and greatness. Either without the other must have failed, but together they were irresistible."

The results of this alliance were soon ap-

parent. In A. D. 497 the Armorican states made a treaty with Clovis, by which they became his tributaries. By this treaty the frontiers of the Frankish dominions were advanced to the Loire. In A. D. 500 Clovis gained a great victory over the Burgundians, and compelled Gondebald, their king, to hold his crown as his tributary. This success destroyed the greatness and glory of the Burgundian kingdom, but it was not definitely united to the Frankish monarchy until the next generation.

The conquest of the Burgundians encouraged Clovis to attempt that of the Visigothic kingdom south of the Loire. The civil government of this region was chiefly in the hands of the clergy, and these now rallied to the support of Clovis as the champion of the orthodox faith. The Gallo-Roman subjects of Alaric longed for the success of the Franks, and offered but little resistance to them. The decisive battle of the war was fought near Poitiers in A. D. 507, and the Visigoths were defeated. Clovis slew Alaric with his own hand, and overran the country from the Loire to the Garonne, spending the winter at Bordeaux. The next spring he attempted to drive the Visigoths beyond the Pyrenees, but Theodoric, the Ostrogothic king, sent an army to the assistance of his kinsman, and obliged the Frankish monarch to pause. Clovis, being decisively repulsed before Arles, left the Goths in possession of a small portion of their territory known as the province of the Septimania, the capital of which was Narbonne. The remainder of their territory in Gaul was permanently united with the Frankish kingdom. Upon his return to Tours, Clovis received a congratulatory embassy from the Emperor Anastasius, who invested him with the titles and insignia of Consul and Patrician. In actual fact this was not much of a gain, as the King of the Franks was absolute master of his territory; but the moral effect was considerable, for this action of the emperor made Clovis in the eyes of his Gallo-Roman subjects the legitimate successor to all the rights and privileges of the Roman Cæsars. During his last years, Clovis extended his power by less honorable means than he had hitherto used. By a series of deliberate murders he removed the other Merovingian chiefs, some of whom were his relatives, and made himself sole monarch of the Franks. He died at Paris in A. D. 511, leaving his dominions to his four sons.

All the sons of Clovis fixed their capitals north of the Loire, a fact significant of the insecurity of the tenure by which their conquests south of that river were yet held. Theodoric, the eldest, took for his share the eastern provinces, from the Meuse to the Rhine, and the districts of Auvergne, Limousin, and Quercy. His capital was Metz. Chlodomer reigned in the Orlennais, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine, with his capital at Orleans. Chilperic was King of Paris and its neighborhood, with the Armorican district, stretching from Rouen to Rennes, Nantes, and Vannes. Clotaire, the youngest, was King of Soissons, and ruled the ancient country of the Salians, together with the maritime tract between the Somme and the mouth of the Meuse. He also possessed some territory in the Cevennes and on the upper Garonne. The dominions of the brothers thus intersected each other in the most bewildering manner, and for one sovereign to reach the distant parts of his dominions it was often necessary to cross the possessions of another. Quarrels were consequently multiplied, and neither of the brothers was disposed to live peaceably with the others. Theodoric, while a fierce and violent ruler, gave to his subjects a wise and admirable code of laws, and exerted himself to introduce Christianity wherever paganism had formerly prevailed. Theodoric, his son, attempted to intervene in the affairs of Italy at the request of Justinian and the Gothic King Vitiges; with what success has been related, A. D. 539. To avert such invasions in future Justinian resigned to the Frankish kings his claims to sovereignty in Gaul, and from that time those monarchs stamped their coins with their own instead of the imperial image.

The fierce quarrels of the descendants of Clovis constitute a dark page in the history of their country, and it is needless to relate them here. His grandsons Sigebert and Chilperic, sons of Clotaire, married sisters, the daughters of Athanagild, King of the Visigoths. Sigebert, King of Austrasia, married Brunehaut, a woman of rare beauty and great accomplishments, but of violent passions. Chilperic, King of Neustria, married Galeswintha, the younger sister, but soon afterwards murdered her at the instigation of his low-born mistress Fredegonda, whom he made his wife. Brunehaut became the bitter enemy of Fredegonda, and though she accepted a settlement of the quarrel, never abandoned

her resolve to be avenged on the murderers of her sister. This personal quarrel was greatly aggravated by the rivalry between the kingdoms of Neustria and Austrasia, in the former of which the Gallo-Roman population was most numerous, while in the latter the population was almost wholly Frankish or German. Fredegonda gave herself up to a life of crime, and to avoid punishment caused the murder of her husband. Previous to this she had caused the assassination of Sigebert. The widowed Brunehaut, though scarcely less guilty than Fredegonda, contrived to maintain her hold upon Austrasia as the guardian of her son. She enjoyed the friendship and was the correspondent of Gregory the Great and other learned and good men, and, notwithstanding her crimes, was the patroness and defender of Christianity and learning. She arrayed the Austrasian nobles against her in the end by her efforts to crush them, and was finally defeated by them and by the combined forces of Neustria and Burgundy. She was made prisoner and turned over to Clotaire, the son of Fredegonda, who subjected her to three days of torture and indignity, and then put her to death in the most barbarous manner.

All the Frankish dominions were now united under Clotaire II., who reigned as sole king from A. D. 613 to 628. His son Dagobert carried the power of the Merovingian race to its highest point. He fixed his court at Paris, and his authority was acknowledged from the Weser to the Pyrenees, and from the ocean to the Bohemian border. Dagobert died in A. D. 638. His successors were weak and insignificant. They were termed "*Rois-fainéants*"—"do-nothing kings"—a title which fully expresses their character for the next century. The real power was exercised by the bishops and nobles, and especially by the officials known as "*Mayors of the Palace*." The mayor was a noble chosen by his order to be the adviser of the king in peace and the commander of the royal army in war, in order to aid the nobles in their efforts to limit the royal power. The office, at first elective, became hereditary. Under the feeble Merovingian kings who succeeded Dagobert, the mayors were the real sovereigns. One of the most vigorous of these rulers, Pepin of Herstal, after suffering some reverses, defeated the Neustrian nobility at Testry in A. D. 687, and having thus given the death-blow to Merovingian roy-

alty, made himself master of all the kingdom of Clovis, and for twenty-seven years governed it with vigor, prudence, and success. His victory was also important in another sense. It established the supremacy of the Teutonic over the Roman element in Gaul. Pepin took the title of Prince or Duke of the Franks. The poor phantom Merovingian king, "the long-haired shadow of royalty," was exhibited once a year to the people at the Field of March; but at other times was held in a sort of mild captivity. The remainder of the seventh century and the first years of the next were passed by Pepin in re-establishing the ancient supremacy of the Franks in Germany. The Frisians, Saxons, Alemanni, Suabians, Thuringians, and Bavarians were forced to acknowledge the Frankish power. These successes were followed by the introduction and spread of Christianity among the German tribes. In the rear of the armies of Pepin followed a band of monks, chiefly Anglo-Saxon, by whose efforts multitudes of their pagan countrymen were converted to Christianity. One of these monks, St. Willibrord, was consecrated by Pope Sergius, in A. D. 696, Archbishop of the Frisians.

Pepin of Heristal died in December, A. D. 714. Plectrude, his widow, attempted to govern the kingdom as regent for her infant grandson, Dagobert III., but was opposed by Austrasian nobles led by Charles Martel, an illegitimate son of Pepin, and was ultimately compelled to yield. Charles then came into possession of the authority and dominions of his father without further resistance, A. D. 719. He ruled wisely and vigorously for twenty-two years.

One of the greatest exploits of Charles was his defeat of the Saracens of Spain. Aquitaine and the Septimania had already suffered severely from them, as we shall see in the account of their history during this century. In pursuance of a deliberate plan of conquest, they passed the Pyrenees and overran the Frankish kingdom as far north as the Loire. Charles Martel took the field against them, and inflicted upon them such a crushing defeat near Tours that the remnants of their host fled southward, and Europe was freed from the danger of Mohammedan conquest, A. D. 732. Charles followed up his success by several expeditions to the south; but, though repeatedly victorious, was unable to expel the Saracens altogether from the soil of France. They

were not driven from Septimania, their last refuge, until A. D. 759, by Pepin, the son of Charles. One result of the victory of Charles was the acquisition of Aquitaine, under its own rulers, to the Frankish kingdom. Charles, following the example of his father, did not assume the royal title, but governed as Duke of the Franks. In A. D. 737, upon the death of the Merovingian King Thierry IV., Charles felt his power so firmly established that he omitted to appoint a successor to the dead monarch, and the royal dignity remained in abeyance. Towards the close of his reign he was entreated by Pope Gregory III. to take arms for the defence of the Catholic Church against the Lombards, who had seized the Exarchate of Ravenna, and were threatening Rome. In return for this service the pope promised to invest him with the dignity of Consul and Patrician of Rome. Charles entertained the proposition with favor, but his death in A. D. 741 prevented him from taking any action in behalf of the pontiff. By his will he divided his dominions between his two sons Carloman and Pepin, called "the Short." Carloman received Austrasia and the territories beyond the Rhine; Pepin was given Neustria, Burgundy, and Provence.

The sons of Charles sought out the last descendant of the house of Clovis, and proclaimed him king, by the name of Chilperic III. Assisted by St. Boniface, who was about this time consecrated Archbishop of Mayence, they made many reforms in the church, and by liberal concessions to the priesthood won their hearty support. In A. D. 747 Carloman relinquished his share in the government into the hands of Pepin and took the vows of a Benedictine monk. In A. D. 752 Pepin, having previously obtained the sanction of the pope and the co-operation of the nobles, put aside the feeble Merovingian King Chilperic, condemned him to the seclusion of the cloister, and seated himself upon the throne as King of the Franks. "The elevation of Pepin to the throne was the result of a compact between himself and the Holy See, based on considerations of mutual interest. Pepin needed the sanction of the pope to legitimize his crown; the pontiff needed the assistance of the Frankish arms, by which he was raised eventually to the position of a temporal and territorial sovereign. And this alliance between the Carolingians and the papacy became a principle of regenera-

tion and progress, not only for France, but for all western Europe. . . A strong monarchical government was now established, possessing the power to make itself universally respected; while the papacy became at the same time a fixed predominant authority for the regulation of the affairs of the church."

It was not long before Pepin was able to repay the pontiff for his sanction of his seizure of the throne. Astolph, King of the Lombards, seized Ravenna and the exarchate and threatened Rome. Pope Stephen II. visited the Frankish capital, as has been related, to implore the aid of Pepin, A. D. 753. Pepin swore to cross the Alps to the pope's assistance in the following year, and was crowned at St. Denis by Pope Stephen with great pomp. At the same time he was solemnly invested with the title of Patrician of the Romans. The next year he entered Italy with a large army, defeated the Lombards, and compelled Astolph to agree to cede all the territory he had conquered to the pope. Pepin then returned home, and Astolph immediately broke his promise, ravaged the Romagna, laid siege to Rome, and demanded the surrender of the pontiff. Pepin at once crossed the Alps a second time, and inflicted upon the Lombard king such a punishment that he was obliged to surrender the exarchate and the Pentapolis, as the price of peace. These territories Pepin conferred upon the pope, and thus raised him to the dignity of a temporal as well as a spiritual ruler. The Frankish king retained the sovereignty of these provinces, but their rich revenues went to the pope.

The entire reign of Pepin was filled with warlike enterprises. In A. D. 752 he undertook to expel the Saracens from Septimania. He drove them in succession from all the cities of the province, and finally laid siege to Narbonne, their capital, which was betrayed to him by some Gothic citizens, A. D. 759. This success decided the war in his favor, the Saracens were obliged to evacuate the province, and Septimania became finally united to the Frankish dominions. The great duchy of Aquitaine, which comprised about a fourth of modern France, threw off its allegiance to the King of the Franks. Pepin reduced it to obedience. The war began in A. D. 760 and lasted eight years. The Duke of Aquitaine made a stubborn and brave resistance, but he was put to death by his own people in A. D. 768, and the au-

thority of Pepin was restored. This success closed the career of the conqueror. On his return from Aquitaine, Pepin was seized with a dangerous fever at Saintes. He was removed with difficulty to St. Denis, where he died on the 24th of September, A. D. 768, at the age of fifty-four, having reigned nearly twenty-seven years—eleven as Mayor of the Palace, and nearly sixteen as King of the Franks. By his will his dominions were divided between his sons Charles and Carloman. Carloman died in 771, and his brother Charles, who is better known as Charlemagne, or "Charles the Great," was left sole King of the Franks.

CHAPTER II.

THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE.

Significance of the Accession of Pepin to the Frankish Throne—Charlemagne King—Wars with the Saxons—Cruelty of Charlemagne—The Pope Appeals to the Frankish King for Aid against the Lombards—Charlemagne Crosses the Alps and Subdues Northern Italy—Enters Spain—Battle of Roncesvalles—Death of Roland—Charlemagne Subdues Bavaria—Conquers the Huns—Goes to Italy—Is Crowned Emperor by the Pope—Character of Charlemagne's Empire—Treaty with the Eastern Emperor—Power of Charlemagne—His Government and Laws—His Policy towards the Church—His Protection and Encouragement of Learning—Alcuin—The Schools—Personal Appearance and Characteristics of Charlemagne—His Death—Louis the Gentle becomes Emperor—Division of Charlemagne's Dominions among his Sons—Death of Louis—Lothaire Emperor—The Treaty of Verdun—Rise of the German and French Kingdoms—The Feudal System—Its Characteristic Features.

IT should be borne in mind that the accession of Pepin to the Frankish throne was the triumph of the Teutonic element in Gaul. The predominance of this element was more marked in the reign of Charlemagne, who proved himself one of the greatest sovereigns of any time. When he mounted the throne, the only German people who had never submitted to the rule of the Franks were the Saxons, who were still heathens. Their country stretched from the mouths of the Elbe southwards to Thuringia, and westward almost to the Rhine. Charlemagne began his sole reign by an attempt to conquer them. In A. D. 772 he invaded their territory, took their principal stronghold, Eresburg, and compelled them to submit. His success was so complete that he believed he had conquered them; but he had won only a temporary success.

BATTLE OF RONCEVALES.



The war, thus begun, continued for thirty years, and so taxed the energy and resources of Charles that he at times almost despaired of substantial success. In his anger at the obstinate resistance of the Saxons, he put 4,500 of his prisoners to death; but this barbarous act only increased the determination of their countrymen. In the end, however, the Saxons were obliged to submit and to accept Christianity. During the war large numbers of Saxons were transported to other parts of Charlemagne's dominions, and their places filled with colonies of Franks.

In the early part of the war with the Saxons, Charlemagne was appealed to by the pope for aid against the Lombards, who had again threatened Rome. He promptly crossed the Alps in aid of the pontiff, and in A. D. 774 conquered Lombardy and annexed that country to his own dominions as a separate kingdom. From this time his full title was *King of the Franks and Lombards and Patrician of the Romans*. Charlemagne deposed Desiderius and himself assumed the iron crown. The Lombard nobles were allowed to retain their estates and titles as his vassals. Two years later they conspired against him, aided by the Greek emperor. Charlemagne passed the Alps in midwinter, crushed the revolt, and placed Frankish officers in all places of trust in Lombardy.

In A. D. 777 the Saracen Emir of Saragossa asked aid of Charlemagne in his struggle with the Khalif of Cordova, promising to become tributary to the Frankish king in return for this assistance. Charlemagne promised to help him, and in A. D. 778 made an expedition into Spain, and gained such substantial successes that he extended his boundary across the Pyrenees, as far south as the Ebro. On his return he was not so fortunate. His rear-guard was attacked by the Basques, in the pass of Roncesvalles, and almost annihilated. Among the slain was the famous knight Roland, whose exploits have been sung by the poets of succeeding ages. The Emir of Saragossa having violated his promise to do homage to Charlemagne, the king erected the conquered territory into a province known as the "Spanish March." The authority of the governor of this province extended over Roussillon, Catalonia, and the infant kingdoms of Aragon and Navarre. His residence was at Barcelona.

During the reign of Pepin the Short,

Bavaria had been made tributary to the Frankish crown. After his death, Thasilo, the Bavarian duke, threw off his allegiance. Charlemagne marched against him in A. D. 785, and compelled him to submit. He rebelled again the next year, and was again conquered. Charles spared his life, but deposed him, and in future governed Bavaria by means of counts.

The Avars, the descendants of the Huns who had desolated Europe under Attila, held the forests and morasses of Pannonia. They were thus in such close proximity to Bavaria that Charlemagne resolved to attempt their conquest. In 791 he invaded their country in overwhelming force and subdued them. By this success he became master of western Pannonia. Five years later (796) Pepin, King of Italy, the son of Charlemagne, stormed the remaining defences of the Huns, and after inflicting terrible slaughter upon them, compelled them to submit. Nearly all of the treasure carried away from Europe by Attila was recovered by Pepin. The Hunnish chieftain, Thudan, and his principal warriors, embraced Christianity and were baptized at Aix-la-Chapelle. The entire kingdom of the Huns was thus added to the empire of Charlemagne.

The visit of Charlemagne to Rome in A. D. 800, to investigate the charges against Pope Leo III., resulted, as has been related, in the acquittal of the pope and the punishment of his enemies. The grateful pontiff could not do less than reward the king for his friendly aid, and promptly put in execution a design which he had no doubt arranged with the monarch. On Christmas day Charlemagne visited St. Peter's Cathedral, and while kneeling on the steps of the great altar, was suddenly approached by the pope, who placed a golden crown upon his head, and at the same moment hailed him with the ancient imperial titles: "Long life and victory to Charles Augustus, crowned of God, great and peace-giving Emperor of the Romans." The vast throng of clergy, warriors, and citizens which filled the church echoed the words of the pontiff with an enthusiastic shout, joyfully acknowledging the King of the Franks as the lawful successor of the Cæsars.

The empire of Charlemagne was not a new creation, but was regarded as a revival of the Roman empire of the West, which it was held had not been abolished at the fall of Romulus Augustulus, but had been



simply merged in the Eastern empire. In the West the imperial authority had been represented by the Exarch of Ravenna, and the right of the Greek emperor to supreme rule had not been disputed, at least in theory. On the contrary, the most powerful of the barbarian kings had been proud to govern with titles assigned them by the Eastern Cæsar. The Iconoclastic war had rendered the West bitterly hostile to the court of Constantinople, and had brought about a state of feeling which made any actual reunion impossible. Events had followed rapidly, each tending to widen the breach thus opened. Besides, the throne of the East was occupied by a woman, the Empress Irene, whom the Romans regarded as a usurper. They claimed that she could not be Cæsar and Augustus, and that they had as good a right as the East to choose the new Cæsar. They insisted that Rome was of right the capital of the empire; and so it was held that in choosing Charlemagne they were exercising an inalienable right, and merely resuming the privileges which had so long been in abeyance without having been lost. Charlemagne was declared the successor of Constantine VI. as temporal head of Christendom, and, disregarding the insignificant successors of Theodosius in the West, he was numbered as sixty-eighth in order through the Eastern line from Augustus, the founder of the empire. Of course this claim was in direct conflict with that of the Greek emperors, and was not admitted at Constantinople. The empire was thus finally divided, and we shall see for a long period two emperors reigning, one in the East and the other in the West, and each claiming to be the only true Cæsar. In A. D. 803 a treaty was negotiated between the two emperors, fixing the boundaries of their dominions in Italy. The Eastern emperor surrendered his claim to Rome and the exarchate, but retained Venice, Istria, the Dalmatian coast, and the Calabrian cities.

Charlemagne was now the most powerful monarch in the world, and his greatness was recognized by all nations. The English and the little Gothic kingdom in Spain sought his protection, and from the far-off banks of the Tigris came an embassy from the great Khalif Haroun al Raschid seeking his friendship and bringing rich presents, among which were the keys of Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre. During the remaining fourteen years of the life of

Charlemagne his efforts were given to the internal organization of his dominions—a task of almost superhuman difficulty, considering the number and dissimilarity of the nations subject to his rule. The success which attended his efforts is a far more enduring monument to his fame than his great exploits as a conqueror. His constant effort was for the civilization and Christianization of Europe, and it will be interesting to inquire how he sought to accomplish this.

The empire of Charlemagne extended from the Baltic to the Ebro, from the North Sea and the Eider to central Italy, and from the Atlantic to the Save, the Theiss, the Oder and the lower Vistula. The centre of this immense region was the Rhineland, the home of the East Franks. Rome and Aachen were the capitals of the empire. In the former the emperor resided but little, and only when occasions of state demanded his presence. Aachen was his favorite residence, and he adorned it not only with a palace but with a fine basilica, from which it derived the name of Aix-la-Chapelle, by which it is usually known in history.

The government of Charlemagne was strictly personal. It was an absolute monarchy disguised under aristocratic, and at the same time, to some extent, popular forms and institutions. The emperor originated and proposed all laws, which were discussed in the assemblies of the nation, one of which met in May and the other in the autumn, and which were attended by the dukes, counts, prelates, and other leading men of the empire. These assemblies could only deliberate and advise. The emperor alone decided what should become law. The laws of Charlemagne which remain to us show the wide range over which the care and wisdom of the emperor extended. They embrace "every conceivable topic of legislation, from matters of the highest moral, ecclesiastical, and political importance, down to the minutest details of domestic economy." One of his chief objects was to lessen the power of the dukes and counts, who were almost independent sovereigns, and who were the chief obstacles in the way of the emperor's efforts to administer justice among his people. He entirely abolished the title of duke in Germany. For the defence of his long and exposed frontier he organized the border districts of Germany into *Marks*, and over these placed margraves or marquesses.

whose chief duty was to drive back or conquer the neighboring tribes. Carinthia, which extended from the Adriatic to the Danube, was one of the principal of these marks. Another, which lay to the east of Bavaria and was designed for the defence of that country against the Huns or Avars, was afterwards known as Oesterreich or Austria.

The administration of justice in the several districts of the empire was lodged principally in the hands of the counts, who were assisted by deputies of various grades. Besides these Charlemagne appointed a peculiar class of officials called *missi dominici*, whose duty it was to visit all parts of the empire four times a year, to hear appeals from the lower tribunals, and to report to the emperor the general state of the country. An appeal might be made from their judgments to the royal tribunal, which was presided over by the *palsgrave*.

Charlemagne was a firm and liberal friend to the church, but was by no means its slave. He recognized readily and fully the benefits conferred upon the country by Christianity, and in his earnest desire to protect the poor and humble class of his people against the rich and powerful, made use of the means which the church furnished him. A lover of learning and learned men, he naturally sought the society of ecclesiastics, who alone in this age of darkness were possessed of education, but he was always their master, kind and generous, but never their tool. He founded many bishoprics and monasteries and conferred rich estates upon them, and made the payment of tithes for the support of the clergy compulsory throughout the empire. Everywhere, especially in Germany, he gave the bishops, abbots, and higher clergy a more important position in the state than they had ever held before, in order that they might serve as a counterpoise to the secular nobility.

The world owes a rich debt of gratitude to Charlemagne for the enlightened protection and encouragement which he unvaryingly gave to learning and the diffusion of knowledge. He was himself an ardent student, and he did not disdain to set a bright example to the world by his patient and arduous efforts to enrich his mind with stores of knowledge. Learned men were encouraged to settle in his dominions, and the emperor delighted to gather them about him and converse with them upon the

topics which interested him. His moments of relaxation, even in the midst of his most important campaigns, were spent in their society. His most trusted friend and counsellor was an Anglo-Saxon monk named Alcuin, by far the most commanding genius of the age. He took up his residence at the court of Charlemagne in A. D. 781, and died in A. D. 804. He was the preceptor of the emperor during this period, and was the instigator of many of the most useful acts of the monarch. "History presents to us few more striking spectacles than that of the great monarch of the West, surrounded by the princes and princesses of his family and the chief personages of his brilliant court, all content to sit as learners at the feet of their Anglo-Saxon preceptor Alcuin in the 'school of the palace' at Aix-la-Chapelle. The course of study pursued by these august academicians embraced the seven liberal arts, as they were called—the *trivium* and *quadrivium*—with a special attention to grammar, psalmody, and the theory of music; and since Alcuin excelled in the exposition of Scripture, we may be sure that the mysteries of theological science were not forgotten in his lectures."

As his best gift to his people Charlemagne established a system of education throughout his dominions. As early as A. D. 789, by the advice of Alcuin, he addressed a circular letter to the bishops, commanding them to establish in their cathedral cities elementary schools for the free instruction of the children of free men and the laboring classes. Each monastery was required to maintain a school for the study of the higher branches of learning. Accordingly many seminaries were established in various parts of Germany and France, of which a number are still in existence. Learned men from all parts of Europe were encouraged by the monarch to settle in these as professors. These schools became so many refuges for them, and the wise plan of their founder made them sources of permanent and great blessings to the world, and especially to the districts in which they were situated.

In person Charlemagne was of heroic stature—tall, broad-chested and of majestic presence. He was gracious and graceful in his manner, and spoke with clearness and precision. He conversed fluently in Latin and understood Greek thoroughly. He was plain and simple in his habits. He dined off four dishes, and his favorite dish

was newly killed venison roasted on the spit. He was temperate in his drinking, and hated drunkenness. During his meals, his favorite works of history, and Augustine's "City of God" were often read aloud to him. A German by birth he was a German in all things to the day of his death. He was proud of his Teutonic blood, and exerted himself to preserve the ancient German customs, and especially the old heroic ballads, of his ancestors. He always wore the national Frankish dress, and never appeared in the Roman garb except upon rare occasions of state.

In A. D. 813 the emperor caused his only surviving son Louis to be crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle as his successor. Early in 814 Charlemagne himself died at the age of seventy-two, and was buried under the basilica at Aix-la-Chapelle. The great empire which he had built up needed a great man like himself to preserve it, and it fell to pieces for want of such a sovereign almost immediately after his death. Louis, known as "Le Débonnaire," or "the Gentle," was utterly unsuited to the government of so warlike an empire in such troubled times. Feeling his own incompetence, and hoping to preserve peace among his turbulent sons, he gave to each of them in A. D. 817 a share in his dominions. To Lothaire he gave the Rhineland and Italy, and associated him in the empire, Pepin received Aquitaine, and Louis Bavaria and the adjoining districts. A fourth son, named Charles, was born to the emperor by a second marriage. In 829 he made a separate kingdom for this son. The other three, thinking themselves wronged by this act, rebelled against their father, and so filled the remainder of his life with sorrow and disaster that the emperor, after suffering many reverses of fortune, retired to an island in the Rhine near Ingelheim, and died there in A. D. 840.

Upon the death of Louis, Lothaire took the imperial title. Pepin being dead, his surviving brothers Louis and Charles, called "the Bald," made war against him, and in 841 inflicted a severe defeat upon him at Fontenay. The war was brought to a close in A. D. 843 by the *Treaty of Verdun*, by which the brothers divided the dominions of their grandfather between them. Lothaire kept the imperial title, and received Italy and a long narrow strip of territory reaching from the Mediterranean to the North Sea. This kingdom was called

Lotharingia after him. The name was subsequently restricted to the country north of Burgundy. The region to the west of Lothaire's kingdom was given to Charles the Bald, and Louis received the Teutonic kingdom or Germany, stretching eastward from the Rhine to the Elbe, the Saal, and the Bohemian forest, and from the North Sea to the Alps. All three of the brothers were called Kings of the Franks. The emperor was accorded a certain pre-eminence by his younger brothers, but in reality they were independent of him.

The treaty of Verdun marks an important point in the history of Europe. With it the history of the Franks closes, and France and Germany take their places in the world as distinct and separate nations. The history of Lothaire's kingdom has already been related in connection with that of Italy.

In closing our account of the formation and disruption of Charlemagne's empire, we may properly devote our attention to the consideration of the general adjustment of European society which grew out of it, and which is known as *The Feudal System*.

The effort of Charlemagne was to form a strong centralized monarchy, and during his lifetime he was able to conduct his government upon this plan; but upon his death the whole system he had built up fell to pieces.

The entire empire was covered with the dominions of powerful nobles, who had been compelled to yield to the superior genius of the great emperor, but who rendered merely a nominal obedience to his weaker successors. Nor was this unnatural, for the nobles, and especially those in the more distant portions of the empire, found themselves obliged to depend upon their own exertions for the defence of their possessions against the enemies which threatened them—the Magyars, Saracens, and Northmen. They made war and peace upon their own responsibility, and thus there gradually grew up among them a spirit of independence, which rendered them dependent upon and loyal to the sovereign only in name. Many of the great princes—such as the Dukes of Saxony, Thuringia, Franconia, Bavaria, and Swabia, in the East; the Dukes of Aquitaine and Brittany, and Counts of Anjou and Paris, in the West; and the Marquises of Friuli, Ivrea, Spoleto, and Tuscany, in Italy—were wealthier and more powerful than their nominal sovereigns. They were the actual lords

of the cities and castles within their dominions. Still, as a common head was necessary, the sovereign was obeyed when he was strong enough to compel obedience, and the relations between the monarch and his nobles gradually adjusted themselves upon the plan now to be described.

In the Teutonic nations there were originally, as we have seen, three classes of people—the nobles, the common freemen, and the slaves. The nobles and the common freemen alone possessed the right to own lands or other property. Every free German who had helped his chief to conquer a country received as his share of the spoil a specified portion of the land, which was called his *allodium* or freehold, and which was absolutely his own property. The chief or king received a proportionately larger share than any of his followers. In the course of time the chief began to grant portions of his estate to his most trusted followers on condition of their being faithful to him in peace, and serving him in war. This grant was called a *feudum*, or *fief*, and land so held was said to be held by a *feudal tenure*. Unlike the freehold, which was a man's absolute property, the fief was not the holder's property by right, and could be held only so long as the conditions of the grant were faithfully complied with. The real owner was called the lord, suzerain, or liege, and the person to whom he granted the land was termed his vassal, liegeman, or retainer, or simply his man. Each year the vassal, kneeling before his lord, placed his hands between his, and swore to be his true man, to serve him faithfully, with life and limb, in peace and war, in consideration of the lands conferred. The lord, on his part, swore to grant protection to his vassal. As the great princes held their lands from the sovereign, as his vassals, so the lesser nobles and knights held theirs from the dukes, marquises, counts, and bishops, and these divided their fiefs among still humbler vassals. In course of time all the land became subject to feudal tenures. The owners of freeholds, unable to defend themselves against their more powerful neighbors, secured the protection of some powerful lord by resigning their lands to him and receiving them back as fiefs. By the close of the eleventh century the feudal system had spread over the whole of Western Europe, and there were scarcely any freeholds in existence. At first the feudal grants were made for a term of years or during the life

of the vassal, but in course of time they became hereditary. Upon the extinction of the family the estate reverted to the suzerain, who, in the case of the great vassals, was the king.

The vassal was bound to attend his lord in war and to fight under his banner. If the king were the suzerain, the vassal was obliged to attend his court upon occasions of ceremony. In time of war the king summoned the great vassals to take arms in his defence. These required their own vassals to assemble under their banners. The smaller nobles and knights made a similar demand upon the farmers and yeomen subject to them, each of whom was obliged to arm and equip himself at his own cost. Sometimes the feudal superior bore the cost of such equipment.

"The general introduction of these feudal or military tenures," says Freeman, "caused some important changes both in political and social matters. The change was made gradually, and it was slower in England than in most parts of the continent; but its general effect was to raise those men who held their lands by these new tenures above all others, and to thrust the poorer freemen lower down. In many countries they gradually sank into the state of serfs or villains; that is, men who are not actually slaves to be bought and sold man by man, but who are bound to the land and pass with it. Meanwhile the class of actual slaves was dying out, and the serf-class was increased both by the freemen who fell down to it, and by the slaves who were raised into it. Again the smaller freemen lost power in another way. The old Teutonic constitution, by which each freeman had a right to appear in the national assembly, could no longer be fully carried out when the Franks or any other people had got possession of a large country. All men could not come in their own persons, and it was not for a long time, not till the twelfth or thirteenth century, that any one thought of choosing a smaller number of men to speak and act on behalf of all, as is now done in the English parliament, and in most of the countries of Europe and America. From all these causes working together two chief results happened. First, in most parts of Europe the old national assemblies either quite died out, or were attended only by the chief men who could come in their own persons. Secondly, each province or district had a tendency to set up for itself."

The great mass of the people during the middle ages were serfs, not, as has been said, actually slaves, but attached to the land, and passed with it from owner to owner. Practically their condition was little better than that of slaves. They were at the mercy of their feudal lord, and as he was also the magistrate of his district, they had no redress against his tyranny. They were kept in ignorance, and had no incentive to strive for material prosperity, as their possessions might at any moment be taken from them by their feudal lord. The latter, secure in his strong castle, was usually a tyrant, and used his power to enrich himself at the expense of his helpless serfs.

Another evil of the feudal system was that it retarded the growth of nationality and of good government. A state was merely a confederation of distinct powers under a common head, the emperor or king, who could only enforce the law against disobedient vassals by making war upon them. The sovereign dealt only with the great nobles. The allegiance of the lesser vassals was due, not to the king as the representative of the state, but to the feudal lords, who stood between them and the state. Consequently the system resulted in the reign of lawlessness, or "fist law," as it was called, and the three centuries succeeding Charlemagne were a period of the deepest ignorance and misery throughout Europe.

As the royal power increased in the various countries of Europe, the power of the nobles was weakened, and the feudal began to give place to the modern system. The kings were the first to conceive the ennobling idea of nationality. By degrees they concentrated power in their own hands, and using it for the good of the whole country, drew to their support the mass of the people, whose champions they became against the nobles. Their decrees were enforced throughout their entire dominion, and a settled and definitely arranged *law*, proceeding from a common source, took the place of the mere *will* of the feudal chiefs.

The growth of the cities also contributed in a great degree to the destruction of feudalism. As these grew up they were endowed with certain important and exactly defined privileges, which secured and perpetuated their freedom. They thus attracted numerous inhabitants, and became in time the bulwarks of freedom against the power of the nobles. They became also the nurseries of the free middle class or com-

mons of Europe, the true soldiers of liberty, who finally destroyed the feudal system with its attendant and inherent evils, and by checking even the power of the kings, won for Europe its best system of government, limited representative monarchy.

The efforts of the church to obtain supreme power in spiritual affairs also contributed to break down feudalism. The clergy naturally allied themselves with the king against the nobles. They were the only protectors of the weak and poor against the great and powerful, and the spirit of their religion, as well as an appreciation of their true policy, prompted them to espouse the popular cause. Their own lands were free from molestation, and were, as we have shown, refuges for the oppressed, which were secure against even the most daring. They exerted themselves nobly to check the violence and brutality of the nobles. In A. D. 1033 the French clergy were able to impose a partial barrier to the private wars which caused so much suffering to all Europe. It was decreed that no armed expedition or warlike act should be engaged in between sunset on Wednesday and sunrise on Monday of each week, or on any holy festival which might occur during the remaining days. This respite was termed "the Truce of God," and was supported by the influence of the Catholic Church throughout Europe, the general expectation of the near approach of the end of the world inclining all classes to unite in obedience to the exhortations of the clergy.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE TREATY OF VERDUN TO THE ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF HOHENSTAUFEN.

Reign of Louis the German—Contests with the Northmen—Hamburg Taken by them—Rise of the Archbishopric of Bremen—Charles the Fat Emperor—His Dominions—Arnulf King of Germany—Becomes Master of Italy and is Crowned Emperor—Louis the Child—Germany Ravaged by the Hungarians—Henry the Fowler Becomes the German King—Buys a Peace of the Hungarians—The War Renewed—Henry Defeats the Hungarians—Conquers the Wends—Reorganizes the German Army—Fortifies the Towns—Rapid Growth of the Towns in Population and Importance—Otto I. King—His Coronation—Rebellion of Prince Henry—Wars of Otto—The Mark of Schleswig—Spread of Christianity in North Germany—Marriage of Otto and Queen Adelaide of Lombardy—Otto Conquers Lombardy—Destroys the Power of the Hungarians—Otto Crowned Emperor—The Holy Roman Empire—Otto II. Emperor—Subdues the Revolts of his Vassals—Otto

III.—His Character—Makes Gerbert Pope—Henry of Bavaria Made King—Is Succeeded by Conrad of Franconia—Conrad's Able Reign—His Wars—Makes the Fiefs of the Empire Hereditary—Henry III.—Henry IV. Becomes King—Troubles of the Regency—Henry of age—Oppresses the Saxons—Revolt of the Saxons—It is subdued—Quarrel of Henry with Gregory VII.—The War of Investitures Begun—Henry Excommunicated—His Reverses—Henry's Visit to Canossa—His Humiliation by the Pope—Rudolph of Suabia a Rival Emperor—Henry Sets Up an Antipope—Is Crowned Emperor—Death of Gregory and Rudolph—Rebellion of Prince Henry—Death of Henry IV.—Henry V. is Crowned Emperor.

THE first years of the reign of "Louis the German," as he is called in consequence of his being given Germany as his kingdom by the treaty of Verdun, were marked by frequent contests with the Northmen, a race of Scandinavian pirates who now began to inflict great suffering upon the European coasts. The fame of Charlemagne had kept them from molesting his territories, but after his death they assailed the exposed points of the coast with impunity, sailed up the navigable rivers, and ravaged the country along their shores. Louis exerted himself actively to protect his kingdom against their depredations, but could not prevent them from inflicting great suffering upon it. About A. D. 847 Hamburg was attacked and nearly destroyed by them. The archbishop fled to Bremen, which town became the seat of the northern archbishopric of Germany. Louis also made war against the Slavonians, over whom he claimed supremacy, and was frequently involved in hostilities with Charles the Bald, who was constantly seeking to extend his territory. He died at Frankfurt in A. D. 876.

Louis was succeeded by his sons Charles, called the Fat, Carloman, and Louis. The latter two dying, left Charles the Fat sole King of Germany. He became King of Italy a little later, and was crowned emperor by the pope. In A. D. 884 he was also chosen King of the West Franks. With the exception of Burgundy, almost the whole of Charlemagne's empire was reunited in the hands of Charles the Fat. He had great trouble with the Northmen, who swarmed into his dominions, and especially into France. In A. D. 885 they laid siege to Paris, and were bravely resisted. The emperor, instead of marching to the relief of Paris, was weak enough to bribe them to withdraw; thus offering them a powerful incentive to return again. The imbecility

of Charles disgusted his people, and in A. D. 887 they deposed him. He died the next year. With his death the Carolingian empire fell to pieces, never to be reunited again. Italy and Burgundy were also separated from Germany, and remained so for a time. The usual title of the German sovereign was "King of the East Franks." East Francia, or Franconia, it must be remembered, was at this time only a part, although the principal part, of Germany. It embraced the basins of the Main, the Neckar, and the Lahn. Saxony and Thuringia lay north of it, and south and south-east were Alemannia, occupying what is now Suabia and Bavaria.

Charles the Fat was succeeded in Germany by Arnulf, the illegitimate son of his brother Carloman. Arnulf was a brave and active sovereign, and soon after he began his reign inflicted such a severe defeat upon the Northmen at Löwen, in A. D. 891, that they gave Germany but little trouble afterwards. In A. D. 894 Arnulf entered Italy to settle the quarrel between the claimants of the Italian crown. He made himself master of Italy, took Rome, and was crowned emperor by the pope. His power in Italy was merely nominal, and he soon returned to Germany, where he died A. D. 899.

Arnulf was succeeded by his son, Louis the Child, whose short reign was full of misfortune. The Magyars, or Hungarians, a Turanian race, who had begun to settle the country formerly occupied by the Avars, and who had acted as the allies of Arnulf in his war against the Moravians, invaded Germany soon after the death of that king, and came back each year during the reign of Louis. Their army consisted of huge masses of cavalry, and as the Germans fought chiefly on foot, the Hungarians were victorious in nearly every battle. In addition to this, as Germany was an open country without fortresses or towns in which the people could take refuge, large numbers of them were slain, and many more were carried away captive by the Hungarians. Louis was powerless to resist these fierce enemies, who ravaged the country so thoroughly that they reduced it to almost a desert.

Louis died in A. D. 911, and the nobles of Germany conferred the crown upon Conrad of Franconia, a prince well suited to the government of a great people. His authority was disputed by some of the more powerful nobles, and especially by Henry,

Duke of Saxony. In A. D. 918 Conrad received a mortal wound in a war with the Bavarians, and on his death-bed advised the nobles to bestow the crown upon his old adversary, Henry of Saxony, whom he esteemed the one most worthy of it.

In accordance with Conrad's wish the nobles made Henry king. He is usually called "the Fowler," from a tradition that the messengers who brought him the news of his election found him hunting among the Hartz mountains with his falcons. His elevation was at first opposed by the Dukes of Bavaria and Suabia, but they were at length obliged to submit. Henry proved himself the wisest and most vigorous sovereign who had reigned in Germany since the days of Charlemagne. Soon after he began his reign the invasions of the Hungarians were renewed. In 924 he captured one of their principal chieftains, and in order to ransom this prince, the Hungarians agreed to cease their invasions for nine years on condition that Henry should pay them tribute. At the expiration of this time they renewed the war, but Henry had spent the interval in preparing to meet them, and he inflicted upon them such a severe defeat that they did not again invade Germany during his reign. The grateful Germans bestowed upon their king the title of "Father of the Fatherland."

In the meantime, however, Henry had seized Lotharingia, which had formed a part of the western kingdom, and had given it to a duke who held it as a fief of the German crown. As such it remained for many centuries a portion of the German kingdom. Henry also carried on several wars with the Slaves. He compelled the Duke of Bohemia to become his vassal, and conquered the Wends, who occupied the country to the northeast of Germany. After his great victory over the Hungarians, Henry turned his arms against the Danes, who had begun the war by invading Saxony and Friesland. He drove them back into their own country, and wrested from them the region between the Eider and the Schlei, which in more modern times constituted the duchy of Holstein.

The internal administration of Henry was as successful as his wars. He reorganized the German armies, and, by training the nobles and their followers to fight as cavalry, placed his army in a condition to meet the Hungarians on terms of equality and to defeat them. Appreciating the importance

of towns as places of defence and refuge for his people against such an enemy as the Hungarians, Henry fortified the towns which already existed with strong walls, and built new towns which were provided with a similar protection. Many fortresses were also constructed by his order at important points, and around these towns gradually grew up. The king compelled every ninth freeman to reside in the nearest



HENRY THE FOWLER.

fortress or town as a builder or defender. The remaining eight freemen provided for his support and furnished the fortress with stores, by contributing one-third of their produce. All public meetings and festivities were required to be held in the towns, and they were made the seats of the courts of justice. In short, the king endeavored in many ways to encourage the growth of the towns, and the effect of his efforts con-

tinued long after his death. He thus became the founder of a new class—the *Burghers*—among the German people. The towns were naturally the centres of commerce, and the burghers became the trading class, and the natural opponents of the lawless nobles. Consequently in the struggles which afterwards took place between the nobles and the king, the burghers were the firm and useful friends of the sovereign, and thus rewarded the fostering care of Henry the Fowler.

Having established his power in Germany, Henry began to consider the propriety of making himself emperor, but his death, which occurred in A. D. 936, prevented this.

Otto I. succeeded his father. He was twenty-four years old, and had been married for several years to Edith, the daughter of the English King Edward, and granddaughter of Alfred the Great. The firmness of the royal power in Germany was well shown at the time of Otto's accession, by the part which the great dukes played in the coronation ceremonies. The Duke of Lotharingia acted as chamberlain; the Duke of Franconia as carver; the Duke of Suabia as cupbearer; and the Duke of Bavaria as master of the horse. Soon afterwards Thankmar, the half-brother of the king, aided by the Dukes of Franconia and Lotharingia, rebelled against him. Thankmar was slain in the early stages of the conflict, but his place was taken by Henry, the king's full brother, who aspired to the crown. Otto fought manfully for his throne, and at length succeeded in crushing the rebellion. Both of the rebel dukes were slain, and Prince Henry submitted, and was forgiven. In A. D. 945 the duchy of Bavaria became vacant, and was bestowed by the king upon Henry, who atoned for his past misconduct by his gallant attacks upon the Hungarians. Otto bestowed the duchy of Lotharingia upon Count Conrad, who afterwards married Luitgard, the king's only daughter. The king kept the duchy of Franconia in his own hands, and when Duke Hermann, of Suabia, died, in A. D. 949, Otto conferred that duchy upon his own son Ludolph, who had married Hermann's daughter. In this way all the great duchies passed into the hands of the king and those who were immediately dependent on him, and he thus became more powerful than his ancestors had been. Nor was Otto content to be king only in name. He was

the real ruler of his dominions, and had both the power and ability to compel his vassals to discharge their duties towards him.

Otto was a great warrior as well as a vigorous ruler. He gave aid to his brother-in-law, King Louis, of France, against the Dukes of France and Normandy. The Danes, who had won back the territory taken from them by Henry I., were driven to the north again, and Otto reoccupied the lands between the Eider and the Schlei, and erected the Mark of Schlesweig for the defence of that portion of the German border. The Duke of Poland was compelled to become the vassal of the German crown, as was also the Danish king or chieftain Harold Blue Tooth, and these countries were for the next two centuries regarded as fiefs of the German crown. The German border was advanced along the shores of the Baltic and between the middle Elbe and the Oder by the conquests wrested from the Slaves by the lieutenants of Otto. The king was careful to plant all the territories conquered by or for him with German colonies, and exerted himself to extend Christianity among the pagan tribes which were forced to submit to him. He founded many bishoprics for this purpose, among others the archbishopric of Magdeburg in A. D. 968.

In A. D. 951 the attention of Otto was suddenly called to another quarter. The beautiful widowed Queen Adelaide of Lombardy, being cruelly persecuted by Beranger II., because of her refusal to marry his son, appealed to Otto for protection. The German king, who was a chivalrous knight, at once went to her assistance, and, having been a widower for six years, married her. He defeated Beranger and took the title of "King of the Lombards," but allowed Beranger to retain Lombardy as his vassal.

A new rebellion now broke out, headed by Otto's son, Ludolf of Suabia, who was aided by Conrad of Lotharingia, the Archbishop of Mayence, and others. It cost Otto a sharp struggle to quell it, but he succeeded in doing so. He then made his brother Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne, Duke of Lotharingia, and Burchard, the son-in-law of Henry of Bavaria, Duke of Suabia. His eldest son, William, being already a priest, was made Archbishop of Mayence.

These troubles encouraged the Hunga-

rians to attempt once more the invasion of Germany. They entered Bavaria in strong force in A. D. 955. Otto took the field against them, and inflicted upon them a crushing defeat near Augsburg. This victory finally broke their power and put an end to their invasions of Germany; but it was dearly purchased, for among the slain were the bravest of the German leaders, including Conrad, who had sought by his gallant deeds to wipe out the disgrace of his treason. Until the thirteenth century the Hungarian kings were at least nominally subject to the German sovereigns.

The troubles in Italy grew greater during each succeeding year of Beranger's reign, and at length Pope John XII. urged Otto to put an end to the confusion by assuming the imperial crown. Otto went to Italy towards the close of 961, having first secured the succession of his young son Otto by causing him to be crowned King of Germany at Aachen. He caused himself to be crowned King of Lombardy at Pavia, and was crowned emperor by the pope at Rome, February 2d, 962. The three German kings who preceded him had been neither kings of Lombardy nor emperors, but from this time the German sovereigns claimed both the Lombard and imperial crowns as their right. As the emperor was regarded as occupying a much higher position and entitled to a more perfect allegiance than a mere feudal sovereign, the German kings naturally attached a much greater value to their imperial than to their royal dignity.

Thus was revived the "Holy Roman Empire," the name of which shows the hold which it had upon the imaginations and affections of the people of the time. "The connection of the German kingdom with the empire had many important results in Germany. Up to Otto's time there had been very little truly national feeling among the Germans. They thought of themselves as Franks, Saxons, Suabians, and so forth; hardly at all as a united people. But when their kings acquired the right to be crowned Roman emperors, they themselves became the imperial race. They began therefore to take pride in the common German name. A feeling of nationality was thus aroused, which never afterwards quite left the Germans even in their darkest periods. On the whole, however, Germany was not the better for its connec-

tion with the empire. By being emperors the German kings became involved in struggles with which their native kingdom had nothing to do. They thus wasted much German blood and treasure; and they lost almost all real power. Whilst they were absent, sometimes for years at a time, carrying on distant wars, their great vassals at home ruled as sovereign princes within their own dominions. When the emperors returned and tried to assert their rights as feudal kings, they too often found that they had spent nearly all their strength, and could do very little against a united and powerful aristocracy. Germany was thus kept from growing up, like France and England, into a firm monarchy, and was in the end divided into many practically independent small states."

Otto the Great spent the last years of his life almost entirely in Italy. In A. D. 967 he caused his son, Otto II., to be crowned emperor, and associated him in the government. In 972 the younger Otto was married to Theophano, the daughter of the Eastern Emperor Nicephorus. Otto I. then returned to Germany, where he died in A. D. 973.

Otto II. was now the sole emperor. He was nineteen years old, and as he had many of his father's best traits, especially his decision of character, he gave promise of being a sovereign of unusual merit, a promise which was blasted by his early death. Soon after he began his reign, Henry the Wrangler, Duke of Bavaria, and son of the Henry who had given Otto I. so much trouble, rebelled against him. The revolt was easily quelled, and Henry was deprived of his duchy and imprisoned. Harold, King of Denmark, then endeavored to throw off his allegiance, and after him the Duke of Poland did likewise, but both were obliged to submit. In A. D. 978 the French king tried to seize Lotharingia. Otto was at Aachen at the time, and barely escaped capture when that city was taken. He invaded France at the head of a large army and encamped on the heights of Montmartre before Paris, but the approach of winter compelled him to retrace his steps without having taken the city. Lothaire finally surrendered all claim to Lotharingia, and the matter was settled. Otto was always more an Italian than a German in sympathy, and in 980 went to Rome, never to return to his native land. He at-

tempted the conquest of southern Italy, but failed, as has been related. He died in A. D. 982.

The Empress Theophano was left regent for her son, Otto III., an infant, who had been solemnly proclaimed his father's successor by a diet at Verona before his father's death. Henry of Bavaria attempted a revolution, but the other great nobles all remained faithful to their allegiance, and Henry was glad to submit upon being allowed to retain his duchy. The regency of Theophano was able and popular. The frontiers were firmly maintained, and the internal affairs of the empire wisely administered. The empress bestowed the Mark of Austria upon Leopold I. of Babenberg, and that prince extended his possessions by conquering a portion of the Hungarian territory, and settling it with German colonists. The Babenberg family continued to rule Austria until its extinction in the thirteenth century.

Otto III. was carefully educated by tutors chosen by his mother. The most famous of these was Gerbert, Archbishop of Rheims, the most learned man of his day, under whom the young king made such marked progress that he was called "The Wonder of the World" by the courtiers. In A. D. 996, though scarcely sixteen at the time, Otto repaired to Rome with a large army, and was there crowned emperor by the pope. A little later, the reigning pontiff being dead, he made his tutor, Gerbert, pope, and he ascended the papal throne as Sylvester II. Otto was a German in name only. In feelings and tastes he was an Italian, and he dreamed a splendid dream of reviving the ancient glories of the Roman empire, and reigning with Rome as his capital. He died too soon to accomplish anything. He was poisoned in A. D. 1002 by Stephanina, the widow of Crescentius, who had been shamefully treated by the Germans. He was buried, in accordance with his request, in the same tomb with Charlemagne, at Aix-la-Chapelle; and when the tomb was opened the body of the great emperor, clad in the imperial robes, was seen still sitting on its marble throne.

Henry, Duke of Bavaria, son of Henry the Wrangler, was made king in place of Otto III., A. D. 1003. The great nobles had acquired a state of semi-independence, and Henry II. had great difficulty in making them acknowledge his accession, but he at length succeeded in doing so. The

Duke of Poland had thrown off his allegiance and had conquered Bohemia and Silesia. After a struggle of fourteen years Henry compelled the Polish duke to do homage for his crown, and to surrender Bohemia and Meissen. Still the dependence of Poland upon Germany was simply nominal, and after Henry's death the Duke Boleslaw made himself King of Poland. In 1004 Henry became King of Italy, and in 1014 was crowned Emperor of the Romans. He was a generous friend to the church, and was afterwards canonized by the pope. He died in 1024. During his reign the title of the German kings, which had been that of "King of the East Franks," or "King of the Franks and Saxons," was changed to "King of the Romans." The German sovereigns did not become emperors till crowned by the pope, but Henry chose the new title in order to establish the principle that the German king, and no other, had the right to the imperial crown. The condition of Germany had also been greatly changed by this time by the rapid growth of towns which had sprung up chiefly around cathedrals, monasteries, fortresses, and the castles of the great nobles.

Upon the death of Henry II., Count Conrad, a Franconian noble, was chosen king by the nobles. He was descended from the Conrad who had married a daughter of Otto the Great, and was thus related to the Saxon dynasty. Conrad II. was forty years old, and his reign was marked by firmness and wisdom. He endeavored to increase the royal authority by diminishing that of the dukes, and in this was very successful. He made his son Henry, who gave promise of great ability, Duke of Bavaria, Suabia, and Carinthia, thus drawing these powerful duchies into an active support of the crown. Conrad was also the friend of the burgher class, and by favoring the cities won the support of the citizens, who regarded him as their natural protector against the nobles. In A. D. 1026 Conrad was crowned King of Italy, and emperor the next year. In 1032 he became King of Burgundy, the crown of which kingdom had been bequeathed to him by Rudolph III., whose niece, Gisela, was Conrad's wife. The crown of Burgundy after Conrad's death was thus a legitimate possession of the German kings, but owing to their weakness they were unable to assert their claim, and the greater part of the kingdom passed

into the hands of France. Conrad's title was disputed by Duke Ernst of Suabia, who believed himself the rightful heir of Burgundy, as he was the son of Gisela by a former marriage, but the nobles refused to follow him, and he was imprisoned by Conrad, but was afterwards set free. Conrad's reign was marked by many wars. He put down several rebellions of the Duke of Bohemia, repulsed an invasion of the Poles, and compelled the Polish King Miesko to do homage for his crown, and to surrender Lusatia, which Henry II. had granted to Boleslaw. He also conquered the Slavic tribes on the Oder and lower Elbe. King Stephen of Hungary attempted to invade Germany, but was defeated by Henry, the son of Conrad, A. D. 1031, and compelled to make peace. In 1037 Conrad made all fiefs in his dominions hereditary, by an edict, in which he decreed that no holder of a fief should be deprived of his lands except by the judgment of his peers. At first this law was enforced only in Lombardy, but at length it was extended to Germany also. It was a great gain for the minor vassals, as it freed them to a great extent from the power of their immediate lords, and made them dependent upon the king for protection. In A. D. 1039 Conrad died, and was buried at Spire.

Henry III., the son of Conrad, had been crowned German king and King of Burgundy during the life of his father. He inherited many of his father's best qualities, and by pursuing his policy of depressing the great princes and protecting the lower vassals in their rights, made himself the most powerful ruler that had reigned in Germany since Charlemagne. He bestowed the duchies of Bavaria, Suabia, and Carinthia, which he had received from his father, upon men who were willing to hold them as his dependent vassals. He pursued the same course with the duchy of Upper Lotharingia, and being opposed by Gottfried, the Duke of Lower Lotharingia, he defeated him, and forced him to retire into Italy. He exerted himself earnestly to maintain peace and the reign of law in his kingdom, and in A. D. 1043 proclaimed a general peace throughout Germany. He enforced this decree, and succeeded in almost abolishing the private wars of the nobles. He was a liberal friend of learning, and sought to reform the abuses of the church, in order that it might be fit for its great mission. He treated the pope as his

dependent, and deposed several of the pontiffs whom he considered unfit for their august station, and set up others in their place. He appointed Germans only to the papal throne, and had his life been prolonged would doubtless have made it impossible for the pontiff to pursue such a course as that of Gregory VII. towards Henry IV. In 1046 he was crowned emperor by Clement II., a German pope of his own creation. Henry conducted several wars against the Hungarians, and compelled their king to do him homage for his crown. He died in 1056, in the fortieth year of his age.

Henry left his crown to his son, Henry IV., a child of six years. Agnes, the mother of the young king, became regent, and her weak government enabled the great nobles to regain nearly all the power of which Conrad II. and Henry III. had deprived them. In 1062 Hanno, Archbishop of Cologne, compelled Queen Agnes to resign the regency, and obtained possession of the young king's person, intending to make himself his guardian and the real ruler of the kingdom. Adalbert, Archbishop of Bremen, a powerful prelate, jealous of Hanno, sought to take Henry from him, and finally succeeded, as Henry thoroughly disliked the stern Hanno and preferred the gay and lively Adalbert, who, however, proved a bad preceptor, for under him Henry's education was neglected, and he became imbued with low tastes, and grew to be wayward and passionate. Adalbert taught him to regard the German dukes as his natural enemies, and implanted in him a bitter hatred of the Saxons.

In 1065 Henry was declared of age, having reached the age of fifteen. He made Goslar his capital, and retained Adalbert as his most trusted adviser. He began his reign by treating the Saxons with great and needless harshness, and acted as if he intended to add the Saxon duchy to the royal lands. The next year the princes compelled Adalbert to leave the court, but Henry persisted in the mistaken course he had begun. Otto of Nordheim, a powerful Saxon count, had been made by Queen Agnes Duke of Bavaria. Henry, without just cause, deprived Otto of his duchy, and bestowed it upon Guelph, son of the Margrave Azzo of Este, who had married a descendant of the ancient Bavarian house of Guelph. Otto thereupon began to plot with Magnus, the son and heir of the Duke

of Saxony. Their plot being defeated, both were imprisoned. Otto was soon set free, but Henry kept Magnus a captive. Upon the death of the Saxon duke, the nobles of that duchy repaired to Goslar, and demanded that Henry should set their young duke free. The king's refusal to grant this demand brought on a war, in which he was at first worsted and obliged to take refuge in Worms, which city remained faithful to him. The Saxons, elated by their easy success, allowed themselves to be led into a series of outrages which shocked the entire nation, and produced such a reaction that Henry was soon able to take the field against them with a large army, and to defeat them in a bloody battle near Langensalza, A. D. 1075. Promises were made the Saxons in the king's name, which induced them to submit. Henry soon broke faith with them, displaced many of their nobles, and gave their lands to vassals of his own. In strange contrast with this conduct, he restored to Otto of Nordheim his Saxon lands, and made him administrator of the duchy of Saxony, notwithstanding Otto was his most determined enemy.

The king was greatly mistaken in supposing that he had quieted the disturbances in his kingdom by this arrangement. A feeling of profound discontent pervaded the whole of Germany. Rudolph of Suabia, Otto of Nordheim, and a host of other enemies were only watching an opportunity to throw off the royal authority, and Henry's tyranny had left him few friends in any class of the people. Gregory VII., who now filled the chair of St. Peter, had been watching for an opportunity to humble the German king and advance the papal authority, and he sagely availed himself of this crisis as the time best suited to his purpose. During the war with the Saxons he had addressed a letter to Henry, commanding him to abstain from bestowing ecclesiastical offices, which practice the pope termed simony. Henry, unable to engage in any new quarrel, promised compliance with this demand, but upon the settlement of the Saxon rebellion he refused to be bound by his promise. This brought matters to a crisis, and the pope resolved to strike a decisive blow. The promise of Henry had been wrung from him at a moment when he was engaged in a life and death struggle for his crown, and it was quite natural that he should disregard it,

not only for this reason, but because the greater part of the lands in Germany was held by churchmen, and had Gregory's wishes been carried out these spiritual princes would have owed allegiance to none save the pope. Gregory, on the other hand, had an equally great interest at stake. By humbling Henry he would not only settle the question of investitures, but would establish the principle upon which he meant the future policy of the Roman see should rest—that the pope, as the vicar of Christ, was above all earthly rulers and entitled to give laws to them. In 1075, upon Henry's refusal to comply with his demand concerning investitures, Gregory summoned the king to appear before him at Rome to answer to charges brought against him by the Saxons and others. Henry regarded this as an act of priestly interference, and refused to comply with the order. He summoned a synod of the German bishops at Worms, in 1076, and caused Gregory to be deposed. The pope met this step by a sentence of excommunication against Henry. He declared him no longer king, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance to him. This was a bolder move than Henry had looked for. Had he been a popular king, strong in the support of his people, he might have defied the pope, and it is doubtful whether Gregory would have ventured upon such an assumption of power. But, as has been said, the discontent of the Germans was widespread and deep, and the pope well knew that the nobles would eagerly seize upon any pretext to rebel against their unpopular king. The result justified his expectation. A few remained faithful to Henry, but the larger party sided with his enemies, who openly accepted the papal sentence, and Germany was thus divided into two hostile factions. The struggle which ensued is known as the "War of the Investitures." It had a deeper significance, and was really a contest between the papacy and the empire for supremacy.

The princes opposed to Henry met at Tribur to elect a new king. Henry, realizing the extent of his danger, endeavored to influence the assembly, and succeeded so far that it was agreed that Henry should be given a year to make his peace with the pope, but that if at the end of that time the sentence of excommunication was not removed a new king should be chosen. In this emergency Henry resolved to throw

himself upon the generosity of Gregory, ignorant that no such quality existed in the breast of the stern pontiff. His journey to Italy, his humiliation, and the refusal of Gregory to do more than remove the sen-

proclaimed Rudolph of Suabia king in the place of Henry. Henry immediately returned to Germany, where he was joined by a large party who had been exasperated by the shameful treatment inflicted upon



HENRY IV. AT THE CASTLE OF CANOSSA.

tence of excommunication on condition of his submitting to be tried for his crimes, have been related. Gregory also insisted that Henry should not resume the exercise of his authority as king in the interim.

In March, 1077, the discontented nobles

their sovereign by the pope. The cities were especially loyal to him. He drove Rudolph out of Suabia into Saxony, where he was bravely defended against the king by Otto of Nordheim. In 1080 Gregory recognized Rudolph as king, and Henry

retaliated by summoning a council of German bishops, who set up Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, as pope, with the title of Clement III. In the same year Rudolph was killed in a great battle near Zeitz, and Henry's cause gained ground so rapidly that the struggle was soon decided in Germany in his favor. In 1081 he found himself strong enough to leave the direction of the war to Frederick of Suabia, his son-in-law, to whom he had given Rudolph's duchy, and who thus became the founder of the great house of Hohenstaufen, while he himself entered Italy and attacked the pope, the fomentor of the strife. The events of his Italian campaign have been related. He was crowned emperor at Rome by Clement III., and succeeded in driving Gregory into exile, where he died. Henry returned to Germany in 1085, and gave his personal supervision to the struggle with the Saxons, who, after attempting to set up two other kings after Rudolph's death, became weary of the war, and in 1087 submitted. Henry had learned wisdom from experience, and as he treated them with leniency, peace was restored for a while in Germany.

The successors of Gregory VII. diligently pursued the course he had begun, and Henry found that the death of his old antagonist did not end the struggle with Rome. They stooped to the shameful task of inciting his own children to rebel against him. In 1091 Pope Urban II. and the Countess Matilda induced Henry's eldest son Conrad to take arms against his father. Conrad was supported by the cities of Lombardy, and was crowned King of Italy, first at Monza, and then at Milan. He did not live long to enjoy the fruits of his rebellion. In 1099 the emperor caused his second son Henry to be crowned German king, and the younger monarch swore a solemn oath not to attempt to seize the government during the life of his father. In 1104 the younger Henry, influenced by the evil counsels of Pope Paschal II., violated his solemn oath and rebelled against his father. Gaining the advantage of the emperor, the younger Henry treated him with great cruelty, and forced him to sign his abdication at Engelheim, in 1105. The Duke of Lotharingia endeavored to restore the emperor, but Henry IV., broken down by his reverses, died in 1106. Even after death the hostility of the popes followed him. His body was refused Christian

burial, and lay in a stone coffin in an unconsecrated chapel at Spire for five years. It was only in A. D. 1111, when the sentence of excommunication was removed, that it was properly buried.

Henry V., though he had profited by the assistance of the church during his rebellion, had no sooner become king than he became as determined a champion of the right of investiture as his father had been. Proceeding to Rome, he compelled Pope Paschal II. to crown him emperor in 1111. Upon the return of the emperor to Germany the pope renewed all his former demands, and the war of investitures broke out afresh. It was settled, as has been related, by the Concordat of Worms, the details of which have been given in the Italian history of this period. This settlement produced a peace between the emperor and the church, but during the remainder of his life he was constantly engaged in contests with his rebellious nobles, especially in northern Germany. He died in A. D. 1125, and, as he left no children, the Franconian dynasty ended with him.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE REIGN OF CONRAD III. TO THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES V.

Lothaire King—Revolt of the Nobles—Conrad of Suabia Made King—His Quarrel with the Duke of Saxony—Establishment of the Margravate of Brandenburg—Berlin Founded—Conrad takes Weinsberg—Devotion of the Women—The Gueifs and Ghibellines—The Crusades—Conrad Joins the Second Crusade—His Death—Frederick Barbarossa—Settles the Affairs of Germany—The Duchy of Austria Established—Frederick Goes to Italy—Is Crowned Emperor—His Great Reign—Revolt of Henry the Lion—He is Conquered and Deprived of his Dominions—Asks Pardon of the Emperor and is Forgiven—Barbarossa Joins the Crusade—His Death—The Legend Concerning him—Reigns of Henry VI. and Otto IV.—Frederick II. Becomes German King—Frederick II.—Evils Caused by his Absence from Germany—He Puts a Stop to Private Wars—The Moguls—Quarrel of Frederick with the Pope—Anarchy in Germany—William of Holland—The Interregnum—Rudolph of Hapsburg Chosen Emperor—Restores the Royal Authority—Albert of Austria King—Christianization of Prussia—Conquests of the Teutonic Knights and Knights of the Sword—Königsberg Founded—Loss of Power by the German Kings—The Choice of Emperor Confided to Electors—Growth of the Towns—The Free Towns—The Fengerichte—Progress of Germany in the Arts—The Minnesänger—Albert I. Murdered—Henry VII.—His Reign and Character—Reign of Louis IV.—His Quarrel with the Pope—His Errors—Revolt of his Subjects—Death of Louis—Rise of the Swiss Cantons—The Oath of Rütli—Victory of the Swiss over the Austrians

at Morgarten—Reign of Charles IV.—Persecutions of the Jews—The Golden Bull—Reign of Wenceslaus—An Era of Disorder—Austria Renews her Efforts to Conquer the Swiss—Battle of Sempach—Siegismund Emperor—Three Popes and Three Emperors—The Reformation in Bohemia—The Council of Constance—John Huss and Jerome of Prague—The Religious War—The Council of Basle—Albert II. and Frederick IV.—Maximilian—His Marriage with Mary of Burgundy—The Imperial Chamber—A Diet at Augsburg—Martin Luther—Estimate of Maximilian.

LOTHAIRE, Duke of Saxony, was chosen German king at the death of Henry, but his accession was resisted by Conrad and Frederick of Hohenstaufen, and in order to oppose them successfully, Lothaire made such concessions to the pope that Innocent II., who crowned him emperor, ventured to declare him a vassal of the Holy See. Lothaire was supported by Henry, Duke of Bavaria, surnamed "the Proud," who married the emperor's daughter, and was given the duchy of Saxony and the Italian lands of the Countess Matilda. He was thus the most powerful noble of Germany. In 1134 Frederick and Conrad of Suabia yielded to Lothaire, and in 1138 the emperor died.

The crown was claimed by Henry the Proud, the emperor's son-in-law, but the nobles conferred it upon Conrad of Franconia, the head of the Hohenstaufen family. Conrad's first act was to strike a blow at the power of his rival, Henry the Proud. He ordered him to resign Saxony, claiming that it was unlawful for him to hold two duchies at one time. Henry refused, and both Bavaria and Saxony were taken from him. The king gave Bavaria to Leopold, Margrave of Austria, and Saxony to Albert of Anhalt, called "the Bear," to whom Lothaire had granted the Northern Mark of Saxony. Henry took up arms to maintain his position, and he and his partisans gathered to themselves the Guelfic or papal party. The cities, which dreaded the interference of the pope in German affairs, sustained the king. Henry the Proud died during the contest, and left his quarrel to his son Henry the Lion. Conrad, in the interests of peace, induced Albert the Bear to relinquish the Saxon duchy, which he conferred upon Henry the Lion. To reward Albert the king erected his mark into a separate government, which subsequently took the name of the Margravate of Bran-

denburg, from the town of that name captured from the Wends by Albert. Albert's territories embraced northern Saxony, Lusatia, Salzwedel and Brandenburg. In the last-named district he laid the foundations of a city called Berlin, and about the same time Leopold of Austria founded Vienna. Count Welf, the brother of Henry the Proud, refused to accept this settlement, and continued the war in Bavaria. In 1140 he was defeated by Conrad, and obliged to take refuge in the town of Weinsberg, which yielded to the king after a long siege. According to the tradition, Conrad determined to destroy the town and put the garrison to the sword, but agreed to allow the women to leave and gave each permission to carry away what she could. The next morning the gates were opened, and a long line of women passed out, each carrying her lover or her husband on her back. Conrad was so touched by this sight, that he spared both the town and its inhabitants.

During this siege were heard for the first time the war cries which were destined to resound throughout Europe. The royal army took for their battle shout "Waiblingen," the name of a village which had been the home of the Hohenstaufen. The rebels shouted "Welf," the name of their leader. These terms were afterwards applied to the two great parties which divided the empire and are best known to us in their Italian form of Guelf and Ghibelline, the former being applied to the partisans of the pope, the latter to the imperial party.

There was now a lull in German affairs, and the people of that country were free to give their attention to the great subject which was eliciting the efforts of all Christendom—the Crusades. Conrad III. joined the Second Crusade in 1147 with an army of 70,000 men. He was accompanied by his nephew Frederick, Duke of Suabia, his old enemy Count Welf, and the flower of the German chivalry. He won a name for bravery and daring in the East, but accomplished nothing definite. He returned home in two years broken down in health. Soon after his return Count Welf headed a new rebellion, but was defeated. Conrad then prepared to go to Rome to be crowned emperor, but died before he could begin his journey, A. D. 1152.

In accordance with the advice of Conrad, the nobles conferred the crown upon his nephew, the Duke of Suabia, who became

king as Frederick I. He was subsequently known as "Frederick Barbarossa," from his red beard. He was thirty-one years old at the time of his election to the throne. He was a man of generous and noble nature, and of strong and imperious will, so that though he was devotedly loved by his friends, he was bitterly hated by his enemies, for he could be harsh and stern in asserting his rights. He was sincerely anxious to put an end to the quarrel between the Guelfs and the Ghibellines, and he was fortunately in a position to do so. His mother was a sister of Henry the Proud, and Henry the Lion was his cousin and personal friend. He bestowed upon Henry, who was already Duke of Saxony, the duchy of Bavaria, and thus made him the most powerful prince in Germany. To compensate Henry, Margrave of Austria, for relinquishing Bavaria, Frederick erected the Austrian territory into a separate and independent duchy, to be held as a fief of the crown, and made it hereditary in the female as well as in the male line.

Having thus settled the affairs of Germany, Frederick went into Italy, where the imperial power was almost dead. He was crowned emperor in 1154 by Pope Adrian IV. The events of his career in Italy, the struggle between the emperor and the cities, and the settlement of the quarrel, have already been related in the Italian history of this period. The first successes of Frederick in Italy made him the most powerful ruler in Europe. The Kings of Poland and Hungary did him homage for their crowns, and the emperor rewarded the faithful services of the Duke of Bohemia by erecting his duchy into a kingdom. Frederick married Beatrice, the heiress of the Free County of Burgundy, and thus added this part of Burgundy to the German dominions.

As a German ruler Frederick I. was great and wise. He did not entirely succeed in putting down private war, the great curse of his country, but imposed a check upon it by requiring those who engaged in it to give three days notice to their enemies. All who refused to do this were to be treated as robbers. Frederick also encouraged the growth of the cities by granting them important privileges, and making some of them free. So judicious and popular were his acts that he drew to himself the support of all Germany. Even the prelates were loyal to him. Strong in the love and sup-

port of his people, the emperor was able to bid defiance to the popes in Germany. There was no opposition for the pontiff to intrigue with. A papal legate once ventured to assert in the diet that the empire was dependent upon the Holy See, and raised such a storm of fury that his life was saved only by the personal interposition of the emperor. Had Henry IV. been such a sovereign, the sad story of his reign would have remained unwritten.

Henry the Lion for a long time enjoyed the friendship and favor of the emperor, and grew in prosperity. He founded several new cities, one of which was Munich, and greatly assisted the growth in wealth and power of Hamburg, Lübeck, and others. His success made him haughty and arrogant, and his overbearing manner at length aroused the jealousy of the other princes. In 1175, having become angry with the emperor for his refusal to bestow upon him the city of Goslar, Henry took a mean advantage of him. He abandoned Frederick in the most trying period of his struggle with the Lombard cities, and returned home with his troops. This defection led to the defeat of the imperial army at Legnano, from which field Frederick escaped with difficulty. The emperor is said to have begged Henry on his knees not to desert him. He returned to Germany in 1178, resolved to punish Henry for his defection. He therefore summoned him to appear before the Diet at Worms. Henry refused, and with the sanction of the diet, was put by Frederick to the ban of the empire, and his lands were declared forfeited. A portion of East Saxony was given to Bernard of Anhalt, the son of Albert the Bear; a part of West Saxony was given to Philip, Archbishop of Cologne, who was also granted ducal rights in these possessions; and the duchy of Bavaria, greatly weakened by the separation of Styria, was conferred upon Otto of Wittelsbach. Henry, who vainly sought to retain his possessions by force of arms, was at length obliged to submit, and in 1181 he came to Erfurt, where Frederick was holding a diet, and humbly asked pardon of the emperor. Frederick, greatly moved by the sight of his old friend so humbled, frankly forgave him. He could not restore his duchies, but allowed him to retain Brunswick and Lüneburg. Henry agreed to live for three years at the court of the King of England, Henry II., whose daughter he had married. Dur-

ing his sojourn in England his wife gave birth to a son, from whom the present reigning family of England is descended.

Frederick Barbarossa was now an old man, but his martial ardor was unquenched. In 1189, at the head of a large army, he embarked in the Third Crusade. He did not live to reach Palestine, but was drowned in crossing the Calicadnus, or Cydnus, in Cilicia, in June, 1190. So strong was the affection which the German people bore him that the news of his death was received at first with incredulity, and then with an outburst of profound sorrow. In after years, the people looked back to him as their greatest champion, and there arose a tradition that Barbarossa was not dead, but was merely plunged with his knights into an enchanted sleep in a cavern of the Kyffhauser Berg (or hill) in Thuringia. There, armed *cap-a-pie*, they would remain until the ravens should cease to fly around the mountain, when they would wake and restore Germany to her ancient greatness.

Frederick was succeeded by his son, Henry VI., who, at the time of his father's death, was engaged in attempting to quell another rebellion of Henry the Lion, who had returned from England. Peace was made soon after Barbarossa's death, and Henry VI. hastened to Italy, where he was crowned emperor. As he had married Constance, heiress of the King of Sicily, a few years before his father's death, he became King of Sicily in 1194. He was obliged to engage in a sharp struggle for the establishment of his claim. His cruelties plunged southern Italy into great commotion, as has been related. He endeavored to make the German crown hereditary, and made flattering offers to the princes to win their consent to the change, but the majority refused to sanction the innovation. Henry died suddenly in Sicily in 1197, leaving a young son named Frederick. The claims of the young prince were set aside, and two kings were chosen by the rival parties, which again divided Germany. The Ghibellines elected Philip, the brother of Henry VI., while the Guelfs put forward Otto, the second son of Henry the Lion. But for the interference of the pope, who threw the support of the church on the side of Otto, Philip would have been successful. As it was, the remainder of the century and the first years of the next were spent in the struggle between the rivals.

The murder of Philip, in 1203, by a private enemy, removed every obstacle from the path of Otto IV., who was generally recognized as king throughout Germany. The next year Otto was crowned emperor by Pope Innocent III., who, however, finding that Otto was not disposed to be his tool, turned against him, and called upon the German princes to elect the young King Frederick of Sicily as his successor. The papal order was obeyed, and Otto, after an ineffectual struggle, retired to a private station, in which he remained until his death. In 1215 Frederick II. was crowned king at Aix-la-Chapelle, and in 1220 emperor at Rome.

For the next fifteen years Frederick was absent from Germany, and the story of this period properly belongs to Italian history, in which connection we have related it. Upon leaving Germany he induced the princes to elect his young son, Henry, King of the Romans, and made him regent of the kingdom under the guardianship of Engelbert, Archbishop of Cologne. The absence of the emperor encouraged the nobles to make the authority of the regent merely nominal, and at the same time to increase their own power to such an extent that they became almost independent of the crown. Private wars sprang up once more in all parts of Germany, and robbery and violence again settled down upon the country. As Henry grew up to manhood he gave constant evidence that he did not inherit the noble qualities of his father. He was mean, rash, and violent, and, encouraged by the long absence of his father, openly declared to the princes assembled at Boppard in 1234, his intention to seize the throne of Germany. Frederick came back to Germany the next year, and easily put down the rebellion. Henry tried to poison his father, and was imprisoned in Apulia, where he remained for the balance of his life.

During this visit to Germany the emperor married the Princess Isabella, the sister of Henry III. of England. He held a great diet at Mayence, and there attempted to put a stop to private wars by declaring all such strifes unlawful except in cases where justice could not be obtained. He also established an "imperial tribunal" for the trial of all causes not affecting princes of the empire. This was a good beginning, but he did not remain in Germany long enough to complete his work. In 1236 he

returned to Italy, where the struggle with the pope needed his presence, and left his son Conrad in charge of the German kingdom.

A few years later Germany narrowly escaped a great struggle for existence. Vast hordes of the Moguls, of whom more hereafter, had burst into Europe from Asia. Upon their entrance into Germany in 1241, they were met in Silesia by Henry of Liegnitz with a very inferior force. Henry was slain and the Silesian army was cut to pieces; but so terrible were the losses which their resistance inflicted upon the victors that the latter were appalled, and, abandoning their project of invasion, turned southward and passed into Hungary.

The events of Frederick's struggle with the popes have been related. The true cause of the hostility of the latter was, as we have said, the refusal of Frederick to acknowledge the authority of the pope as superior to that of the emperor. In Germany the spiritual princes sided with the pope, and drew to their aid many secular lords who wished to increase their own power at the cost of the imperial authority. There remained to the emperor, however, a strong following of nobles who loved their country better than their party, and the cities, now growing rapidly in wealth and power, sustained him with scarcely an exception. The pope and his party set up Henry of Thuringia as emperor, but he was never fully acknowledged, and died in A. D. 1247. The pope then, after some trouble in finding a candidate who would accept the place, caused William of Holland, a youth of twenty, to be proclaimed emperor. William's chief strength lay in the north, where he allied himself with the Welfs, but in southern Germany Conrad IV., the son of Frederick II., was supreme. Upon the death of Frederick in 1250, Conrad succeeded him on the German throne; but, owing to the unscrupulous efforts of the pope, Germany was in such a state of anarchy that the new king found it a hard task to accomplish anything. The imperial authority had become merely nominal before Frederick's death, and private wars and the violence of the nobles made both life and property unsafe in all parts of the kingdom. Conrad had a hard fight for his crown, and died in 1254, in the midst of the struggle, and with him ended the Hohenstaufen line in Germany.

The death of Conrad left William of Holland the sole King of Germany. He was

not regarded as of much importance by either party, and his death in 1256, in a war with the Frisians, left the electors free to choose a new sovereign. There was no one who had any especial claim to the crown, but the chief candidates for it were Alfonso, King of Castile, and Richard, Earl of Cornwall, brother of King Henry III. of England. Both bribed the electors, and each was elected by his own party. Alfonso never set foot in Germany, but Richard came and was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, but he visited Germany only three times after this, and took no interest in its affairs. This period is known as the "Interregnum," and constitutes one of the darkest portions of German history. There was no government in the land, the law was dead, and violence prevailed everywhere. The great and petty nobles degenerated into mere marauders and shameless robbers. No traveller was safe unless he journeyed under the protection of a strongly armed escort, and only within the strong walls of the towns did industry venture to engage in its accustomed pursuits. This sad state of affairs was ended by the death of Richard of Cornwall in 1271. Until now the pope had purposely held aloof from German affairs, as the vacancy in the empire increased his own importance and prevented the rise of a rival. It now became evident to his holiness that the state of anarchy which prevailed in Germany was injurious to Rome as well as to that country, inasmuch as the papal revenues could not be collected without the assistance of the royal power. At last Gregory X. notified the electors that if they did not choose a proper king for Germany, he would himself appoint one. The result of this threat was the election of Rudolph, Count of Hapsburg, a district of southern Suabia. The choice was a wise one, for Rudolph was a brave and determined man, fully alive to the evils from which Germany was suffering, and anxious to end them. Being a submissive son of the church, he gained the support of the Holy See by a solemn pledge not to interfere with Charles of Anjou in Sicily or in Tuscany, and somewhat later he recognized the territorial sovereignty of the pope by surrendering to Nicholas III. the claims of the empire over Rome and the bequest of the Countess Matilda. Thus strengthened, he applied himself with vigor to the task of restoring order in Germany. Ottocar, King of Bohemia, had added to

his native kingdom Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, and as he had hoped to be elected German king, he refused to acknowledge or do homage to Rudolph. Rudolph marched against him in 1276, and compelled him to resign Austria and the neighboring lands and do homage for his crown; but upon his withdrawal Ottocar renewed the war, and was beaten and slain in the great battle of Marchfeld, on the right bank of the Danube, in 1278. A little later, Rudolph, with the consent of the princes, bestowed Austria, Styria, and Carinthia upon his sons Albert and Rudolph. Later still he gave Carinthia to Count Meinhard of Tyrol, whose daughter Albert had married. The other lands were given to Albert alone. Thus was securely laid the foundation of the future greatness of the house of Hapsburg.

As has been said, Rudolph came to the throne when the royal authority had been almost entirely destroyed. His task was to restore it and re-establish the supremacy of the civil law. He succeeded in this, and proved himself an able and judicious ruler. He won back many of the crown lands which had been unjustly seized by the nobles during the Interregnum, though he had great difficulty in accomplishing this. He revived the laws and judicial system of Frederick II., and at the head of his army visited every part of the kingdom to put down the lawless nobles and to exterminate robbers. In Thuringia alone twenty-nine nobles convicted of robbery were executed, and sixty-nine castles and strongholds were destroyed. The people were warmly attached to the king, who showed himself their best friend by his good government and protection of them. In September, 1291, Rudolph died at the age of seventy-four.

Rudolph had endeavored just before his death to secure the election of his son Albert, but had been unsuccessful, as the nobles regarded the revenues of the kingdom as inadequate to the support of two sovereigns. At his death the electors chose an insignificant noble named Adolph, Count of Nassau, king. This was due to the influence of Gerhard, Archbishop of Mayence, Adolph's cousin, who hoped to make him a mere puppet in his hands. Adolph could accomplish little against the nobles, who opposed him and sought to limit his powers. He formed an alliance with Edward I. of England, who supplied

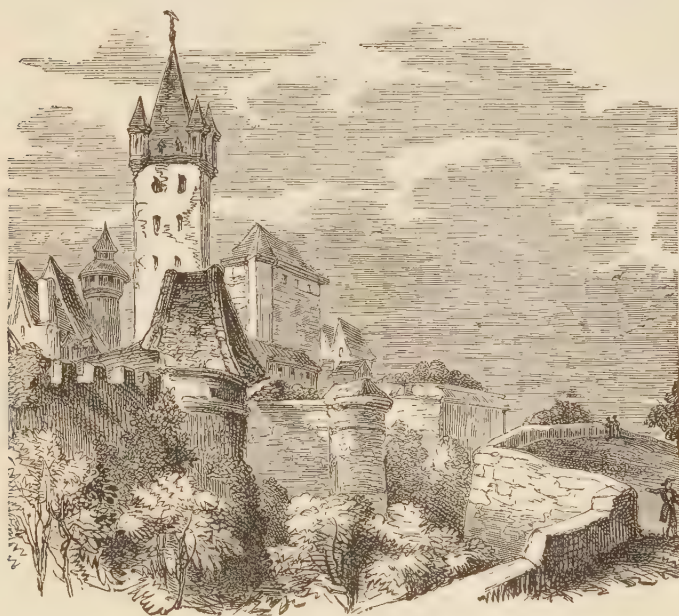
him with a large sum of money on condition that he should go to war with France. Adolph used this money to buy Thuringia from its worthless landgrave, Albert the Degenerate, but Albert's two sons refused to surrender their inheritance, and were sustained in their refusal by their vassals and many of the princes of the empire. Gerhard, finding Adolph less submissive than he had hoped, urged the electors to dethrone him. This they did, and chose as king Albert, Duke of Austria, the son of King Rudolph. Adolph resisted this action and was slain in a battle near Worms in 1298. Albert was then chosen at a second election, and was formally crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle.

The thirteenth century was a period of the deepest importance to Germany. For some time the Germans had been steadily gaining ground to the eastward. Brandenburg had been won in the previous century, and since then lower Silesia, Holstein, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania had been gained and Germanized by the slower process of colonization. A monk named Christian began, about the beginning of the thirteenth century, to preach Christianity in Prussia. The Prussians resisted him by force, as they still clung to their pagan belief, and a crusade was proclaimed against them. About the year 1230 the Teutonic Knights came to Prussia and began its conquest. In 1237 the Knights of the Sword, another German order which had already conquered Livonia, became united with the Teutonic Knights. Many warriors from all parts of Europe joined the Teutonic order to assist in the conquest of Prussia. In 1245 the city of Königsberg was founded, and named in honor of Ottocar, King of Bohemia, who had taken part in the crusade, and by 1260 the greater part of Prussia was conquered. A great revolt of the natives took place in this year, but it was put down after a sharp struggle. Colonies of Germans were settled in the land, and in 1309 the Teutonic order made Marienberg its head-quarters, and held the country in subjection while it became gradually Christianized and Germanized.

The absence of the emperors from Germany, and the long struggle with the popes, resulted in the serious loss of power by the German kings. The emperors, by neglecting their duties as German kings and exerting their chief efforts for the empire, allowed the princes to seize one after another of the

privileges of the crown, and render themselves practically independent. Indeed, the Hohenstaufen kings deliberately parted with many of their most valuable German rights in order to gain some immediate advantage as emperors. Denmark, Poland, and Hungary became independent kingdoms, and Burgundy was slowly absorbed by France. The German princes had always refused to allow the crown to be made hereditary, and this century witnessed a change in the mode of electing the sovereign. This privilege was lodged in the hands of seven electors, three of whom were spiritual and four secular princes. The spiritual electors were the Archbishops of Mayence, Co-

had before been dependent upon them became independent. That is, they managed their affairs in their own way, but acknowledged the supremacy of the emperor. Hence they were called free imperial towns. The deputies of these towns at length formed a third college in the diet, and voted on an equality with the electors and princes. The free towns usually supported the authority of the king, but were almost always at war with the nobles and bishops. For their mutual protection against these enemies they organized confederations or leagues among themselves. The principal of these were the Rhenish League, which embraced about seventy free towns, and the Hanseatic



CASTLE OF NUREMBERG.

logne, and Treves; the secular electors, the Duke of Saxony, the Margrave of Brandenburg, the Rhenish palgrave, and the King of Bohemia. These electors held a rank above all the other princes and formed a separate college in the diet. The pope claimed the right, which was usually acknowledged, to revise the action of the electors and to reject any candidate whom he did not regard as suitable. The German king had the right to the imperial crown, which could be bestowed only by the pope. Hence the claim of the pontiff.

The growth of the towns was also another important feature of this period. As the great duchies fell into decay, the towns that

League, which was organized about 1241 by Lübeck and Hamburg for the protection of their commerce. This confederation eventually embraced about eighty cities, and maintained fleets and armies. It possessed the entire trade of the Baltic and a large part of that of the North Sea. Its forces frequently defeated the northern kings, and the sovereigns of England and France accorded to it a marked degree of respect. For a long time the Hanse towns carried on an active commerce with England, the export trade of that country being entirely in the hands of the Hanseatic merchants. These were called by the English Easterlings, from which is derived the word *Sterling*.

Germany was without a uniform code of law. In this century the laws of Saxony were codified by Eike of Repgord, and those of Suabia by a Suabian priest. In Westphalia a singular class of courts of justice arose out of the violence of the times. They took the name of *Femgerichte*. "They met in open day, generally under some tree; but the proceedings of the court were kept secret. No case was taken up which was not punishable by death. If an accused person was condemned, he was hanged at once. Any one who did not appear after having been summoned three times was

assumed to be guilty, and sooner or later he was certainly put to death. In those lawless times the oppressed were glad to find a court anywhere which gave them some chance of obtaining justice. Appeals began therefore to be made to the *Femgerichte* from all parts of Germany. In the end men of free birth, to whatever part of the country they belonged, were allowed to become free judges, and many thousands of all classes availed themselves of the privilege. For a considerable time the *Femgerichte* did real good; for nobles who cared nothing for king or emperor trembled when they received the summons of some free judge to appear at a certain date before a secret tribunal. But as the power of the *Femgerichte* increased, they were often reckless and unjust; and many, especially the clergy, cried out loudly against them. They lost nearly all their power in the sixteenth century, but traces of them long afterwards existed among the Westphalian peasantry."

The era of the Hohenstaufen witnessed a marked revival in architecture in Germany, of which the Cathedral of Cologne, though still unfinished, is a noble specimen. It was also the time when the *Minnesänger*, or Love Singers—those noble poets of the Middle Ages—flourished. Several of the Hohenstaufen emperors—Frederick II. in particular—were poets, and the period is splendidly illustrated with the names of Heinrich von Valdeck, Wolfram von Eschenbach, Gottfried von Strassburg, and Walter von der Vogelweide.

King Albert I. was the first of the Austrian kings of Germany. He lacked all the qualities by which Rudolph, his father, had won the affections of the German people, and sought to maintain his power by a rule of exceeding harshness. He was also more selfish than his father, and his chief care was to advance the fortunes of his own house. He attempted to gain possession of Bohemia, and of the county of Holland. His son Rudolph was King of Bohemia for a few months, but it at length passed from his family. He also tried to dispossess Frederick, the Landgrave of Thuringia, of his territory, but was unsuccessful. He succeeded only in arousing the hostility of those whom he sought to beggar for his own benefit. One of these was his nephew John, who, with four other nobles, fell upon him near the Castle of Hapsburg and killed him, May 1st, 1308.

Albert's unpopularity prevented the choice of the electors from falling upon any member of his house, and Henry, Count of Luxemburg, was chosen King of the Romans. With the consent of the Bohemian states, he married his son John to Elizabeth, the granddaughter of King Ottocar, and thus John became King of Bohemia, the crown of which long remained in his family. In 1310 Henry VII. went to Italy, where he was received with joy by all parties. The Ghibellines greeted him as their natural lord, and the Guelfs were favorably inclined to him by the pope, who dreaded the extension of the French influence over all Italy. Still some of the Guelfic cities, led by King Robert of Naples, resisted him. Henry was crowned King of Italy at Milan in 1311. Florence resisted him, and the Neapolitan king threw a garrison into Rome. Henry compelled these to withdraw into the Leonine city, where they held the Church of St. Peter against him. Thus cut off from the cathedral, he was crowned in the Church of St. John Lateran, on the 29th of June, 1312. He now attempted to crush the resistance of the Guelfs, and gathering an army from Germany and Italy, moved upon Siena. The fatal air of Rome had so undermined his strength that he died on the march, August 24th, 1313. His body was carried to Pisa and buried there. He was the last of the emperors who exercised real authority in Italy, and had he lived he would undoubtedly have restored to the empire something of its former power and greatness. He was eminently fitted for such a task, for he was a man of great abilities and of noble character. Dante drew from him the character of his ideal sovereign in his treatise on "Monarchy," and his enemy, the Guelf Villani, wrote of him: "He was a man never depressed by adversity, never in prosperity elated with pride or intoxicated with joy." The successors of Henry were not emperors in the sense in which that title can be used to describe him. They were chiefly the leaders of a faction of the Italians, and some of them were never crowned emperor.

The electors were divided in their choice of a successor to Henry VII., and two kings were set up in Germany—Louis, Duke of Bavaria, being chosen by one party, and Frederick, Duke of Austria, the eldest son of King Albert, by another. Louis was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, and Frederick

at Bonn. Each king appealed to the sword to support his claims, and a bloody civil war ensued, which lasted ten years. The towns as a general rule supported Louis, while the nobles sustained Frederick. The decisive battle of the war was fought near Mühldorf in 1322. The Austrians were defeated, and Frederick was taken prisoner by Louis, who confined him in the Castle of Transnitz, in the upper Palatinate. The troubles of Louis were not yet ended, however, for Duke Leopold, the brother of Frederick, and a number of other princes, continued the war, refusing to accept their defeat as final. They were greatly encouraged by the sanction of their cause by Pope John XXII., who had quarrelled with Louis because he had assumed the title of King of the Romans without the papal sanction. Louis haughtily answered that he owed this dignity to the electors and not to the pope. The pope thereupon excommunicated him, and placed all those parts of Germany that supported him under an interdict. Louis, anxious to restore peace to the country, gave Frederick his liberty in 1325, upon the promise of that prince to resign all claim to the crown. Duke Leopold and the pope refused to be bound by this promise, but Frederick remained faithful to it. In September, 1325, Louis and Frederick agreed to reign conjointly. Frederick took little interest in public affairs, however, and died in 1330, leaving Louis IV. sole king.

In 1327 Louis went to Italy to secure the Italian and imperial crowns. The events of his visit have already been related. He remained there for three years. He was crowned emperor at Rome by two excommunicated bishops, and finally by an anti-pope, called Nicolas V., set up by him in the place of John XXII., whom he declared deposed. Notwithstanding this act, Louis endeavored to effect a reconciliation with Pope John and with Benedict XII., his successor. It was the policy of France to keep the empire weak and divided, and as the popes were, while at Avignon, merely the tools of the French kings, Louis' efforts were unavailing. Had he been a great sovereign, the hostility of the pontiff would not have occasioned him any trouble, for the Germans were prepared to support him in spite of the pope, whose interference in their affairs they had learned to dread. The cities were especially hostile to the pontiff, who was thus deprived of the popular

sympathy and support which had made his predecessors strong in Germany against Henry IV. and Frederick II. At the diet which was held at Frankfort in 1338, the states sustained the cause of the emperor against the pope. The electors met at Rense, on the Rhine, and all, with the exception of King John of Bohemia, who was jealous of the house of Bavaria, and a bitter enemy of Louis, united in a solemn declaration that the Emperor or King of the Romans derived his power and title solely from the choice of the electoral princes, and not in any sense from the pope. This declaration, being accepted by the diet and proclaimed by the emperor, became a part of the law of the land. It was of the highest importance, as it established by law the independence of the empire.

Louis now occupied the most favorable position that an emperor had held for many reigns. The whole nation was ready to sustain him, and the conflict between the empire and the papacy seemed on the point of resulting in favor of the former. The folly of the emperor now cost him all that his prudence had won for him. His desire to increase the wealth and power of his own family led him to disregard the rights of others. He had made his son Louis Margrave of Brandenburg in 1323, and he was anxious to bestow the Tyrol upon him also. He could not legally do this, as the Tyrol belonged to Margaret Maultasch, who was already married to a son of King John of Bohemia. Louis did not hesitate, however, to dissolve this union, and to grant Margaret a dispensation to marry his son Louis. Now marriage in all Catholic countries is regarded as a sacrament, and the pope alone can dissolve it, or grant a dispensation for a second marriage during the life of a first partner. Louis in attacking a right which all regarded as vested solely in the pope, shocked the consciences of his subjects, and alienated many of his best friends. His open efforts to enrich his own family aroused the jealousy of the nobles. This feeling was increased when, upon the death of William IV. of Holland, Louis gave the counties of Holland, Seeland, and Hennegan in fief to his own son William. The electors at their meeting in 1344 gave significant utterance of their discontent. In 1346 Pope Clement VI. pronounced the deposition of the emperor. Louis had so thoroughly alienated his people that the electors gladly seized upon this action of the

pope as a pretext to rid themselves of a distasteful sovereign. They accordingly elected Charles, Margrave of Moravia, a son of King John of Bohemia, to the German throne. Louis refused to submit, and prepared to maintain his claim to the throne, but died suddenly in 1347.

Until the reign of Louis IV. the German kings had usually given up their hereditary lands upon receiving the crown. Louis retained his lands, and his course was adopted by all his successors, for the reason that the revenues of the German kingdom being insufficient to maintain the royal dignity, the kings were obliged to depend upon their private resources. The effect of this change was bad, as it made the king more careful of his own immediate possessions than of the kingdom at large.

In the reign of Louis IV. occurred a series of events which were destined to exercise considerable influence upon the future history of Germany and of Europe. Lying in the Alpine districts on the borders of Germany, Burgundy, and Italy, were three small states called Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden. They were German-speaking members of the empire, but had always maintained their freedom, paying allegiance to none but the emperor or king. Like many other districts of the empire, these three forest states formed a league for their mutual protection. This league doubtless existed from a very early time, but the earliest written compact between them is dated August 1st, 1291. The Counts of Hapsburg held large estates within their limits, and proved themselves dangerous and troublesome neighbors. When these nobles became Dukes of Austria they began to seek to extend their authority over the whole district. Early in the fourteenth century their aggressions became so marked that a more determined resistance was inaugurated by the cantons. In 1308 three of the leading men, one from each canton, met by agreement at Rütli, and swore under the open heaven to live and die for the defence of their country. Each chose ten associates from his own canton, and the thirty-three repeated the oath of freedom, and then began to prepare the people for resistance. Albert, Duke of Austria, was then King of Germany, and had for some years been using his great power to complete the subjection of the cantons to his authority. His oppressive measures now drove the mountaineers to desperation, and they seized all

his bailiffs and officers, and drove them from the country. Albert at once marched against them, but was slain on his march. His son Leopold, who succeeded him as Duke of Austria, marched into the mountains and inflicted a terrible punishment upon the peasants. This aroused the cantons to a determined resistance, and in 1315 Leopold took the field against them. He was overwhelmingly defeated in November of that year by a few hundred mountaineers in the narrow pass of Morgarten. The flower of the Austrian nobility perished in this battle, and the duke himself escaped with difficulty. The forest cantons from this time maintained their position as distinct members of the empire. Henry VII. and Louis IV. showed the league great favor, and secured it against a renewal of the efforts of Austria. During the reign of Louis it was joined by the city of Luzerne; and soon after his death the cities of Zürich, Zug, Glarus, and Berne joined it in the order named. The league, thus strengthened, increased its power by seizing or buying, whenever occasion offered, the lands of the neighboring nobles. The confederacy took the name of the "Old League of High Germany;" and its members were known as *Eidgenossen*, or "Confederates." By degrees the name which properly belonged to the canton of Schwyz spread over the whole country, which came in course of time to be called *Switzerland*, the people being known as *Swiss*.

The election of Charles IV. to the German throne was not accepted at first by Bavaria, but after some ineffectual efforts to set up another king, the Bavarians ceased their opposition, and in 1349 Charles was left without a rival. He was then crowned king a second time, at Aix-la-Chapelle, and in 1355 went to Rome and was crowned emperor. Ten years later he was crowned King of Burgundy, at Arles, 1365. Soon after his reign began Germany was afflicted with the terrible plague which we have seen ravaging Italy. It broke out in 1349, and swept away hundreds of thousands in a short time. The Jews were popularly believed to have caused it by poisoning the springs and rivers, and were butchered in great numbers by the ignorant and fanatical people. The king and the church were obliged to take severe measures to compel the multitude to cease their persecution of the unoffending Jews.

As King of Bohemia, Charles was a good

sovereign to his own people. He greatly increased the territories of that crown. His wife brought him the upper Palatinate as her dowry, and he united all Silesia and lower Lusatia to Bohemia, together with the mark of Brandenburg, which he gained from the house of Bavaria. Under his vigorous rule Bohemia flourished as she had never done before. He made Prague, the capital of the kingdom, a splendid city, and founded a university there which soon became famous throughout Europe. As a German king and emperor, he deserves no praise. He neglected the empire and lowered the imperial authority in both Germany and Italy in order to further his private interests. He sold the few remaining lands of the crown, and sold honors, titles, and privileges of all kinds for money to the highest bidder. In 1356 he granted a charter known as the *Golden Bull*, which definitely fixed the manner of electing the German king. He made the number of electors seven. Of these the King of Bohemia was declared the first secular elector. The Archbishop of Mayence was made convener of the electoral college, which was to meet at Frankfort. The king was to be chosen by a majority of the electoral votes, and was to be crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. The electors were placed beyond the authority of the German crown by being declared absolute sovereigns within their own territories. Unless they refused to dispense justice, there was to be no appeal from their courts. Their persons were declared sacred. Thus the authority of the German crown was almost entirely destroyed; in future the German sovereign was to be little more than a mere figure-head of the state, the princes of the empire being thus made more powerful than the sovereign himself.

In 1378 Charles IV. died, and was succeeded by his son Wenceslaus, who had been chosen King of the Romans by the electors, in 1376. Wenceslaus was a bad sovereign to both Bohemia and Germany. His nature was coarse, his temper savagely cruel, and he was addicted to low pleasures. He neglected Germany to such an extent that the country fell into a confusion nearly equal to that which prevailed during the Interregnum. The nobles became utterly lawless, and the towns, in order to defend themselves against them, were compelled to form leagues similar to those of the Swiss confederates and the Rhenish and Hanse towns. Sometimes nobles were found among

the members of these leagues, but as a rule they formed societies hostile to the towns. Prominent among these were the societies of St. George, St. William, the Lion, and the Panther. Had Wenceslaus been a great king he might, by placing himself at the head of the leagues of the towns, have won back many of the lost privileges of the German crown, and have re-established the royal authority upon a more enduring basis; but he cared nothing for Germany, and was too indolent to make the attempt.

During this time Austria had been growing rapidly in strength and importance. In 1335 Carinthia was added to it, and in 1369 the Tyrol, which had been bequeathed to him by Margaret Maultasch, passed into the hands of the Austrian duke. These countries were always after this a part of the Austrian dominions. The reigning duke, Leopold, the nephew of him who had fought at Morgarten, now resolved to take advantage of the confusion prevailing in Germany to conquer the Swiss, who had received into their league some towns which owed him allegiance. He was joined by a number of princes and nobles who were jealous of the growing power of the league. Leopold marched into Switzerland at the head of several thousand splendidly armed troops, many of whom were knights. The confederates, 1,400 in number, were posted on the heights of Sempach. Finding it impossible for his horsemen to force the narrow mountain pass, the Austrian duke ordered his knights to dismount and storm it on foot. They were rapidly enclosing the confederates with a living wall of steel, when one of the Swiss leaders, Arnold von Winkelreid, resolved by the sacrifice of his own life to save his country. Throwing himself upon the Austrian line with all his force, and crying, "I will open a way to liberty," he seized as many spears as he could gather within his arms, and received them in his breast, and fell dead. This bold action shook the Austrian front at this point, and the Swiss made an impetuous charge upon the gap opened by their heroic countryman. The movement was successful. The Austrian line was broken and thrown into confusion, and a glorious victory followed for the patriots. Upwards of 650 nobles, and several thousand men-at-arms lay dead upon the field, Leopold himself being among the slain, A. D. 1386. Two years later, the people of Glarus won another victory over the Austrians at Nâ-

fels. As a result of these victories, Austria recognized the independence of the Swiss states; and the towns which had joined their league were allowed to maintain their preference.

It has already been seen that the Holy Roman Empire, as the German Empire had come to be called, was in a loose and unsatisfactory condition. The central authority was weak. Each state was mindful only of its own welfare; and in attending to its own affairs it was regardless of the general good. Things had gone from bad to worse under the rule of Wenceslaus. The electors had grown tired of him, and were anxious for a change of ruler, when the imprudence of the monarch gave them the desired opportunity. Wenceslaus had provoked the enmity of one of the two pontiffs who then divided the allegiance of the Christian world. Boniface lent his influence to the enemies of the emperor. Wenceslaus was deposed; and Rupert, of the Palatinate, was elected his successor. It was found, however, to be much more easy to elect than to invest with authority. The newly elected monarch was but imperfectly supported; and Wenceslaus remained the recognized head of a powerful party. Rupert died in 1410; and in the same year Siegemund or Sigismund, brother of Wenceslaus, was elected to the imperial throne. Jobst, Marquis of Moravia, was elected by another party.

Wenceslaus, meanwhile, held on to the title, and to whatever power he was able to wield. The death of Jobst in the following year, and the acquiescence of Wenceslaus, left Siegemund without a rival; and he was formally crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, in November, 1814.

It was a singular spectacle which for a brief period at this time the Holy Roman Empire presented. At one and the same time there were three rival emperors, and three rival popes. The imperial rivalry

was comparatively short-lived. The pontifical rivalry, however, was of long duration; and it forms a conspicuous feature not alone of the history of the papacy, but of the history of Christianity and the modern world. At the very time imperial rivalry ceased, and undivided empire was restored and represented in the person of Siegemund, what is known as the papal schism had reached its height. Nominally, it began with the death of Gregory XI. in 1378.



JOHN HUSS LECTURING IN THE UNIVERSITY OF PRAGUE.

Really, however, it may be said to have commenced as early as the days of Pope Clement V., who removed the papal seat to Avignon in 1305. There was an antipope as early as the year 1327. The schism became pronounced, however, with the election of Gregory's successor. Urban VI. was the choice of the Romans; but the French cardinals were dissatisfied, and their choice fell upon Robert of Geneva, who took the title of Clement VII. From this time, for thirty-eight years, there were

rival popes, one at Rome and one at Avignon; and it was for a time doubtful whether the seat of the popedom should not be permanently removed from its ancient centre, or whether the western church was not henceforth to be divided in its allegiance by the rival claims of a Transalpine and Cisalpine successor of St. Peter.

Repeated attempts had been made to make an end of what was justly esteemed a great evil. It had been hoped that the partisan sentiment would gradually lose its strength, and that the death of either pope would furnish an opportunity for reconciliation and reunion. But it was not so. Urban and Clement were succeeded by Boniface IX. and Benedict XIII.; and the place of Boniface was filled in succession by Innocent VII. and Gregory XII. A strong feeling sprang up in favor of unity. Might not the rival popes be induced to make a personal sacrifice in the interest of the church? In these circumstances a council was convened at Pisa, by authority of the college of cardinals. It was a grand and imposing assembly. Representatives were present from all sections of the Catholic world; and in the magnificent cathedral, the noblest specimen to-day of the Italian Basilica, expanded into the Latin cross, another effort was made to heal the wounds of the papacy and restore the unity of the church. It was all in vain. After all efforts at a peaceful solution of the difficulty had been attempted, and had failed, both popes were deposed, and a new pope was elected in their stead. But the attempted cure only aggravated the evil; for at the close of the council there were three popes instead of two—Gregory XII., Benedict XIII. and Alexander V.

The purpose, however, was not abandoned. It had been agreed before the dissolution of the Council of Pisa, that a new council should be held within three years, and that the work should be resumed. The council met at Constance, in November, 1414. In the interval which had elapsed since the dissolution of the Council of Pisa, circumstances had changed somewhat, but the situation had remained substantially the same. Pope Alexander had died; but his place had been filled by John XXIII. A new and important factor in ecclesiastical as well as in state affairs had appeared in the person of the Emperor Sigemund. The distracted condition of the church had been to a large extent due to the want of a vigorous central authority in the empire.

Sigemund had brought back some of the old energy to the imperial counsels. He was anxious to see unity restored in the church, and to make an end of the scandal. In the convening of the council he took an active part; and as soon as the coronation ceremonies were concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle, he set out for Constance. He arrived on Christmas eve, attended by one thousand horsemen. The council had been opened by Pope John in person, who had arrived in the town with a large and splendid following, as early as October 28. Externally there was nothing wanting to give dignity to the council. In addition to the pope and the emperor, the highest acknowledged representatives of civil and religious authority, there were present twenty-nine cardinals, three patriarchs, thirty-three archbishops, some hundred and fifty bishops, more than one hundred abbots, at least five hundred monks of different orders, numerous professors and doctors of theology and canon law, together with many princes, nobles and ambassadors. Such was the fame of the council, that it brought to the old imperial city, in addition to the members of the council, a motley crowd of over fifty thousand people. On the arrival of the emperor, the business of the council was fairly commenced. Each of the three popes, Gregory XII., Benedict XIII. and John XXIII., had been summoned to the council. Only John appeared. He had yielded to the influence of the emperor, having been encouraged to hope that the council could only result to his advantage. But John had his doubts, and with a true appreciation of the situation, he had exclaimed, when he first beheld Constance from the slope of the Aldberg, "A trap for foxes." The proceedings of the council were protracted, and, in spite of the interests at stake, somewhat tedious. An attempt was made to induce each of the three rival popes to abdicate. The attempt failed, John especially proving obstinate. Hoping to save himself and his position he fled to Schaffhausen; but he was brought back to Constance and compelled to submit to the council. The three popes were deposed; and Cardinal Odo Colonna was elected to the chair of St. Peter, under the name of Martin V. Thus ended the great schism, and thus too was the papal see restored to Rome, for Martin established himself in the imperial city.

So far the Council of Constance did good work. It gave to the church unity, one authoritative and acknowledged head. But the council had not been convened for that purpose alone. It was expected to perform a triple duty—to restore the unity of the popedom, to reform the clergy in its head and in its members, and to extirpate heresy and heretics. It had, as has been seen, accomplished its first object. It had done nothing towards the accomplishment of the second; but unfortunately for the memory of the council itself, it had adopted vigorous measures for the extirpation of heresy. The doctrines of the English reformer, Wycliffe, had found their way into Bohemia, during the latter part of the fourteenth century. Circumstances favored their development. They found able defenders and expounders in John Huss and Jerome of Prague; and they were eagerly embraced by the people. Such was their success that the university of Prague had come completely under the influence of the reformers. Huss had been raised to the position of rector. But liberty of opinion in matters of religion was not understood by the men of that age. Huss had been invited to Constance by Siegemund, and had complied under promise of a safe conduct. Jerome had followed him and had taken an active part in his defence. Both were tried, found guilty, and condemned to be burned. They were put to death accordingly—Huss in July, 1415, and Jerome in May of the following year. The fate of these two reformers has left a dark stain upon the Council of Constance—a stain which blurs its better memories.

It would have been strange, indeed, if the action of the council toward the Bohemian reformers had not been deeply felt and bitterly resented. Huss and Jerome were both much beloved by the people. It was believed that they had brought to a people sitting in darkness and in the region and shadow of death, both light and life. The reformed doctrines were, therefore, dear to them. Now that their beloved teachers had been taken away, and taken away so cruelly, these doctrines were more dear to them than ever. It was not thus they could be made to change. Rather than give up the new views—rather than abandon the position they had taken—they were ready to fight, to suffer, to die. The council did not break up till April, 1418. In the following year Wen-

ceslaus died; and Siegemund claimed, in his own right, the Bohemian crown. Wen-ceslaus, after his deposition from the imperial throne, had remained King of Bohemia. Spite of his faults otherwise, he had behaved generously by his subjects. He respected public opinion; and when pressure was brought to bear upon him, he made reasonable concessions in favor of the reformers. It was not to be expected that Siegemund, who had been the active spirit in the Council of Constance, would reveal any sympathy with the new doctrines or any tenderness for the followers of Huss. He revealed neither the one nor the other. On the contrary, he exerted all his power to root out the Hussites, as the reformers were now called. The Bohemians broke forth into fierce revolt, and, under the able leadership, first, of John Zisca, and afterwards of a priest of the name of Procopius, maintained a long, bloody, and, on the whole, successful war against the emperor and in defence of what they considered their rights.

This war was raging fiercely when the Council of Basle assembled in August, 1431. The Hussite war had filled the entire interval, a period of more than thirteen years, since the close of the Council of Constance. It consisted of five separate crusades—all stubbornly, heroically, successfully resisted. It was a war of races, of languages, of religions; and of all wars, in earlier or later times, none has been more horribly, remorselessly, or even ostentatiously cruel. The Bohemians had been roused to madness; and, in the fierceness of their onslaughts, they knew no mercy. The war was prosecuted with equal bitterness on the other side. But Siegemund had grown tired of the carnage; and, no longer unwilling to make concessions, he sought the intervention of the church. Pope Martin was now no more. His place was filled by Eugenius IV. When the Council of Constance was finally dissolved it had been agreed that the next council should be held at Basle. The council was convened at the urgent request of the Emperor Siegemund, not by the pope, but by Cardinal Julian Cæsarini. It was for a time vigorously opposed by Eugenius. Finally, however, he consented to regard it as legitimate; and the emperor, while it was in session, proceeded to Rome, and was anointed chief of the Holy Roman Empire. As Pope Eugenius could

not be induced to cross the Alps and appear at Basle in person, the presidency of the council devolved upon Cardinal Caesarini. Important concessions were made to the Bohemians. It was permitted that they should receive the communion in both kinds—in other words, that they should receive the cup in the Lord's Supper as well as the bread. But the concessions had a ruinous effect on the reform movement in Bohemia. One section of the reformers, the Utraquists, returned to the bosom of the church. The remainder, the Taborists, as they were called, refused to be satisfied. They accused the Utraquists of treachery; and, as they would come to no terms with the church, the flames of civil war were re-kindled. At the battle of Lepau the great Procopius fell; Bohemian invincibility was broken, and the Slavonic reformation, which for so many years occupied the attention of Europe, and threatened for a time to acquire the mastery of Germany, was at an end. Siegemund was now master of the situation. His after career was not honorable. He broke faith with the Utraquists, as he had formerly broken faith with John Huss and Jerome of Prague. His death took place in 1437. Siegemund, spite of his defects of character, occupies a conspicuous place in the history, not of Germany alone, but of Europe. He ranks among the great emperors. The times and circumstances were, to a certain extent, in his favor. They gave prominence to his position; and they gave him opportunity. Not every reign is marked by a Council of Constance, a Council of Basle, the deposition of three popes, and a great Bohemian war. But if he had not been possessed of some great and commanding qualities, he could not have made the figure he did. Opportunity is not everything; and lofty position and great power are not always unqualified blessings. As it is, Siegemund will be remembered as the leading spirit of the Council of Constance, as the restorer of unity to the popedom, and as the temporary healer of a great religious schism.

After his death the imperial crown passed, first, to Albert of Austria, who reigned as Albert II. for two years, and then to Frederick III. of the same house. Frederick's reign was long and chequered, but it was not marked by any great event. He was weak in character; and, although he

was not without a certain kind of grasping ambition, he held the sceptre with a feeble hand. The empire was but a name; for central authority there was none. Frederick courted the favor of the holy see by concluding the famous Concordat of Vienna, and by restoring to Pope Nicholas V. some of those powers of which his predecessor, Eugenius IV., had been deprived by the Council of Basle. But the favor of the pope was of little avail. Nicholas had other cares and anxieties than those which were connected with Germany. But even if Pope Nicholas had given his undivided thoughts to the affairs of Frederick, he would have found it difficult to render him any very effective aid. Imperial affairs were well-nigh desperate; and Frederick contrived to make them worse by his foolish attempts to gain possession of the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary and to make himself master of the entire territory of Austria. The Bohemian crown fell to the lot of George Podiebrad; Matthias Corvinus mounted the throne of Hungary; and, in place of increasing his hold upon the lands of Austria, Frederick was compelled to let go his grip on what he had, and to yield up Vienna and the lower province to his brother Albert. For five years he was a sort of homeless wanderer in his own empire. The death of his brother, in 1463, left him the rightful owner of all the Austrian territory; but, in consequence of his unwise interference a second time in the affairs of Bohemia and Hungary, Austria was seized by Corvinus and held by him until his death, in 1490. Among the other evils of this reign were repeated invasions of the eastern borders of the empire by the Turks. In 1456 they forced their way into Hungary; in 1469 they were in Carniola; and in 1475 they had penetrated as far as Salsburg. Such incursions would have been impossible if there had been anything like unity in the government, or vigor in the administration of public affairs. After the death of Corvinus, Frederick returned to Vienna and resumed possession of his ancestral estates; but he had the mortification of seeing the coveted Hungarian crown fall to the lot of Ladislaus of Bohemia. He died in 1493, after an inglorious reign of fifty-three years.

With all his imperfections, there was

one virtue which Frederick possessed in an eminent degree: he never forgot the interests of his family. He knew the value of wealthy and powerful alliances. One of the wealthiest and most powerful princes of the time was Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. He was lord not only of the duchy of Burgundy, but of the free county of that name, and of the greater part of the Low Countries. He

dians had gone to war with the Duke of Lorraine and the Swiss Confederates. At the battle of Nancy the Burgundians were defeated, and Charles the Bold was slain. The death of Charles, however, did not prevent the desired consummation, for Mary, of her own will, bestowed her hand upon Maximilian. It was a youthful marriage. The prince was only in his nineteenth year. The marriage was an



MAXIMILIAN I., EMPEROR OF GERMANY.

had an only daughter, Mary, the heiress of all his possessions. It was Frederick's ambition that he should be succeeded in the empire by his son Maximilian. He knew well that Maximilian's chances would not be lessened or in any way injured by an alliance which would bring him at once territory and influence. What more desirable partner for his son than Mary of Burgundy? While the marriage negotiations were in progress, the Burgun-

immediate cause of trouble. Louis XI., as sovereign-lord of Burgundy, claimed the duchy, on the ground that, as Charles the Bold had died without heirs male, it was to be regarded as a lapsed fief. As Louis marched troops into Burgundy, Maximilian was compelled to defend the rights of his wife. The difficulty, which was somewhat protracted, was finally brought to a close by a marriage contract, according to which Margaret, the infant

daughter of Maximilian and Mary, was to marry the Dauphin of France, known afterwards as Charles VIII., and to carry with her a large territorial dowry. Mary died in 1482. She left two children—Margaret, just named, and a son called Philip. In 1486 Maximilian was elected King of the Romans. In the years which immediately followed, Maximilian was much engaged in suppressing insurrections in the Netherlands, in resisting Hungarian invasions, in holding in check French ambition, and in seeking revenge for breach of contract. The French prince had gone back upon his arrangement with Margaret, and, tempted by her rich province, had married Ann of Brittany. Charles was at length compelled to surrender the territories he had received with Margaret. At his father's death Maximilian succeeded to the empire.

In his new and more responsible position, Maximilian showed becoming spirit and energy. He was in every respect a far nobler type of man than his father. His purposes were noble; and, while he had the will to resolve, he had the courage to execute. Shortly after his accession to the Imperial throne he married Bianca Sforza, daughter of the Duke of Milan. One of his first acts was to summon a diet, which met at Worms in 1495. He had a two-fold object in view—to make an end of internal dissension and rivalry, and to secure the combined strength of the electors against the intrigues and aggressive efforts of France. One outcome of the diet was the establishment of the Imperial Chamber—a court composed of a judge, appointed by the emperor, and sixteen assessors elected by the states with the emperor's approval, and whose duty it should be to settle internal questions without a wasteful and ruinous resort to arms. This court, the emperor found, did not work altogether to his own advantage; but, on the whole, it proved useful, and continued to exist until the close of the empire. For the better regulation of the affairs of the empire, and in order to expedite the decisions of the Imperial Chamber, another court was called into existence. It was not until later, however, that it acquired a fixed constitution, with well-defined duties, when it came to be known as the Aulic Council. The internal affairs of the empire began to show signs of improvement. The Swiss, however, still regarded

as within the empire, and subject to its laws, refused to submit to the Imperial Chamber; and, what was even more offensive to the emperor, they were lending assistance to the French in their invasions of Italy. Maximilian attempted to chastise them and force them into obedience. But the league was too strong; the emperor found it convenient to come to terms, and the treaty of 1499 virtually established the independence of Switzerland. There was ever recurring trouble with France; and Maximilian's wars with that country were attended with but indifferent success. He was anxious to be crowned at Rome like his predecessors. In 1508 he marched south, intending to go to the Holy City; but the Venetians refused to allow him to pass through their territories. Greatly incensed at this conduct, the emperor proclaimed war against Venice, and joined the League of Cambray. Later he made an unsuccessful attack upon the Milanese. All these efforts and combinations failed; and Maximilian was glad enough to make peace by ceding Milan to France, and Verona to the Venetians. He never reached Rome, but he was permitted by Pope Julius II. to take the title of "emperor-elect." One of the last acts of the emperor was the holding of a diet at Augsburg—a diet rendered famous by the first appearance in such assemblies of Martin Luther, then just beginning his work. The emperor died at Wels, in Upper Austria, in January, 1519.

Maximilian ranks among the great emperors. He had both character and ability. He took pleasure in writing; and besides works on gardening, hunting and architecture, he left some poems and an autobiography. On the whole he honored his position. He left Germany better than he found it. He was prudent and far-seeing. His reign was fortunate for the House of Austria. He increased its prestige by a double marriage with the royal family of Spain; and by marrying two of his grandchildren into the family of Ladislaus of Hungary and Bohemia he added these two kingdoms to its hereditary possessions. Like most men of strongly pronounced character, he had his peculiarities. Perhaps the most singular freak of his life was his ambition to exchange the imperial crown for the papal tiara. When he passed away, he left the empire at peace, but trouble was brewing, and was soon to be revealed.

CHAPTER V.

THE REFORMATION AND THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

The Emperor Charles V.—Rise and Progress of the Reformation in Germany—Old Things Passing Away—The Revival of Learning—Martin Luther—His Early Life and Education—Leo X.—His Character—Tetzel and the Sale of Indulgences—Luther's Theses—Cajetan—The Papal Bull—The Diet at Worms—Firmness of Luther—The Field of the Cloth of Gold—Battle of Pavia—Charles Crowned at Bologna—Luther at the Wartburg—His New Testament—His Return to Wittenberg—His Marriage—The Outbreak of the Nobles—The War of the Peasants—The Name Protestant—The Catholic Reaction—Luther and Zwingli—The Teutonic Knights—The Diet of Augsburg—The Augsburg Confession—The League of Smalcald—The Peace of Nuremberg—The Council of Trent—The Interim—The Peace of Augsburg—The Blundering of Rudolph—His Deposition—The Evangelical Union—The Catholic League—Bohemia and the Royal Charter—Violation of the Charter—Bohemian Uprising—The Commencement of the Thirty Years' War—Ferdinand Emperor—The Bohemians Defeated—A Cruel Revenge—The War Renewed—Wallenstein in Command of the Imperial Army—His Victories—The Edict of Restitution—Gustavus Adolphus Enters Germany to Aid the Protestants—Wallenstein Removed—Success of Gustavus—Occupies Munich—Battle of Lutzen—Death of Gustavus—Congress of Heilbronn—Murder of Wallenstein—Progress of the War—Battle of Nordlingen—Treaty of Prague—The Death of Ferdinand II.—The War Goes on under New Conditions—The Victories of the Swedes and French—The Peace of Westphalia—The Results of the War—Sufferings of Germany During the Struggle.

THE leadership of Germany was again, after a period of forty-five years, in the hands of the electors. The vacant place, although it was no longer what it once was, was still an object of some ambition. It was still in some important particulars the proudest secular position in the world. It was hardly doubtful from the first, however, that the next occupant of the imperial throne would be a scion of the House of Hapsburg. That house had for generations been steadily gaining in wealth and in power. It had been adding castle to castle, territory to territory, province to province. Not only had the House of Hapsburg acquired territorial wealth and power, it had on three successive occasions commanded the suffrages of the German electors. Maximilian, Frederick, Albert—all three were of the ruling House of Austria. The representative of all that wealth and power and of all these honors now sat on the throne of Spain as Charles I. Philip, the son of the Emperor Maximilian,

married the eldest daughter and heiress of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholics. Of this marriage Charles was the eldest born. His father having died in 1506, Charles became the prospective head alike of the Archducal House of Austria and of the royal family of Spain. On the death of his grandfather, Ferdinand, in 1516, he mounted the Spanish throne. He was then only in his sixteenth year. Three years had since elapsed. It was inevitable that his name should now be mentioned in connection with the vacant imperial seat. But there were other candidates who were disposed to press their claims. Of these the most potent were Francis I., of France, and Henry VIII., of England. Henry was soon induced to retire. Francis exerted himself to the utmost to win over the electors to his side. But the claims of Charles were paramount; and as his cause was heartily espoused and vigorously pushed by his powerful kinsman, Frederick of Saxony, there was but one issue possible. Charles was elected emperor in 1519; and in the following year he was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, with the title of Charles V. In due time he was honored by the reigning pope, and received from him the additional title of Emperor of the Romans.

Previous to his election, Charles pledged himself by a formal deed to respect the rights and privileges of all the German states. This precautionary measure was deemed necessary because of the immense power now wielded by the House of Austria, and also because of the almost unlimited power temporarily in the emperor's hands. It was only at elections the electors could guard their rights; and from this time henceforward, it became the custom to exact such a precautionary pledge from imperial candidates.

Charles came to the imperial throne at a very peculiar juncture in the history of the empire and of Europe. The entire continent was in what we might, without any extravagance of language, call a great agony. Probably never before had such a state of things been witnessed or experienced. Certainly nothing at all resembling it had existed since the period which marked the fall of the old Roman Empire. There was a general dissatisfaction with existing things. The world was about to undergo the process of a new birth; but why or by what means, or what was to be the character of the new life, it was not so easy

to tell. Looked at from the standing point of later times, the situation is more easily understood. Forces of various kinds had been long at work; and although they had not been wholly unnoticed, it was not till now that their effects became so distinctly and unmistakably visible. It was not necessary that Charles should place himself in opposition to this tendency of the times; but partly as a necessity growing out of his position and partly as the result of his own natural inclinations, this was the attitude in which he found himself. He was confronted with a triple difficulty—the Protestant reformation, the rivalry of France, and the aggressive energy of the Turks.

It has already been related how the doctrines of the English reformer, Wycliffe, had found their way to Germany, but particularly into Bohemia, and how an attempt was made by Siegemund and the Council of Constance to extirpate the heresy. We have witnessed the sad fate of John Huss and of Jerome of Prague. But the cruel taking away of these two men, and the vengeful wars which followed, did not wholly extinguish the new doctrines. The revival of learning in the twelfth century, turning men's minds as it did to the study of the ancient classics, exercised a powerfully expanding influence on the human intellect. It had been the habit of the multitude for centuries, to take things for granted and to yield a blind obedience to all authority. It was wrong to resist the authority of the civil ruler—he was the Lord's anointed. It was sinful to rebel against the authority of the pope—he was God's vicegerent on the earth. Men now began to think, and to ask for a reason for the faith that was in them. It was natural that they should be influenced by the books they read, and that the currents of their thoughts should take a tinge from the sentiments of their favorite authors. The study of the Roman poets of the empire encouraged a liking for imperialism; and even in the famous poem of Dante, we seem to hear an echo of Virgil and of Horace. Later, however, it became more the fashion to study the works of the ancient republican writers, who glorified tyrannicide; and this study rekindled in the human soul the sacred but long-extinguished flame of liberty. The stimulus to independent thought was greatly increased by the invention of the printing press. The

old books were multiplied, and brought with in easy access of a larger number; and the living thoughts of the thinking men of the day found a new and convenient channel. One book began to be in great demand, a book which, although it contained the Divine revelation on which Christianity was based, had been but little known even to the professed teachers of the faith; and it was the unsealing of this book which more than any other cause brought about the great religious revolution of the sixteenth century.

Among the men who were caught by the new influences, and who were borne along with them as if by the force of a tropical tornado, was a young German priest, by name, Martin Luther. He was destined to a great career. The papal chair at this period was filled by Leo X., a man of culture, refinement and laudable ambition, a patron of art and letters, and, although not wholly free from the secular and semi-pagan spirit of the time, or exactly a model pope, yet of exemplary life in comparison with some of his immediate predecessors. A member of the wealthy and luxurious House of Medici, in Florence, he had been accustomed from his earliest years to entertain lofty thoughts and to indulge in magnificent conceptions. Among the schemes by which he sought to leave his impression on the age, and to make his name and his reign memorable, were the organizing of a gigantic expedition against the Turk, and the completion of St. Peter's Church, at Rome. But the one and the other implied a vast expenditure of money; and to raise the necessary funds, Pope Leo had recourse to the questionable and, as it proved to be, dangerous expedient of selling indulgences. It required just some such cause—some such aggravation of existing things—to kindle into fierce flame the already largely accumulated combustible material.

The traffic in indulgences was delegated by commission from the pope, over a large part of Germany, to Albert, Archbishop of Mayence and Magdeburg, a member of the Electoral House of Brandenburg, and already, at the early age of twenty-seven, the religious head of these two great provinces. Albert was a lordly and expensive ecclesiastic, and from various causes was in somewhat straitened circumstances. The commission had the greater temptation for him that he was to be allowed a share of the earnings. A willing and

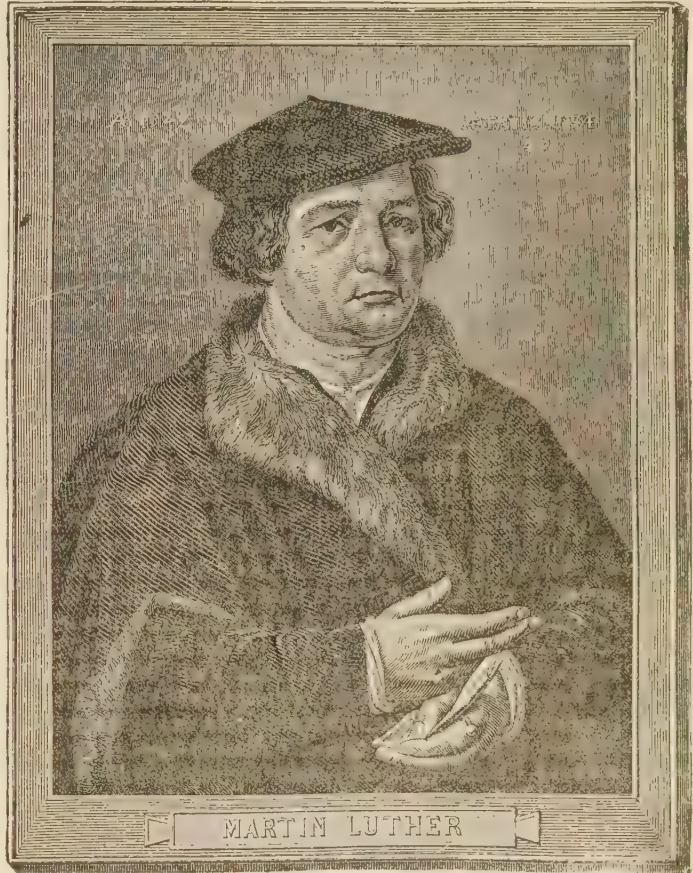
useful sub-commissioner was found in the person of John Tetzel, a profligate and impudent fellow, who drove a large business with an audacity and a power of popular declamation well suited to his work. In the course of his journeyings, he had reached the borders of Saxony. Refused admission into the territory of the elector, he established himself at Juterbock, in Brandenburg. At this time Martin

Luther was professor of philosophy, and preacher in the Castle Church, at Wittenberg, the capital of Upper Saxony, and the seat of Elector Frederick. When Luther became aware that Tetzel had established himself at Juterbock, and that he was patronized by crowds from Wittenberg itself, his indignation knew no bounds. It was Tetzel's custom at the close of his rhetorical flourishes, and after having given the most astounding assurances as to what would follow the chink of the gold in his money-box, to emphasize what he had said by rapping on a drum. It was Luther's opinion that religion was being caricatured—that the church was being scandalized. "God willing," he exclaimed, when some fresh intelligence was brought him of Tetzel's doings—"God willing, I will

beat a hole in his drum." Without delay, he drew up a series of propositions, ninety-five in all, condemnatory of indulgences, repudiating the idea that salvation could come from any such source, or be secured by any such means, and inviting discussion on the questions raised. These propositions or theses, as they were called, he nailed to the door of the Castle Church. Luther had blown the first trumpet blast of the Reformation.

It was a bold step which Luther had

taken. Solitary monk as he was, he had dealt a world-shaking blow. It was a step, however, for which he had been, for years, although unconsciously, preparing himself, and one which, startling as it was, could hardly be a surprise to those who knew him best. Born at Eisleben, a little city on the projecting spurs of the Hartz mountains, of comparatively humble but highly respectable and religious parents,



of the peasant class, Martin was in due time sent to school at Mansfeld, whither his parents had removed from Eisleben, shortly after his birth. From Mansfeld, where he had made good progress in his classical studies, he went to study at Magdeburg, thence to Eisenach, and finally to the University of Erfurt, where he took his bachelor's degree in 1502, and his master's in 1505. It was the intention of his parents that he should adopt the profession of the law. He was now in his twenty-second

year, bright in intellect, lively of disposition, ready and effective in speech, and of a nature more than ordinarily sensitive and susceptible. At this period circumstances of various kinds gave a serious turn to Martin's thoughts; and he entered the Augustine convent at Erfurt. This step was taken without the knowledge and much to the disappointment of his father. In the midst of many doubts and fears as to his spiritual condition, he betook himself enthusiastically to the study of the Sacred Scriptures. Luther found a useful and most helpful guide in John Staupitz, the vicar of the order. Through the influence of Staupitz, he was called to the chair of philosophy at the new University of Wittenberg. Here he taught with great success; and later, as if desiring a more direct outlet to the thoughts that burned within him, he voluntarily became assistant to the city preacher. In the interval, however, he was sent on a mission to Rome, in the interests of his order. The visit to Rome made a deep impression on his mind and heart. The material grandeur of the city commanded his admiration and wonder; but in the social and religious life of the people he saw little that pleased him. On his return from Rome, Luther was made a doctor in theology. In his preaching, his doctrines took a decidedly evangelical turn; and he became immensely popular. He was still, however, a true son of the church; nor had he any idea that his beliefs were in conflict with those which found favor in high places.

The publication of the theses produced a profound impression. Luther was much applauded; for there were very many good and devout members of the church, who thought as he thought, but who had not the courage to speak out. Luther sent a copy of the theses, with explanations, to the Bishop of Brandenburg, and another copy through Staupitz to the pope. Of course, Tetzel and his friends were furious. The traffic in indulgences was now killed. From Frankfort-on-the-Oder, whither he had found it convenient to retire, Tetzel issued a set of counter-theses, and publicly burnt those of Luther. The students at Wittenberg, and Luther's friends generally, took revenge by burning the counter-theses. Luther was drawn into controversy with several prominent churchmen, notably with John Eck, the chancellor of Ingolstadt. Eck was the ablest of his antagonists; and

of the four tracts which Luther wrote in reply to the defenders of indulgences, the ablest by far is that in reply to Eck. The pope had made light of the theses. "Brother Martin," he said, "is a very ingenious fellow; but the conflict itself is merely a quarrel between jealous monks." Later, he thought the theses the production of some drunken German, and that with returning sobriety the author would change his mind. The pope did not yet fully comprehend either the man or the situation. By many, Luther was denounced as a heretic; and it was not long until the pope found it necessary to take some kind of action. A diet was held at Augsburg, as we have already seen, towards the close of the reign of the Emperor Maximilian; Luther made his appearance, in obedience to a citation; but the hope which had been entertained that the Cardinal Legate Cajetan would bring the rebellious monk to his senses was utterly blasted. Luther refused to yield either to persuasion or to threats, and appealed now from the pope ill-informed to the pope better-informed, and anon from the pope to an ecumenical or universal council, which he insisted should be convened. Matters had been made worse rather than better by the diet at Augsburg. They were not improved by the rather sudden death of the emperor. It was remarked at the time, as a noteworthy circumstance, that Luther returned to Wittenberg from Augsburg, on the anniversary of the day on which he nailed his theses to the door of the Castle Church. His fame had spread all over the land; and the name of the monk of Wittenberg was becoming a familiar name all over Europe. And as is natural in all such cases, the pluck and ability of the man, apart altogether from the merits of the contest or the importance of the questions at issue, had won for him troops of warm and enthusiastic friends among all ranks and classes of the people. On his side were already not only many princes and nobles, but many promising students, and such established scholars as Erasmus and Melancthon.

Such was the state of affairs, ecclesiastically, when Charles V. became the executive head of the German empire. He was confronted at once with the religious difficulty. One of his first public acts was to convene a diet at Worms. The pope had done his best by his agent Miltitz,

to win over the Elector of Saxony, who was known to be secretly the friend and protector of Luther, and to have the reformer, by fair means or by foul, brought to Rome. But the elector could not be influenced; and Miltitz had to confess that, even if he had twenty-five thousand men at his command, he would not undertake to convey Luther to the Eternal City. The pope now had recourse to the young emperor. In the meantime the situation had been greatly aggravated by the arrival of a

munication. It is doubtful how at this time the emperor felt. He was not much of a German in sentiment or sympathy. He had been reared and educated in the Netherlands; but his immediate environment was Spanish; and he was suspected of being under the influence of the Mendicant Friars. The probability, however, is that at this period Charles was not strongly biassed either for or against Luther. He was much more concerned about secular than about spiritual matters. He had gone so far, how-



LUTHER BEFORE THE DIET AT WORMS.

messenger from Rome with the papal bull excommunicating Luther and consigning his works to the flames. Without delay the sentence was executed—the works being publicly burnt at Mayence, the headquarters of the bishopric. Luther took prompt revenge by burning the papal bull at Wittenberg, in presence of the assembled students and a multitude of the town's people. Matters had reached a crisis. A papal brief demanded that the emperor should enforce the sentence of excom-

ever, as to cause to be drawn up a draft-mandate, to be laid before the Estates, proposing that Luther be arrested, and that his protectors be punished for high treason. Luther's friend, the elector, interposed at this stage. He met the emperor on his way to Worms, and demanded that Luther should, at least, be heard, before any proceedings were taken against him. Charles was under heavy obligations to the Elector Frederick. It was to him more than to any other he owed the imperial

throne. After the death of the Emperor Maximilian, Frederick held the post of Imperial Vicar. The throne was offered him; but he refused it, and used all his influence in favor of Charles. Whatever might be the emperor's individual feeling, he could not well refuse the elector's request. He consented that Luther should be allowed to appear in person; and he promised him a safe conduct to and from Wittenberg. Luther was accordingly cited to appear at Worms, and plead his own case.

The emperor's citation was put in Luther's hand, on March 26. He was to be present at the diet on April 16. He was not slow to make the necessary preparations. With some chosen friends he was soon on his way. The elector had preceded him. As Luther neared the city, he received a message from his friend Spalatin, inspired evidently by the elector, dissuading him from coming nearer; such was the state of feeling. But Luther would not listen. To Worms he had been called, and to Worms he would go—yes, "if all the tiles upon the roofs of the houses were as many devils." To Worms he went; and at the appointed time he presented himself in the diet. It was a solemn and august assembly. It was the first diet which had been held since Charles had ascended the throne. The magnates of Germany, the dignitaries of the state, and the dignitaries of the church, were all present, with the young emperor at their head. Luther was in the prime of vigorous and elastic manhood, but he was charged with a great offence, an offence which, as the law then was, meant death to the offender if found guilty; and although he was not without friends, he had the well-organized forces of the church and of the state against him. It was a trying position. But Luther was not wanting for the requisite courage. He admitted that he might have spoken unadvisedly, and that his language concerning the pope and the clergy was perhaps not sufficiently guarded. But he had nothing to retract concerning doctrine. He was willing to be convinced from the word of God; but not otherwise could he yield. At the close of an address delivered with great spirit and energy, he said, "Here I stand; I cannot do otherwise; God help me. Amen!" "The monk," said the emperor, "speaks without fear and with great courage." Luther was permitted to leave Worms for Wittenberg in

safety, a safe-conduct having been promised him; but as the authority of the pope must be maintained, he was given to understand that he must expect thenceforth the treatment of a heretic. On his way home, and when passing through the Thuringian forest, he was surrounded by masked and armed men, who carried him off to the Wartburg, where for a time he was lost to public view. To all intents and purposes, Luther is now an outlaw; but he is safe in the hands of his friends.

The religious difficulty, as we have mentioned, was not the only one which confronted Charles on the occasion of his accession to power. We have already seen that he had for rival candidates Francis I. of France and Henry VIII. of England. We have seen also that Henry withdrew at an early stage, and that the struggle, such as it was, lay between Charles and Francis. The success of Charles irritated Francis, and had the effect of bringing about a brief alliance between the French and English monarchs. This temporary alliance has acquired notoriety from what may be regarded as the last grand military pageant, after the style of the Middle Ages, connected with the meeting of Francis and Henry, between Gaines and Ardres, and known as the "Field of the Cloth of Gold." It was a magnificent display, in which the kings—both of them handsome men—played the principal parts. A picture preserved at Hampton Court shows the monarchs in the act of greeting. Both are on horseback; and each is surrounded by a brilliant staff, the respective armies forming the back ground on either side. It was a hollow and fruitless pretence of friendship: for immediately thereafter, Henry visited the emperor at Gravelines, and entertained him at Calais; and in the following year, Wolsey secretly met Charles at Bruges, and concluded an alliance with him against the French. Feeling had become very bitter between Francis and the emperor. It was very evident that Francis felt sore at the result of the election, and that he was determined to take revenge as best he could. A protracted duel was the consequence—a duel which lasted, with occasional interruptions, until the death of Francis in 1547. The history of this struggle belongs quite as much to Spain and to Italy as to France and Germany. But it has a direct connection with German history.

The immediate object of the struggle was the possession of the Milanese. Milan had been a cause of quarrel between France and the empire in previous reigns. Maximilian had been instrumental in restoring and maintaining the House of Sforza in power from 1512 to 1515. Previous to 1512, Milan had been for a dozen years in the possession of the French. In 1515 was fought the sanguinary battle of Marignano, when the imperial troops, mostly Swiss, were defeated, and Francis I. resumed possession. From the moment of his accession, Charles had resolved to recover the Milanese. It was a humiliation to the empire that the House of Sforza should be subject to France. It was all the more humiliating because the family of Sforza and the family of Hapsburg were intimately related. Nor was this all. The possession of the Milanese greatly increased the territory and power of the French ruler. As soon, therefore, as he was through with the work of the Diet at Worms, and had made the necessary arrangements for a protracted absence from Germany, Charles marched a large army into Italy. Milan was reconquered in 1522; and the House of Sforza was restored. In 1525, the war continuing, Francis sustained a crushing defeat at Pavia, and was made prisoner. Charles carried him captive to Madrid, where he held him for the better part of a year, granting him liberty only on the most humiliating terms. He had to renounce the suzerainty of Flanders and Artois, the Duchy of Burgundy and all his Italian possessions, and to surrender his two sons as hostages. Charles had been at the head of a powerful alliance. He had had on his side the pope, Henry VIII., and all the lesser states of Italy. His success, however, had filled them with alarm. The pope having absolved Francis from his oath, the war was resumed under totally new conditions. England, Rome, Venice, Florence, espoused the cause of Francis. Charles, however, was equal to the occasion. He proved himself more than a match for them all. The Eternal City was entered and sacked by the "black banditti" of the Constable Bourbon, who had given his sword to Charles; the holy father himself was made prisoner; and the French were driven out of Naples. This second war was not ended till 1529, when peace was concluded at Cambray in July. In the following year, Charles, who was

now master of the situation, was crowned by the pope at Bologna. From the days of Charlemagne and of Otho the Great, it had been the custom for the emperor to receive from the hands of the pope the imperial crown. Latterly, the custom had been somewhat disturbed. It was now to be wholly discontinued. Charles was the last German emperor who was crowned by a Roman pontiff.

In 1530 Charles returned to Germany. He had been absent for eight years. They had been eventful years for the fatherland. During the emperor's absence, German affairs had been intrusted to his brother, the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, and what was called the Council of the Regency. The reins of government had not been held with any very great degree of firmness. One very natural consequence was that the new doctrines had spread and taken root. Luther had remained in the Wartburg the better part of a year. He had been well guarded from his enemies, and he had made good use of his time. The German New Testament, translated during his retirement, will ever remain a monument of the Wartburg period. Before the year had expired, trouble had broken out at Wittenberg. Some of his friends had given way to violent excesses. The work, it seemed to them, was advancing too slowly. They would pull down and root out. Certain fanatics, also, had appeared at Wittenberg from Zwickau, and sought to establish a kingdom of saints. The Knight of the Wartburg was kept well informed of what was going on at Wittenberg in his absence. It seemed to him that the infant cause was in danger. He was no dreamer, and had no patience with these hare-brained enthusiasts. He could stay away no longer. Yet there was great danger to be apprehended if he left his retirement. He was under the ban of the church. The sentence of Worms still hung over him; and it was the duty of the civil authorities to see that the sentence was executed. His way to Wittenberg lay through the territory of Duke George, who was opposed to him. It mattered not. He would go to Wittenberg if it rained Duke Georges for nine days. He was deaf to all the remonstrances of his friend and protector, the Elector Frederick. It was doubtful, he thought, whether the elector could any longer shield him from his enemies. He would follow the instincts of

duty, come what might. March 7, 1522, saw him at Wittenberg. His reappearance was hailed with delight by his numerous friends. He was quickly at work in the direction in which work was needed. He preached a series of eight discourses, on love, order, moderation, discouraging unnatural enthusiasm, and denouncing lawlessness. The effect was immediate. Quiet was restored; and the Zwickauer prophets, finding their mission ended, returned to whence they came.

It was hardly to be expected, however, that Luther should be allowed to carry on his work without interruption. Repeated efforts were made to have the decree of the Diet of Worms strictly enforced. At two separate diets held at Nuremberg—the one in 1522 and the other in 1524—the authorities of the church demanded the unconditional suppression of the Lutheran heresy. Since the Diet of Worms, new men had filled the papal chair. Adrian VI. had succeeded Pope Leo; and now Clement VII. had taken the place of Adrian. But the same purpose remained. There was no disposition to make peace with the heretics. Charles, too, although absent, began to be openly unfriendly. After the battle of Pavia, he seemed anxious to gratify the wishes of the pope. He went so far as to urge, in private letters addressed to the electors, the execution of the Worms edict. In these circumstances, the princes who were friendly to Luther and to the cause of reform entered into a defensive alliance, called the league of Torgau. The speedy resumption of hostilities changed the entire situation. The pope was now among the enemies of the emperor. It was no longer to the advantage of the latter to push the reformers to the wall. A diet was held at Spires in 1526, the reformers having things very much their own way. It was agreed that each state should do with the Worms decree as it thought fit, holding itself answerable only to God and to his imperial majesty. An important landmark had been reached in the history of the reform movement. Hitherto it might have been suppressed, although not without difficulty. It was now invincible. The time had gone past either for concession or force. With the larger liberty, it grew in strength and in numbers. In its ranks were many princes and nobles; and the cities, in large numbers, espoused the new cause, and filled their pulpits with Lutheran preachers.

Among the peasant class, also, the new doctrines had spread with marvellous rapidity. A gulf at once broad and deep lay between the church and the reformers; and as if to show that the gulf was henceforth impassable, Luther had already laid aside his monkish cowl, donned the black ministerial gown, and married the quondam nun Catharine Von Bora.

The reformers were, for the most part, inspired by a lofty and noble enthusiasm. Unfortunately, however, some of them misapprehended the meaning of the new doctrines and of their new position, and were carried away into wild excesses. It was not always possible for Luther to hold within reasonable bounds the spirit which he had let loose. Much against his will, his old friend and follower, Francis of Sickingen, put himself at the head of a band of nobles, who, by force of arms, sought to hurry on the work of reform. This movement was brought to an end by the defeat and death of Francis. An unfortunate rebellion broke out, also, among the peasantry of the south. It was their belief that the doctrines of Luther, pushed to their logical conclusions, should free them from the yoke of rulers whom they had long since learned to regard as grasping and unprincipled tyrants. They appealed to Luther; but Luther discouraged them and exhorted their rulers to suppress the revolt. The *War of the Peasants* was in every sense a misfortune. It entailed a vast amount of suffering; and it brought no honor to the reform movement.

Towards the close of this period, in 1529, occurred two events, both of which had their influence on the future of the reformation. The one was the assembling of the second Diet of Spires. At this diet the first unmistakable signs were given of that Catholic reaction, which was soon to prove so fruitful a source of trouble. The national policy agreed upon in 1526 was reversed; and the Edict of Worms was re-enacted forbidding all further reform, until a regular, general council should be assembled. The Lutheran princes entered a solemn *protest* against the decree, and so earned the name of *Protestants*, a name at first applied to the followers of Luther, but later to all who had embraced the principles of the reformation. The other event was the meeting in conference at Marburg of Luther and the Swiss reformer Zwingli. On some radical points they differed, particularly as

to the meaning to be attached to the words "*Hoc meum corpus*." It was hoped that they would come to some understanding, and that the general movement would have the benefit of their united influence. The conference, however, proved a failure. The differences remained; and as the opinions of the leaders were shared by their followers, what ought to have been a source of strength became an element of weakness. At this conference Luther did not show to advantage. He was imperious and intolerant. Zwingli had the better of the argument. The reform movement in Switzerland, and the reform movement in Germany, although independent in their origin, were begotten of the same causes, and had substantially the same ends in view. They had also run parallel from the commencement. In Switzerland the movement took a political turn, and led to a civil war. In this war Zwingli lost his life; but he had laid strong and enduring foundations; and the work went on.

It is worthy of passing notice—all the more so that the event was directly connected with the reformation movement—that it was at this time the foundation was laid of that greatness which has come to be associated with the name of Hohenzollern. The Teutonic Knights had since the thirteenth century held the lands which lay along the southern shores of the Baltic, either independently or in fief from the King of Poland. At the beginning of the reform movement under Luther, the grand master of the order was a scion of the House of Hohenzollern, the head of which was the Elector of Brandenburg. The Grand Master Albert became a convert to Lutheranism; his example was followed by many of the knights; the order was dissolved, and that part of the territory which had not passed into the hands of the King of Poland was converted into a secular duchy, with Albert at its head. In the next generation the Duchy of Prussia fell into the hands of the Elector of Brandenburg; and since then, under varying but generally improving fortune, it has been governed by the house which has now acquired the headship of Germany.

Such was the general situation of affairs in Germany when the Emperor Charles returned after his eight years' absence. It was of all things most natural that he should have thought of assembling the diet. He had issued letters from Bologna to the

electors, as early as January 21, 1530, requesting them to meet him at Augsburg on the 8th day of April. It was not, however, till the 15th of June that he arrived in Augsburg. The opening ceremonial was pompous and showy enough. The place of meeting was the large town-hall. The emperor was surrounded by many of the Spanish nobility, as well as by the princes and representatives of the empire. In due time the religious question was brought up. The reformers had taken care to come well prepared. As soon as he had received his letter summoning him to the diet, the Elector John had invited Luther, Melancthon, Jonas and others to meet him at Torgau, and to come with a prepared statement of the reformed faith. The meeting at Torgau was held accordingly; and a statement of faith drawn up by Melancthon and approved by Luther was afterwards signed by the Protestant princes, and by several magistrates of the free towns. By this document the reformers were prepared to stand or fall. They had no other answer to give to the diet—no other proposal to make. It soon became evident on which side the emperor's sympathies leaned. His first desire was that the document be presented to him in an informal way. To this the princes objected. It must be read aloud. Otherwise they would not part with it. Failing in this and determined to have as much privacy as possible, the emperor appointed a special meeting to be held in the chapel of the archiepiscopal palace; and not content even yet, he requested, when they had come together, that the document be read only in Latin. "No," said Elector John, "we are here on German soil." In German it was accordingly read; and it was noticed that a profound impression had been produced on all present. A first "confutation" prepared by Eck and others was unsatisfactory. A second reply was read on the second day of September, when it was immediately decided by a majority vote that the Protestants had been confuted. The reformers were dissatisfied; and Melancthon, anxious to obtain some satisfactory concession, prepared another document, more conciliatory in its tone. It was not received, but was afterwards published. The first document is known as the Augsburg Confession. The second is called the Apology of the Augsburg Confession. The result of the whole affair was a decree enjoining the restoration

of the old ecclesiastical institutions, and allowing the Protestants time for reflection until the 10th of November of the following year. Luther was not present at the diet. He had remained behind at the Castle of Coburg, where he was safe from all danger at the hands of his enemies, and where he could communicate with his friends in Augsburg. He had expected no good result from the diet; and he was not disappointed.

The Augsburg Diet was a great disappointment to the Protestant princes and to the reformers generally. Offence was taken at the high-handed manner in which the emperor had acted, both during and since the diet. Special offence had been given by the manner in which he had his brother nominated and elected King of the Romans. It was felt by the princes that they had need to be on their guard. The result was the formation of what is known as the *Smalcaldic League*, which at first embraced only the Lutheran princes, but which was afterwards, in 1531, put on a broader and more generous basis, and made to include also the representatives of the free cities of the south, who adhered to the opinions of Zwingli. Later the King of Denmark became a member of the League; and the King of France was ready to make common cause with the Protestants of Germany against the growing power of the emperor.

The *Smalcaldic League* was a manifestation of strength and purpose not to be despised, not even by such a man as Charles the Fifth. He had ambitious ends in view outside of Germany, and even beyond the limits of his vast territorial domains. These ends he could not push, and at the same time carry into execution the decree of Augsburg. In the spring of 1532, therefore, he opened negotiations with the Protestant princes. The result was the "Religious Peace of Nuremberg." By this treaty the League promised to support him in his wars against the Turk, and also to acknowledge Ferdinand as King of the Romans; and the emperor, on his part, pledged himself to abrogate the edicts of Worms and Augsburg, and to allow the Protestants the free exercise of their religion, until some settlement should be arrived at by a general council or by a diet of the empire. The peace of Nuremberg, the direct and immediate fruit of the *Smalcaldic League*, was an immense

triumph to the Protestant cause. Charles yielded not from any change of conviction or of purpose, but from the necessity of the situation as he himself saw and felt it.

The peace was not seriously disturbed for a period of fifteen years. The emperor, in the interval, had been absent and busily engaged with wars more directly connected with Spain and the Netherlands than with Germany. On the whole he had been successful; and his mind again reverted to his oft-defeated purpose in Fatherland. The occasion seemed opportune for a fresh trial of strength with the Protestant princes. Pope Paul III. was induced to summon a general council. It met at Trent, in 1545. Its decisions were adverse to the reformers. They stood firm on the concessions which had already been made. The emperor seemed resolved to enforce obedience; and he was successful in securing the neutrality of the Elector of Brandenburg, the Elector Palatine, and others of the princes. Weakened as it thus was, the *Smalcaldic League* put its forces in the field. Duke Maurice of Saxony, on whom Elector John Frederick and Philip of Hesse confidently relied, played the part of traitor, and fought on the emperor's side. At the battle of Muhlberg, 1547, the Protestants were defeated. John Frederick and Philip of Hesse were made prisoners; and the estates and titles of the former were given as a reward to Duke Maurice. In 1548, a diet was held at Augsburg; and certain unimportant concessions were made to the Protestants. These concessions were embodied in a document which is known as the *Interim*. The *Interim* gave no real satisfaction to the Protestants; but they were helpless and had no choice but submit.

At this critical juncture, Duke Maurice, who had gained his point, by obtaining the territory and title of his rival, John Frederick, turned against the emperor. He had secretly entered into an alliance with the King of France, Henry II. Intrusted by the diet with a powerful force to compel the rebellious town of Magdeburg to accept the *Interim*, he suddenly turned to the south, and issued a proclamation, declaring it to be his purpose to maintain the constitution of the empire, to protect the Protestant worship, and to secure the liberation of the imprisoned electors. Charles, surprised and alarmed, sought safety in

flight. The Council of Trent broke up, not to meet again for ten years. The emperor empowered his brother Ferdinand to make peace with Maurice. The result was the treaty of Passau, by which the Protestants were guaranteed the free exercise of their religion, and the captive electors were set at liberty. A diet was held at Augsburg, in 1555; and the arrangement made at Passau was fully ratified. This settlement is known as *The Religious Peace of Augsburg*. According to this compact every prince was at liberty to make his choice between the Catholic religion and the Confession of Augsburg. It was permissible to tolerate both religions; but there was no allowance for the preference of any other form of belief; and the religion of the prince was to be the religion of the people. It was further provided that every prelate on becoming a Protestant should resign his benefice, and that the subjects of ecclesiastical princes should enjoy religious liberty. Both of these provisions became sources of trouble in after years. The former of the two is known as the Ecclesiastical Reservation. The imperial chamber was reconstructed, so as to admit Protestants as well as Catholics, and to prevent it from being an instrument of oppression in the hands of either party. It was not a logical arrangement. Far from it. But it so far suited the time; and it recognized the *status quo*.

With the peace of Augsburg, the history of the reformation in Germany, strictly speaking, comes to an end. Religious differences were still to be a fruitful source of trouble; but henceforth Protestantism could claim the sanction of law. Luther had not lived to see the end. He had died peacefully at Eisleben, the place of his birth, in 1546. The Emperor Charles disappears also from public view. In 1566, having handed over the imperial crown to his brother, Ferdinand, and having put his son, Philip, in possession of Spain and the Netherlands, he carried into execution his long-cherished plan, and retired to the monastery of San Yuste, where he died in 1588.

There is now a calm in the affairs of Germany. The peace lasted with local interruptions, here and there, for a period extending over sixty years. Great outstanding features of interest are wanting, until we come to *The Thirty Years' War*. The interval, however, is not wholly without

interest and instruction. From the date of Charles' retirement, until the beginning of the great war, the imperial chair had four different occupants—Ferdinand I., Maximilian II., Rudolph II. and Matthias. Ferdinand reigned six years; Maximilian twelve years; Rudolph nominally thirty-six years; and Matthias seven years. The reigns of Ferdinand and Maximilian were comparatively uneventful. Maximilian particularly was a generous and noble-minded prince; and in the matter of religion treated his people with great fairness. A change came with his son, Rudolph. He had been brought up at the court of Philip II. of Spain. The gloom of the Escorial had settled upon his soul. His one desire was to do for Protestantism in Germany what his kinsman Philip had done for it in Spain—pluck it up by the roots. He could not or would not see that Germany was not Spain. It was fortunate for all concerned that in Rudolph's case, ability was not equal to purpose. By his stupid and brutal efforts to crush out Protestantism in Bohemia, he brought Germany to the point of rebellion, and imperilled the interests and prospects of his dynasty. The imperial family took alarm. Rudolph was compelled to divide his dominions with, and to yield the superior place to his brother, Matthias. He was left in possession of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. Rudolph was, henceforth, emperor only in name.

The transfer of power to Matthias had a healing effect; but it did not wholly restore confidence. It was not Rudolph alone who alarmed the Protestants. The policy which Rudolph attempted in Bohemia had been successfully carried out by his cousin, Ferdinand, in his own dominion of Styria, and by his kinsman, Maximilian, in Bavaria. The dividing sentiment between Catholic and Protestant was sharpened by an unfortunate affair which happened at Donaworth. A difficulty arose in connection with a Catholic procession. In the riot which ensued, the Catholics were worsted. Donaworth was put to the ban of the empire; and Maximilian of Bavaria was sent against it with an armed force. The Protestant worship was forbidden; the Catholic worship was restored; and Maximilian held the place against the payment of his expenses, and virtually incorporated it with his own territories. The other free cities of the south took alarm, and flung them-

selves into the hands of the princes. Calvinists and Lutherans forgot their differences; and at a convention held in 1608, a league was entered into by the princes and the free cities for the protection of their civil and religious rights. This league was known as the *Evangelical Union*. The nominal head of the union was the Elector Palatine; but its ruling spirit was Prince Christian of Anhalt. The compact was to be binding for ten years.

In the following year, the Catholic princes entered into a similar compact, under the leadership of Maximilian of Bavaria. This was known as the *Catholic League*; and the compact was to endure for nine years.

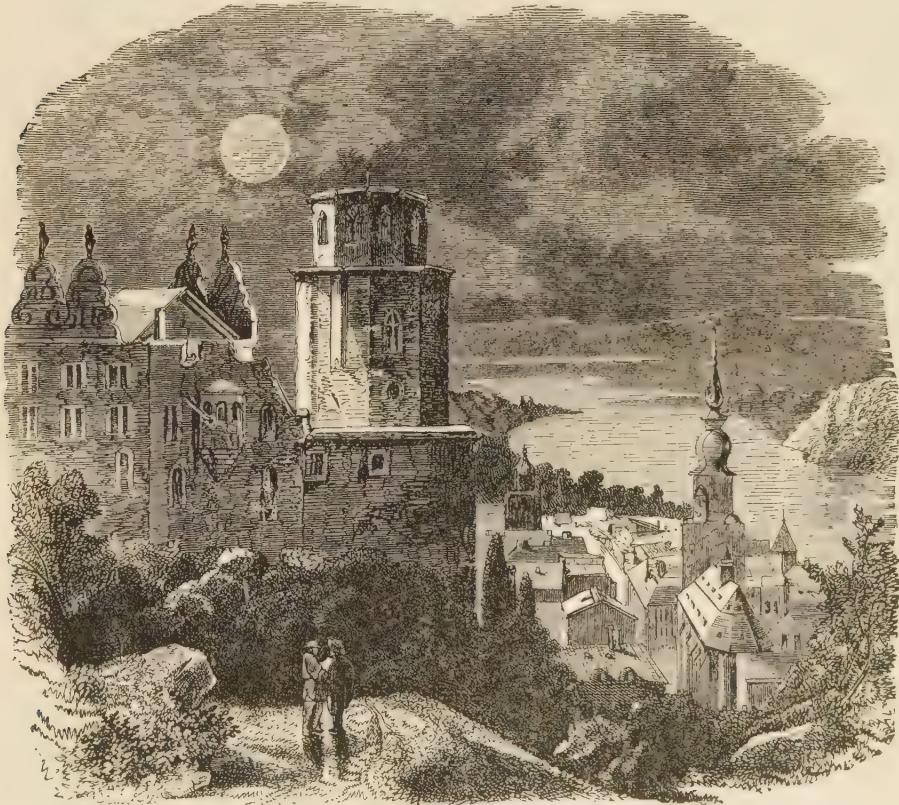
It was not long until it seemed as if the strength of the two rival organizations was to be tested. The immediate cause was the death of the Duke of Cleves. His estates were claimed by the Elector of Brandenburg, and by the son of the Duke of Neuburg. On the ground that he alone had the right to settle the question in dispute, the emperor sent his brother, Leopold, Bishop of Passau, to seize and hold the lands in question. The rival claimants, being both Protestants, united their arms and made common cause against the invader. The union came to the aid of the two princes. The French King, Henry IV., by declaring war against Spain, came to the aid of the union. The warrior bishop was easily defeated; and the disputed lands remained with Brandenburg and Neuburg. Prince Christian of Anhalt was in favor of prosecuting the war against the House of Hapsburg; but the death of Henry IV., at the hands of the assassin, Ravalliac, and the want of harmony among the Protestant princes, thwarted his plans.

Bohemia again comes to the front. The Protestant cause had gained wonderful strength. Rudolph was no more. He had blundered as King of Bohemia, as he had blundered as Emperor of Germany; and it had been necessary a second time to take the power out of his hands. In 1609 he had yielded to strong pressure, and granted a royal charter, which embodied the main principles of the Augsburg treaty. Matthias, who was now old and infirm, and who had for some time associated with him his cousin, Ferdinand of Styria, in the management of the empire, contrived in 1617 to have Ferdinand elected King of Bohemia. The election was forced upon

the Bohemian magnates; and they were not long in finding out that they had less to expect from Ferdinand than they had from either Matthias or Rudolph. He subscribed to the charter; but he had no intention to observe it. It had been held by the Protestants that lands under the control of ecclesiastics were virtually crown lands; and in some instances churches had been built on such lands. One church had been built within the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Prague; and another had been built in the territory of the Abbot of Braunau. From the one church, the worshippers were now rigorously excluded; and the walls of the other were levelled with the ground. The Protestant estates met and drew up a petition which was sent to Matthias, who was known to be out of the kingdom. A reply purporting to come from Matthias was unexpectedly prompt; and it was as decisive as it was prompt. It justified what had been done in the matter of the churches, and declared the assembling of the estates illegal. Indignation now reached its height. Whence had come this prompt answer to Bohemia's complaint? Suspicion fell upon two of the members of the regency. There was no hesitation as to what should be done. It was May 23d, 1618. Under the leadership of Count Henry of Thurn, who had been greatly incensed by the election of Ferdinand, and who was bent on his dethronement, a band of Bohemian nobles, with their followers, marched to the hall of the regency, seized the offending members, and "in true Bohemian fashion," and in spite of their piteous protestations, tossed them from the window into the fosse below, a dizzy height of some seventy feet. History has preserved the names of Martinitz and Slawata for unenviable distinction. Immediately, thereafter, the suspected secretary, Fabricius, was sent off in a similar fashion to keep his masters company. Strange to say, none of the three were seriously injured. But the law, as the law had been interpreted, had been trampled under foot; and there was no going back. Thirty directors were immediately appointed to attend to the affairs of the kingdom; the diet was assembled; and in spite of certain difficulties inseparable from the situation, an army was organized with Count Thurn at its head. The revolt in Bohemia marks the commencement of the *Thirty Years' War*.

The union was now to be tested ; and so was the league. The army of the Bohemian directors and the army of the king were soon in the field. The war, however, had taken little practical shape, when Matthias died. Ferdinand was promptly elected and crowned Emperor of Germany. Two days before the election and coronation, the Bohemians had deposed him as king, and elected in his stead, Frederick, the young Elector Palatine. Frederick had acquired importance from his marriage

Elector of Saxony was mortified at Frederick's election as King of Bohemia, and refused to take any part in the strife. Some two thousand men, under Count Mansfeld, came from the Duke of Savoy. In the first stage of the struggle, nevertheless, the Bohemians were wonderfully successful. But in 1620, the forces of the league, under the Duke of Bavaria and Count Tilly, invaded Bohemia ; and at the battle of Weissenberg, near Prague, the cause of Frederick, and the hopes of the



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with Elizabeth, the daughter of James I. of England. As King of Bohemia, he had to face the emperor backed up by the Catholic league. The general opinion was that Frederick had made a mistake in accepting the Bohemian crown. It was a revolutionary movement ; and he fathered the revolution. Unless help came from some outside sources, the prospect was gloomy enough. Outside help failed him. No help came from England. What was worse no help came from the Union. The

Bohemians, were effectually and cruelly crushed. Frederick and his queen sought safety in flight. Ferdinand marred his victory by an almost unparalleled severity. The story of his treatment of the unfortunate Bohemians is one of the darkest chapters of history. The reign of the old aristocracy was now at an end. The leaders perished on the scaffold. Their lands were confiscated. A new German and Catholic nobility, owing everything to the sovereign, took their

place. The royal charter was declared to have been forfeited by rebellion. The Protestant churches in the towns and all the royal estates were entirely at the mercy of the conqueror. The Bohemian brethren, a large and powerful body, formed originally out of the remnants of the Hussites, were at once deprived of their ministers, all of whom were expelled the kingdom. Protestantism in Bohemia was all but extirpated.

The original purpose of the war, so far as the emperor and Maximilian were concerned, was now accomplished. Is the fighting to be discontinued here, or is it to be resumed with a broader aim and on a larger field? The situation was not long doubtful. Count Mansfeld still kept the field. Bethlen Gabor, too, the Protestant Prince of Transylvania, who, in the previous campaign, had overrun Hungary and a large part of Austria, and threatened Vienna itself, still clung to some of his Hungarian conquests, and was ready, on the first opportunity, to resume hostilities. This, however, was not all. Frederick had found temporary refuge at the Hague; but he was still a German elector and rightful proprietor of the Palatinate. From the imperial and Catholic standpoint, it was natural to associate danger with his reappearance on German soil. Aid might come to him from one or from each of several sources—from England, from Denmark, from Sweden, from France. Might it not be well to occupy the Palatinate at once? Such occupation might be made to serve more purposes than one. The expenses of the war, so far, had been heavy. As security for his share of the expenses, Maximilian held Upper Austria in pledge. It was an inconvenient arrangement. Why not get rid of the inconvenience at once, by allowing Maximilian a slice of the Palatinate? So reasoned Ferdinand and his advisers. On January 22, 1621, Frederick was put to the ban of the empire; and his lands and dignities were declared to be forfeited. It was a daring stretch of the imperial prerogative; and it very naturally created anxiety and alarm.

Frederick could hardly have been a man, and remained passive in such circumstances. But what could he do? He was an exile at a foreign court; and he had neither men nor money. He had left Count Mansfeld to represent his cause in Bohemia; but Mansfeld's exactions had made the Bohe-

mians impatient of his presence. Whither could he look for help? Not to England; for his father-in-law James, still on bad terms with his parliament, was as unable to come to his rescue as before. Not to France; for, willing as she would have been to seize an opportunity to humble the house of Austria, her hands were full with domestic difficulties. Not to Denmark or to Sweden; for, eagerly sympathetic as they both were known to be with the Protestant cause, they were fearful even yet to assume the responsibility of actual interference in the affairs of Germany. Nor could Frederick count on any help from the Protestant Princes of the North. They were neither blind nor insensible to their danger. Still the immediate cause of quarrel was not one which directly affected them. It was not so much in the interests of the Protestant religion, as in the interests of Frederick, they were now called upon to take up arms; and Frederick, they thought, had done wrong in accepting the crown of Bohemia, and had been largely the cause of his own misfortune. The Union, such as it was, had cohesion and strength only in the South; but it was on the point of breaking up. So hardly pressed had the Union troops been by the Spaniards, under Spinola, that their leaders were glad to come to terms with the Spanish general. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the cities of Strasburg, Ulm and Nuremberg, all abandoned the struggle; and, as early as April 12, a treaty was signed, according to which the Union troops were to be withdrawn from the Palatinate, and Spinola was to suspend hostilities until May 14.

To outward appearance, the prospect, for a successful struggle, so far as Frederick was concerned, was gloomy enough. His one immediate hope was in Mansfeld. But Mansfeld could do nothing without men; and his ranks were daily thinning. It was at this juncture that the Union was dissolved. It was a sort of god-send to Mansfeld. The disbanded Unionists came pouring into his camp, and in such numbers that he soon found himself in the Upper Palatinate at the head of a force of sixteen thousand men. Thus reinforced he was not slow to act. He made a raid into Bohemia and captured a station on the frontier; he fell upon Leuchtenberg and made the landgrave prisoner; but such were his exactions from the people, that

the Palatinate soon became too hot for him, and he was compelled to retire in the direction of Alsace. Count Tilly and the Bavarians were at his heels; but he managed to fling himself into Hagenau, which he converted into a powerful stronghold. Hostilities were thus fairly resumed.

At this fresh juncture, Mansfeld was joined by the Margrave of Baden-Durlach, and by the soldier-bishop, Christian of Brunswick. Frederick himself appears upon the scene. His prospects were brightened by the advent of the margrave and of Christian. He met and inflicted a severe check upon Tilly at Wiesloch; and so hopeful was he of final victory that he refused to listen to the voice of the diplomatists who had met at Brussels, and who asked him to consent to a truce. Tilly, however, was not to be easily outdone. He called upon Cordova, who, in the absence of Spinola in the Netherlands, was in command of the Spaniards, to come to his aid. At Wimpfen, the margrave was caught alone and completely defeated. Mansfeld found it necessary to retire again into Alsace. The battle of Wimpfen was a serious blow to Frederick's hopes. He was no longer unwilling to accede to the Brussels proposal. But Tilly and Cordova were now of a different opinion. Frederick's only hope lay in effecting a junction with Christian of Brunswick, who was known to be approaching from beyond the Main. Tilly and Cordova, however, anticipated him; and on June 20, 1622, meeting Christian at Höchst, they struck him so heavily that, although he managed to cross the river, he reached Mansfeld with the mere fragments of his army. Frederick's cause was again desperate. It had received a blow from which it was never again wholly to recover. The margrave abandoned his associates. Frederick dismissed Mansfeld and Christian from his service, washed his hands of all further responsibility, and retired to Sedan, whence he wrote to his wife, "Would to God that we possessed a little corner of the earth, where we could rest together in peace." Soon afterwards he was back again at the Hague. Such was the second phase of the *Thirty Years' War*.

A temporary lull followed the retirement of Frederick from the scene of action. Mansfeld and Christian of Brunswick, loving war for its own sake, did not lay down their arms when dismissed. But

hostilities were conducted in a desultory manner, and without any clear or well-defined purpose. The Protestant princes were naturally enough filled with alarm by the continued successes of the Imperialists and the troops of the League. But they could not be prevailed upon to act. They were urged by Christian of Brunswick to abandon their attitude of neutrality, and to fight for the bishoprics and Protestantism. They were urged on the other hand by Tilly to abandon their attitude of neutrality, and to fight for the emperor against Mansfeld and brigandage.

On February 23, 1623, the Palatinate was transferred to Maximilian; and he was made elector for his lifetime. It was a daring and impolitic step; and it gave offence all round. It put the Protestant electors in a hopeless minority in the diet; it aroused the ire of the King of England, who thought of the interests of his son-in-law; and it convinced both Denmark and Sweden that the Protestant cause was in danger. France discovered fresh evidence of the grasping ambition of the House of Austria; and the Spanish ambassador, convinced of the impolicy of the step, protested against the transfer.

The war was to be renewed, in altered circumstances, under different leaders, and for somewhat different purposes. England had been urging both Sweden and Denmark to interfere in the affairs of Germany, and had promised both men and money. Neither was unwilling; but the northern monarchs differed in their estimate of the situation. The Swedish king would not enter upon the undertaking with an army under 70,000 strong; and of these he would expect England to be responsible for the support of 17,000, and to put cash down at the outset for four months' pay. The Danish king was more moderate in his demands. Thirty thousand, he thought, would be sufficient for the enterprise; and if England charged herself with the support of 6,000, he would be satisfied. The Danish plan was accepted; and England became responsible for a subsidy of 30,000 pounds a month. It was hoped that the Swedish ruler would lend a helping hand. But no. Disgusted with the arrangement, and boding no good result, Gustavus turned his back upon Germany, for the time, and resumed the settlement of his difficulty with the King of Poland. As Duke of Holstein Christian IV. of Denmark was a member of the Lower

Saxon Circle; and through his family he had interests at stake in connection with the Protestant bishoprics. Christian could count on the support of Mansfeld, who had arrived from England with fresh troops, on the support of Christian of Brunswick, on the support of John Ernest of Saxe-Weimar, and on the co-operation of Bethlen Gabor, who was once more threatening Vienna from the side of Hungary. His demand and that of his allies was that the Protestant territories should receive a legal and permanent confirmation of their right to remain Protestant—a demand which had been set aside by the emperor and the league, in the preceding winter. All that the emperor and the league would promise was to abide by the Mulhausen arrangement of 1520, by which they were pledged not to disturb the lands of the Protestant administrators, or the secularized lands in the northern territories, so long as the holders thereof remained loyal subjects.

The emperor had good reason to be alarmed at the new aspect of things. He was angry. He thought that the Mulhausen treaty should satisfy the princes, and that they should come to his aid. But John George assured him that the difficulty in Lower Saxony was very different from that of Bohemia, and declared that Protestant support, other than passive, was impossible, so long as he refused to permanently confirm the Protestant bishoprics. The emperor needed help; but where was he to find it? Help came to him from an unexpected source, and in an unexpected way. The Bohemian wars had developed a soldier by the name of Waldstein or Wallenstein. He was already, in fact, a power in the empire. Sprung from an impoverished branch of one of the old Bohemian families, and born of Lutheran parents, he had been early left an orphan. Of his own volition he had found his way to the Jesuits at Olmutz, had adopted their religion, and had cultivated a knowledge of astrology—a science in which in after years, he professed unbounded faith. Having joined the army, he commanded the attention of his superiors, and obtained rapid promotion. In the general spoliation in Bohemia, he had been mindful of his own interests. He had married well, and had acquired both titles and estates. Wallenstein came to the emperor's rescue. He would raise an army, equal to the emergency, and

find means for its support. All that was necessary was that the emperor should sanction his plans. His conditions were simple. He must be allowed to exact contributions in the emperor's name from the constituted authorities, wherever the army should be cantoned; and he must be invested with supreme command. It was an infamous proposal; but it suited Ferdinand at the time. The bargain was closed; and it was not long until Wallenstein, as Duke of Friedland, was at the head of some 30,000 men, and such a body of men, for discipline and equipment, as had, perhaps, never before been seen on German soil.

In the spring of 1626 both armies were in the field. In point of numbers they were not unequally matched. But circumstances were all in favor of Tilly and Wallenstein. They were quartered in the enemy's country; and in raising supplies, they had no susceptibilities to consult, no friendly princes or cities to spare. It was quite otherwise with Christian, who was among his allies, and who was compelled to show them every consideration. His difficulties were aggravated by the failure of England to pay the subsidy. She had engaged, as we have seen, to pay 30,000 pounds a month. Forty-six thousand pounds, which was sent over in May, 1625, was all that was ever received. On April 25, Wallenstein inflicted a severe defeat on Mansfeld at the bridge of Dessau on the Elbe. Mansfeld contrived to escape, and with John Ernest of Weimar went to the assistance of Bethlen Gabor. Wallenstein pursued. In the meantime, on August 25, Tilly came up with the Danish army at Lutter. A fierce struggle ensued; but some of the men in the Danish ranks refusing to fight, Christian was driven from the field. A little later Wallenstein was in Hungary. Mansfeld had joined Bethlen Gabor. But as the latter had counted in vain on help from the Turks, battle was avoided. A truce was signed; and one of the conditions was that Mansfeld should be expelled from Hungary. The old war horse, as some called him, died on his way to Venice. He refused to die in a bed; and his last words were, "Be united, united; hold out like men." His old companion Christian of Brunswick had died after the defeat at the bridge of Dessau.

Another terrible blow had been given to German liberty and to the Protestant cause. In a feeble way the King of Denmark

endeavored to maintain the struggle. But he was no match for the man who had converted Germany into a huge military encampment, and put the entire Fatherland under contribution for the support of his army. Driven back into his own islands, and threatened even there, Christian had no choice but lay down his arms, and sign the humiliating treaty of Lubeck. This he did on May 12, 1623, and received back all his hereditary possessions, resigning at the same time all claim to the bishoprics, held by his family, and engaging to meddle no further in the affairs of Lower Saxony. So ended the third period of the war.

The end was not yet. A wise and prudent policy might at this stage have given Germany peace. But wisdom and prudence were specially wanting to Ferdinand and to the members of the league by whom he was controlled. When the peace of Lubeck was signed, the emperor had already, six weeks before, issued the fatal Edict of Restitution. By a stroke of his pen he had taken from the Protestant and restored to the Catholic Church, the two archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen, the twelve bishoprics of Minden, Verdun, Halberstadt, Lubeck, Ratzeburg, Misnia, Merseburg, Naumburg, Brandenburg, Heidelberg, Lebus and Camin, with about a hundred and twenty smaller ecclesiastical foundations. The edict declared that the Protestant States, after the treaty of Passau, had no right to appropriate the ecclesiastical benefices, under their lordship, and that every act of secularization was null; that all archbishoprics and bishoprics, which had become Protestant since that treaty, must be surrendered; that the declaration of Ferdinand I., giving liberty to the Protestant subjects of ecclesiastical princes, was invalid, and that such subjects might be forced to become Catholic or be expelled from their homes. A specially obnoxious feature of the edict was the declaration that the religious peace should not avail for the protection of Calvinists, Zwinglians, or other dissenters. It was meant for the adherents of the Augsburg Confession, and for them only. This was the more cruel that in the South German States, and in the free cities of the South, the Calvinists and Zwinglians were in the majority. It was a broad and sweeping act; and it was as arbitrary and tyrannical as it was broad and sweeping. It had the merest show of legality on its side; but this only

revealed the inherent defectiveness of the Augsburg arrangement.

It was no longer doubtful to any one what was the object aimed at by the emperor and the Catholic league. The most lukewarm of the Protestant princes and magistrates were aroused. But the thought of rebellion—of rising against the emperor—seemed to paralyze them. In these circumstances, help came again from without; and the war entered upon its fourth period. We have already mentioned the name of Gustavus Adolphus. He had long been an anxious spectator of the events which were taking place in Germany. He had not been indifferent to the fate of his neighbor, Christian of Denmark; and it is tolerably certain that if Christian had called upon him in time, his ending would have been less inglorious. Gustavus saw danger in the continued triumph of Ferdinand's arms. He had recently had great success against both Russia and Poland. But of what avail was this success if it was soon to be undone by the conquering hosts of a great military empire? Gustavus was also warmly attached to the Protestant cause. He saw that that cause was in danger. Much trouble was being experienced through the enforcement of the Edict of Restitution; and the Swedish monarch naturally enough sympathized with the sufferers. It may be true that in contemplating the invasion of Germany, Gustavus was actuated by various motives; but it is quite certain that, if he thought of the extension of the power of Sweden, he did not think less of tendering support to the princes of Germany, in defence of their rights, and of placing German Protestantism on firm and unassailable ground.

Towards the end of June, 1630, the Swedish king landed at Usedom with 15,000 men. It was a splendid army—well disciplined and not inexperienced in the rough work of the battle-field. It was composed of pious, God-fearing men—such men as those on whom later Cromwell was wont to lean, and lead to victory. Much now depended upon the German princes themselves. Without their co-operation, the experiment might prove as disastrous to Gustavus, as it had done to Christian. It was no trifling matter even for him to confront such a foe as Wallenstein; and it is important to bear in mind, at this stage, that when he landed at Use-

dom he had no satisfactory assurance of the support of any of the leading princes.

At the very commencement, it seemed as if fortune were about to dower the Swedish king with her choicest favors. Scarcely had he touched the shores of Pomerania, when it became known that Wallenstein was no longer in command of the forces of the empire. Wallenstein, in truth, had fallen a victim to the intrigues of the league. It was an offence to them that he had become what Maximilian had been before him—the emperor's right arm. It was an offence that he was in favor of toleration in matters of religion. It was an offence that he meditated or was believed to meditate the establishment of a military empire. It was an offence that he harbored or was supposed to harbor sinister designs against Rome and the pope. It was an offence that he was contemptuous towards the priests, and that he was discourteous towards the members of the league. Ferdinand was anxious to have his son, the King of Hungary, elected King of the Romans. The price at which the league set its vote was the removal of Wallenstein. Ferdinand yielded; and the great general, powerful and ambitious as he was, retired with grace, sustained, no doubt, by the conviction that he could "bide his time."

Gustavus was not ignorant of the advantage he had thus gained; but he was unwilling to act without the consent and co-operation of the princes. It was all important that he should not forcibly invade their territory. The Duke of Pomerania was the first to open his gates to receive him. Followed, after much persuasion, the Elector of Brandenburg. While he waited for John George of Saxony, fortune smiled in another direction; and on January 23, 1631, the treaty of Barwalde was signed, France pledging herself to pay a large sum periodically for five years. The fall and terrible fate of the Protestant city of Magdeburg, and Ferdinand's stern and decided negative to the request of a large Protestant meeting at Leipzig that he should withdraw the Edict of Restitution, soon made an end of all indecision on the part of the Saxon elector. Gustavus was now ready; and on September 17, Swede and Saxon were drawn up in front of the imperial forces, now under Tilly, close to the village of Breitenfeld, some five miles from Leipzig. It was a

hotly contested battle; but victory remained with Gustavus and his allies. Breitenfeld proved to be the grave of the Edict of Restitution. It has been called the Naseby of Germany. The news caused great rejoicing everywhere throughout the Protestant world. After the battle John George marched to Bohemia; and Gustavus moved towards the west. The former experienced but little resistance in pushing his way to Prague. The march of the latter was a triumphal progress. Wurzburg, Mentz, Nuremberg and Donauwörth were successively visited; and in every instance the Protestants had occasion to rejoice because of the restoration of their rights and privileges. At the passage of the Lech, on April 14, the Swedes came in contact with Tilly. The advantage seemed to be on the side of the defenders; but Gustavus made terrible use of his artillery, and forced his way across. In this encounter, Tilly was mortally wounded. The conqueror pushed on; and in Augsburg he was treated at once as a friend and as a conqueror. Thence he advances to Bavaria; and in Munich, we find, riding by his side, Frederick, the exiled Elector Palatine. Gustavus was willing to re-establish him at Heidelberg, on condition that he would allow Swedish garrisons to occupy the fortresses, and that he would make no distinction between Lutheran and Calvinist. But Frederick's narrow soul was not elastic enough even for this; and when he died, a few months later, he was still a homeless wanderer. All Germany, except the hereditary dominions of the House of Austria, were at the feet of Gustavus.

Ferdinand was in a tight place. The fate of Germany itself was trembling in the balance. There was no doubt that Gustavus, victorious, would respect religious liberty; but what he would do with the empire was a different question. In this fresh emergency the emperor's thoughts turned towards Wallenstein. He was living in seclusion in Bohemia, and carefully watching the progress of events. He had rejoiced in the defeat of Tilly at Breitenfeld. He had offered Gustavus his sword, and the legions which his name would bring to the common cause. But he was not trusted either by Gustavus or by John George. The correspondence with Gustavus had been broken off, when Wallenstein received a visit from his old friend, Eggenberg, at

Znaim. Eggenberg had come to offer him the command, in the emperor's name. Wallenstein accepted; but only on certain specified conditions. The ecclesiastical lands were to be left as they were before the Edict of Restitution. As commander, he was to have absolute authority. No army was to be introduced into the empire, except under his command. And to him alone was to belong the right of confiscation. Such concessions invested him with more than imperial authority. He had already had his revenge against the league. With such power, and with a fair share of victory, it will be easy for him to root out the old families of princes, fill their places with his own creatures, and so make Germany his own. Wallenstein had the genius and ambition; but he had not the dash of Napoleon. Such an appointment could not be well-pleasing to the league. It was submitted to as a measure of necessity.

Wallenstein's first effort was to induce John George to withdraw from the Swedish alliance. He promised to have the Edict of Restitution rescinded; and to hurry the Saxon elector to a decision, he directed his whole force, which was already a large army, upon Nuremberg. Gustavus, however, was ahead of him. He had entered the city, and was resolved to defend it. Wallenstein, pursuing his usual tactics, had taken a strong position, and preferred the policy of waiting to the policy of attack. Impatient of delay, Gustavus moved out of the city, with drums beating and banners flying, and marched into Saxony. Wallenstein followed, his object again being to find some strong defensible position, rather than to force fighting. This time his purpose failed. The two armies were face to face, in the immediate neighborhood of Lutzen. It was the morning of November 16, 1632. After singing Luther's hymn, "God is a Strong Tower," the Swedes, with Gustavus at their head, rushed to the attack. The battle of Lutzen is one of the great battles of history. It resulted in victory for the Swedes; but it was dearly bought by the death of Gustavus—one of the greatest statesmen and soldiers of his time, and the one man who seemed to have the fitness, as well as the desire, to reconstruct, in a satisfactory manner, the affairs of Germany. Wallenstein was able to effect a retreat, but after sore punishment and with only a fragment

of his army. The Thirty Years' War had reached its climax.

When Gustavus fell, he was master of Germany. His loss, however, was the loss of all. There was no one to take his place or make his purpose good. His infant daughter succeeded him. The supreme power was placed in the hands of Oxenstjerna, the chancellor of the kingdom. Bernard of Weimar was in command of the army, with Horn as his lieutenant. But Bernard was more bent on having a proper reward for his services, than upon pushing his victory. He could not agree with Horn; and both complained of the chancellor for his remissness in sending supplies. The creation of the new Duchy of Franconia, as a reward for Bernard, had given great offence to the Saxon chief; and he had virtually broken off from the alliance. At the same time, the Protestant leaders were not without encouragement. The league of Heilbronn, April 23, 1633, brought Swabia, Franconia, with the Upper and Lower Rhine into alliance for mutual support. And now there was hope of men as well as of money from France.

Wallenstein, in the meantime, was bent on a policy of his own. His voice was for peace. He was in favor of toleration, and, therefore, of liberal concessions to the Protestants. What he wanted above all things was a united Germany, managing its own affairs. He was opposed to French intervention; and he stubbornly refused to carry on the war even with the help of Spain. It had come to a dead-lock between him and the emperor. His enemies demanded his removal. The emperor had consented. But the work was cut short by the dagger of Devereux. The assassination of Wallenstein created new possibilities in all directions. It removed the one great man whom the war had developed. What Wallenstein might have done, no one can tell; but so far he had failed, because his motives were doubtful, and because he was wanting in those qualities which win men's hearts and inspire confidence.

Ferdinand, King of Hungary, the son of the emperor, was now at the head of the Imperial forces. He had already come into contact with the Swedes and driven them from Ratisbon and from Donauworth, when he was joined by the Cardinal-Infant, with 15,000 Spaniards, on his way from Italy to the Netherlands. Siege was now laid to Nordlingen; and on the sixth of

September was fought the famous battle which bears that name. By the end of the day Horn and 6,000 men were made prisoners; and Bernard was in full retreat, leaving 10,000 of his men dead upon the field. The imperialists had lost only 1,200 men. Nordlingen undid all that had been done at Breitenfeld; and Ferdinand was again master of Germany.

The victory at Nordlingen was followed by the treaty of Prague, which was signed by the emperor and the Lutheran princes May 30, 1635. The Edict of Restitution was so qualified as to be rendered almost null. The principles of the Augsburg treaty were reaffirmed. The year 1627 was chosen as the new point of departure. The northern bishoprics, for the most part, were saved to Protestantism. Halberstadt remained in the hands of a Catholic bishop. The Palatinate was lost to Protestantism forever. Lusatia was ceded to Saxony. Protestantism in Silesia was placed under the protection of the emperor. The new arrangement covered the Lutherans only. Hesse-Cassel, therefore, and the other Calvinistic States south, received no security at all. So ended what may be called the fourth great period of the war.

The Swedes were not parties to the treaty of Prague. Before that treaty was signed they had entered into a fresh covenant with France. They were still bound by the Heilbronn compact. Bernard of Weimar and William of Hesse-Cassel had refused the accommodation offered them, and were, therefore, at liberty to act. Bernard, since his promotion to the dukedom of Franconia, was no longer at the head of the Swedish army. The command had been given to General Baner. The war was not discontinued; but its character was completely changed. France had come to the front as the dominant power. Richelieu, having subdued all authority independent of his master, within the bounds of France, had at last found his long-desired opportunity, to strike a blow at the House of Austria. The Swedes were in French pay; and so was Bernard of Weimar. It was no longer a war between two rival religions; for Protestant states fought on the side of the emperor, and Protestant states fought against him. It was a war between Germany and Sweden on the one hand, and between Germany and France on the other. Ferdinand died on February 15, 1637, at Vienna, and was succeeded by his son,

Ferdinand III. The change had little if any effect on the war. During the first year of his reign, there was a gleam of hope. Baner was defeated at Wittstock; and Wurtemberg accepted the treaty of Prague. It was only a gleam. Germany still was to be at the mercy of contending armies.

In December, 1638, Bernard made himself master of Alsace; and after his death, in the following year, all his conquests on the Upper Rhine fell into the hands of France. The Swedes under Baner and Torstensohn added victory to victory in the north. The French under Guebriant, Turenne, D'Enghien and others were even more successful in the south. Germany was literally torn to pieces. The warriors themselves had become tired of the slaughter and devastation; and after the second battle of Nordlingen, August 3, 1645, the French claiming the victory, there was a general cry for peace. It was the last battle of the long war.

Negotiations for peace were immediately commenced. The result was the treaty of Westphalia, signed October 24, 1648. Calvinists and Lutherans were put on the same footing. The year 1624 was decided upon as the date by which all disputes regarding ecclesiastical property were to be tested. The imperial court was reconstituted; and Protestants and Catholics were to be members in equal numbers. The Upper Palatinate was secured to Maximilian, and united to Bavaria. The Lower Palatinate was constituted an electorate and given to Charles Lewis, the son of Frederick. Sweden obtained possession of the mouths of the great northern rivers. Suitable compensation was made to Brandenburg and Saxony. France was allowed to retain Metz, Toul and Verdun, with Upper and Lower Alsace. German losses by the war were incalculable.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA TO THE DEATH OF FREDERICK THE GREAT.

Reign of Ferdinand III.—Leopold I.—Louis XIV. of France Seeks the Imperial Dignity—Growth of Prussia—Frederick William the Great, Elector—Joins the Alliance against Louis XIV.—Defeats the Swedes at Fehrbellin—Louis XIV. Seizes Strasburg—Leopold Oppresses the Hungarian Protestants—They Ask and Receive Aid from the Turks—Siege of Vienna—New War with France—Brutality of the French Soldiers—The Peace of Ryswick—The Elector of Brandenburg Becomes King of Prussia—The War of the Spanish Suc-

cession—The Electors of Bavaria and Cologne Join France—Marlborough and Prince Eugene—Battle of Blenheim—Joseph I. Emperor—His Vigorous Measures—Prince Eugene in Italy—His Victories—Joins Marlborough in the Netherlands—Battles of Oudenarde and Malplaquet—Charles VI. Emperor—The Peace of Utrecht—Close of the War by the Treaty of Rastadt—The Pragmatic Sanction—War with the Turks—Lorraine given up to Stanislaus Leszczynski—Maria Theresa—Efforts to Strip her of her Dominions—Rapid Growth of Prussia—Frederick William I.—A Brutal King—The Tobacco College—Harsh Treatment of the Crown Prince—Frederick the Great Becomes King—His Government—Claims Silesia—Invades that Country—The War of the Austrian Succession—Desperate Situation of Maria Theresa—Her Appeal to the Nobles of Hungary—Progress of the War—Peace with Prussia—Successes of the Forces of Maria Theresa—The Second Silesian War—Death of Charles VII.—Peace Between Bavaria, Prussia, Saxony, and Austria—Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle—Francis I. Emperor—Home Government of Frederick the Great—Maria Theresa Determines to Regain Silesia—Frederick Forms an Alliance with England—The League Against Prussia—Frederick Invades Saxony and Begins the Seven Years' War—Battle of Losowitz—Victory of Frederick near Prague—He is Defeated at Kolin—Invasion of Prussia by the Allies—Desperate Situation of Frederick—His Firmness—Battles of Rossbach and Leuthen—Frederick Receives Aid from England—Beats the Russians at Zorndoff—Is Defeated at Hochkirchen—Frederick's Cause Seems Hopeless—His Heroism—Is Defeated at Kunersdorf—His Great Victory at Leignitz—Berlin Occupied by the Austrians and Russians—Movements of Prince Henry and Frederick in 1761—Change in the Policy of Russia—Battles of Buckersdorf and Freiberg—Peace of Hubertsberg—Results of the Seven Years' War—Death of Francis I.—Partition of Poland—Death of Maria Theresa—Joseph II. Emperor—Death of Frederick the Great.

THE remainder of the reign of Ferdinand and III. was uneventful. He died in 1657, and was succeeded by his son, Leopold I. Louis XIV. of France was very anxious to obtain the imperial dignity, and endeavored to bribe the electoral college, but the temporal electors refused his offers, and chose Leopold. The French king never forgave his defeat, and throughout his entire reign sought to humble and weaken the empire, and to enrich himself at its expense. Leopold was a weak, well-meaning and incompetent sovereign, and his reign was mainly a period of disaster. These troubles were aggravated by the indifference which the German states manifested to the interests of the empire. In 1667 Louis XIV. invaded the Netherlands for the purpose of wresting a part of that country from Spain. No German state took part in the quarrel, and by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1669, Spain was com-

pelled to relinquish a portion of her possessions in that quarter.

In the meantime Prussia had been steadily growing in territory and in strength. By the treaty of Welau, concluded in 1657, Prussia became independent of Poland, and in 1666 the duchy of Cleve and the counties of Mark and Ravensberg were added to the Prussian dominions. These advances were made under the guidance of Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, called the Great Elector, who was by far the ablest of the German princes of his day. He devoted himself to the task of improving the fortunes of Prussia, and under him the little state fairly began its remarkable advance to power and prosperity. In 1672 Louis XIV. declared war against the united provinces. Frederick William, who had long been suspicious of France, now had serious cause to fear that the French king would seek to absorb the new possessions of Prussia, and he joined the united provinces against him. The emperor and King Charles of Spain did likewise. The imperial army was placed under the command of Montecuculi, an able general. The chief minister of the emperor was Prince Lobkowitz, who was in the pay of the French king. The spiritual electors and the Bishop of Münster were in open sympathy with Louis. These constituted a powerful cabal, and hampered the movements of the army to such an extent that Frederick William became disgusted, and made peace with the French in 1673. The emperor was obliged to dismiss Prince Lobkowitz at length, and then Montecuculi was able to act with more freedom. He won some successes on the lower Rhine, but in the upper Rhine country the French commander Turenne gained an important victory over the Austrians. In 1674 it became necessary for the Elector Frederick William to take sides with one party or another, and he again joined the alliance against France. Denmark also became a member of it. About the same time Sweden made an alliance with France, and sent an army into Brandenburg. Several other German princes took sides with the French king. The action of Sweden compelled the great elector to leave the Rhine and defend his own country. In 1675 he won a decisive victory over the Swedes at Fehrbellin, and followed up this success by wresting from them nearly all of Pomerania. In 1678

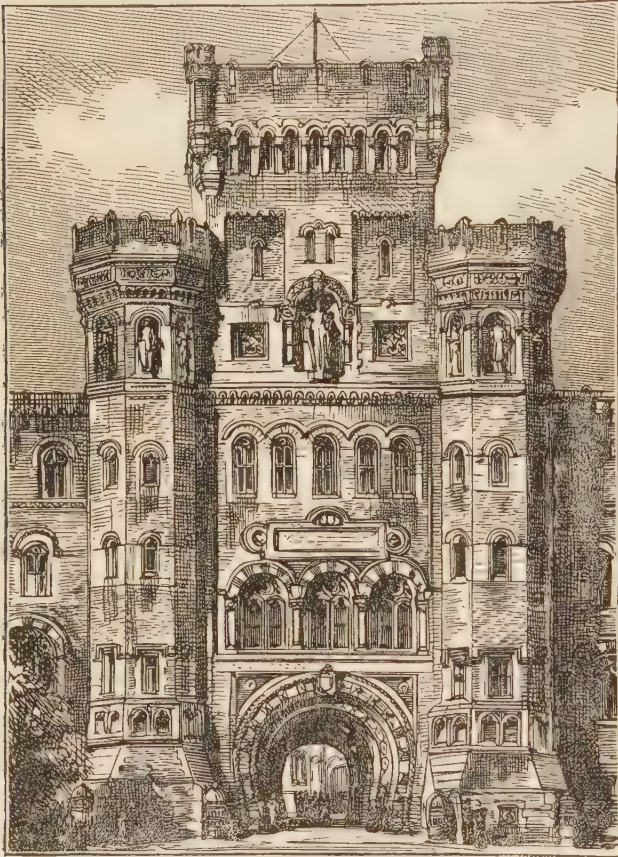
the treaty of Nimwegen was signed between France, the united provinces, and Spain, and the war was thus confined to the emperor and the French king. Peace was made between them in 1679. The emperor restored Freiburg in Breisgau to the French, and Frederick William gave back to the Swedes nearly all the territory he had won from them in Pomerania. The great elector devoted the remainder of his life to advancing the interests of his country, and

south Germany. He at once proceeded to render it impregnable, and in spite of the universal protest of Germany, held on to it. It was retained by France until 1870.

The emperor was unable to prevent these outrages, as his energies were absorbed in a war with the Hungarians and the Turks. Leopold treated the Hungarian Protestants with such severity that they were driven to despair. Their only friend was Louis XIV. of France, who, though a bigoted Catholic,

aided them as a means of weakening the empire. In their extremity the Hungarians asked and received aid of the Turks, who were also urged by Louis to attack Austria. In 1683 a powerful Turkish army entered Hungary, and advanced rapidly upon Vienna. The emperor and many of the people fled, but the city made a gallant defence of several months under Count Rudiger of Slatenberg. When it was on the point of yielding it was saved by the arrival of an army under Charles, Duke of Lorraine, and John Sobieski, King of Poland. The Turks were at once attacked, and driven from their camp by Sobieski. They retreated into their own country. The war was continued, and after several defeats the sultan consented to make peace. The treaty of Carlowitz, signed in 1699, closed the war.

In the meantime war had broken out again between the emperor and France. Louis began the contest on the pretext that his nominee for the dignity of Elector of



IMPERIAL ARSENAL, VIENNA.

is generally regarded as one of the ablest rulers of Prussia, and the founder of her present prosperity.

Although pledged to peace by the treaty of Nimwegen, Louis XIV. did not cease to annoy Germany. Under pretence that the Austrian possessions in Alsace had not been entirely delivered to France, he took possession of many towns on both sides of the Rhine, and in 1681 suddenly seized the important city of Strasburg, the key to all

Cologne had not been appointed. The diet now came to the assistance of Leopold, and declared war against France. The French army entered the Palatinate, and by the direct orders of the king laid waste that beautiful country. Towns and farm-houses were burned, and the people were made to suffer the most horrible outrages. Heidelberg and its splendid castle were destroyed; the tombs of the emperors at Spire were broken open, the bones of the "great dead"

were scattered about, and their silver coffins were stolen. These and similar outrages aroused a bitter hatred of the French throughout all Germany—a feeling which has never since died out. The emperor shook off his indolence, and made vigorous efforts to punish the French. He was ably supported by Frederick of Brandenburg, the son of the great elector, and the other German princes, and a coalition of the European powers, under the leadership of William III. of England, was formed against France. We shall relate the events of this struggle elsewhere. It lasted seven years, with varying success, and was closed by the peace of Ryswick, between France, England, Spain, and Holland, in 1697. The emperor at first held aloof, but at length gave his sanction to the treaty. France surrendered Freiburg, Breisach, Philipsburg, and the towns on the right bank of the Rhine, but kept Strasburg. Germany agreed to maintain the Catholic religion in the surrendered towns.

Frederick William, the Great Elector of Brandenburg, was succeeded by his son Frederick III. This prince was dissatisfied with his electoral dignity, and was ambitious of higher honors. With the consent of the emperor he erected his dominions into the kingdom of Prussia. He could not become King of Brandenburg, because as elector of that country he owed a nominal allegiance to the emperor; but as Duke of Prussia he was independent. Hence he chose to call himself King of Prussia. He was crowned with great splendor at Königsberg on the 18th of January, 1701. This event, in reality one of the most important of the century, attracted very little attention at the time.

The intrigues of the European powers for the division of the Spanish dominions, and the sudden death of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, are related in our account of the history of France during the last century. Charles II. of Spain died on the 11th of November, 1700. He was induced a short while before his death, and very reluctantly, to declare Philip of Anjou, the grandson of Louis XIV., his successor. The emperor refused to abide by this appointment, and claimed the Spanish throne for his son, the Archduke Charles, the son of Margaret Theresa, the sister of Charles II. of Spain. The Protestant powers took up the cause of the emperor, as they dreaded to see the Bourbons in possession

of the crowns of France and Spain. Such a concentration of power in the hands of this family they believed would render it dangerous to the peace of Europe. They had all come to regard Louis XIV. as their great enemy, and they dreaded the success of any movement that could add to his power. The emperor possessed a decided advantage over his rivals, in having for the commander of his army the illustrious soldier, Prince Eugene of Savoy, whose splendid exploits against the Turks in the last years of the seventeenth century had won him the baton of a field-marshal. The new kingdom of Prussia had also engaged to support the emperor in consideration of his consent to its erection. The "War of the Spanish Succession" began in May, 1701, in the passage of the Alps by Prince Eugene, and his entrance into Lombardy with an army of Austrian, Prussian, and Hanoverian troops. Marshal Catinat, the French commander, was beaten, and the French were driven out of the region between the Adige and the Adda. Catinat was succeeded by Marshal Villeroy, but he was signally defeated by Eugene at Chiari and Cremona. England and Holland now entered into an alliance with the emperor. The death of William III. of England, in March, 1702, for a while disconcerted the allies; but his successor, Queen Anne, promptly announced her intention to continue William's policy, and appointed Lord Marlborough to the command of her forces. On the 2d of October, 1702, the states of the empire formally declared war against France. The Elector of Bavaria and his brother, the Elector of Cologne, at the same time entered into a treaty of alliance with France, and early in 1703 the French crossed the Rhine and joined the Bavarian troops. Marshal Villars, the French commander, proposed to the elector to march at once upon Vienna; but Maximilian shrank from so bold a movement, and undertook an expedition into the Tyrol. He had some slight successes, and made himself master of Innsbruck, but was at length driven out of the Tyrol by the people.

In 1704 Marlborough and Prince Eugene united their forces and invaded the Bavarian territory, and on the 13th of August, 1704, defeated the French and Bavarian forces in the great battle of Blenheim, near Höchstadt. Among the prisoners was the French commander, Marshal Tallard. The French were compelled in consequence of

their defeat to withdraw from Germany. The Elector of Bavaria fled to the Netherlands, and his dominions were occupied by the imperial army. Marlborough was created a prince of the empire as a reward for his great services. For some years he had been in supreme command of the imperial forces, as the Emperor Leopold I., while esteeming Prince Eugene for his great ability, did not altogether trust him.

In 1705 the Emperor Leopold I. died, and was succeeded by his son Joseph I., a man of stronger and more energetic character. He differed from his father in another respect also: he had perfect confidence in Prince Eugene and allowed him a wider field for the display of his talents. He continued the war with France, and found time also to crush several outbreaks in Hungary. The cruelties of the Austrian army of occupation drove the Bavarians into revolt. The emperor succeeded in quelling this outbreak after a severe struggle. The Electors of Bavaria and Cologne were put to the ban of the empire, and the emperor resolved to put an end to the existence of Bavaria as a nation. Its territories were divided among several of the German princes, and the upper Palatinate was restored to the Elector Palatine, from whom it had been taken in the Thirty Years' War.

Prince Eugene had been sent into Italy to drive the French out of that country, but in August, 1705, was defeated by the Duke of Vendome at Cassano, and again at Calcinato, in April, 1706. He repaired these reverses, however, by a brilliant victory over the French before Turin on the 7th of September, 1706. In consequence of this victory all Lombardy submitted to the imperialists, and the Archduke Charles was proclaimed at Milan. In March, 1707, a convention was signed with the French by which they agreed to evacuate the whole of northern Italy. Three months later the imperialists captured Naples, and the Austrian archduke was acknowledged King of the Two Sicilies, as Charles III. Prince Eugene now marched into the Netherlands and united his forces with those of Marlborough. The allied commanders at once assumed the offensive, and on the 11th of July, 1708, defeated the French in the great battle of Oudenarde. On the 11th of September, 1709, they gained the great victory of Malplaquet, the most stubbornly contested battle of the war.

The Emperor Joseph I. died on the 17th of April, 1711, and was succeeded by his brother, the Archduke Charles, who thus became the Emperor Charles VI. Charles already held the Spanish Netherlands, the Two Sicilies, and Milan, and the allies now began to consider that the acquisition of Spain, in addition to his imperial and other possessions, would render him as dangerous as Louis XIV. They therefore grew lukewarm in his cause. Partly because of this conviction, and partly for reasons connected with the domestic questions of Great Britain, Marlborough was recalled to England. Negotiations were opened for a peace between France and the allies, and on the 11th of April, 1713, the treaty of Utrecht was signed. The Emperor Charles VI. refused to accept this treaty, as he declared he had been betrayed by his allies for the sake of peace. His efforts were unsuccessful in the campaign which followed, and on the 7th of March, 1714, the peace of Rastadt was signed between the empire and France and Spain. By the terms of this treaty Charles resigned his claims to the Spanish crown in favor of Philip V., but received the Spanish Netherlands, the Two Sicilies, Milan, and Sardinia. A separate treaty with France was signed at Baden on the 7th of September, 1714, by which the emperor ceded to France the imperial fortress of Landau, and granted a free pardon to the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, and restored them to their dominions.

The reign of Charles VI. was not altogether fortunate. He had no son to inherit his possessions, and in 1713 drew up a Pragmatic Sanction, or a law which guaranteed the succession of the Austrian possessions to his daughter Maria Theresa and her heirs, in the event of the failure of the male line at his death. After considerable negotiation he succeeded in securing the acceptance of this law by the empire, and induced the leading states of Europe to guarantee its enforcement.

In 1715 a war broke out with the Turks, and lasted until 1718. The genius of Prince Eugene won substantial advantages for the empire, and by the treaty of Passarowitz, which closed the war, the Turks were compelled to surrender Belgrade and other towns, together with a considerable amount of territory, to Austria.

In 1733 Augustus II. of Poland died. The emperor and the Czar of Russia supported the claims of his son Frederick

Augustus, Elector of Saxony, while France sustained Stanislaus Leszczynski, the father-in-law of Louis XV. Out of this quarrel grew the War of the Polish Succession. It was continued until 1735, but the third treaty of Vienna was not signed until 1738. Augustus III. succeeded in obtaining the Polish crown, but the war was one of unmitigated disaster to the emperor. He was obliged to relinquish the beautiful duchy of Lorraine to Stanislaus Leszczynski, from whom the duchy passed to France and became a part of that kingdom. Francis, the reigning Duke of Lorraine, was married to Maria Theresa, the daughter of the emperor, who bestowed upon him the grand duchy of Tuscany; for which, together with Parma, Charles had been obliged to surrender the Two Sicilies. Charles VI. died on the 21st of October, 1740, and with him ended the male line of the house of Hapsburg.

Maria Theresa was twenty-four years old, and succeeded her father on the thrones of Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia. Notwithstanding the guarantee given her father by the European powers, she soon found herself opposed by nearly all of them, who sought to wrest her dominions from her and divide them among themselves. England, Russia, Prussia, and the United Netherlands gave her friendly assurances; but the French king dissembled his intentions, and the Elector of Bavaria boldly claimed the Austrian territories in his own right as a descendant of the Emperor Ferdinand II., and in right of his wife, who was the daughter of Joseph I. The King of Poland had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction, but he now claimed the Austrian dominions in right of his wife, who was a daughter of Joseph I., and joined the secret alliance of France, Bavaria, and Spain against Maria Theresa. A little later this alliance was joined by the Kings of Prussia and Sardinia, the Elector of Cologne, and the Elector Palatine. The object of the league was to make Charles Albert of Bavaria emperor, and to divide the Austrian possessions among its various members. Thus Maria Theresa was left with only Eng. and as her ally. The Empress Elizabeth of Russia was friendly to her, but was so much engaged in a war with Sweden that she could render her no assistance. The struggle which now ensued is known as "The War of the Austrian Succession." The first blow was struck by the King of

Prussia. Before relating the events of this war, it is necessary to go back and trace the history of Prussia since the formation of the kingdom.

Under Frederick I., the founder of the monarchy, the Prussian kingdom attained the peculiar military character which has since distinguished it. He did much to develop its resources, but at the same time he kept his people poor by imposing heavy taxes upon them to enable him to support a luxurious and costly court in imitation of that of Louis XIV. of France. He was a sovereign of liberal and enlightened views, and did much for the intellectual advancement of his kingdom. He founded, among other institutions, the University of Halle and the Academy of Sciences at Berlin. He died in 1713.

Frederick William I., who succeeded his father, was a man of coarse and brutal nature, and was given to the most furious outbursts of anger. He treated his family with contempt and cruelty, and when they made him angry or opposed his wishes, did not hesitate to beat them with his stick. He regarded learning and learned men with profound contempt, which he exhibited on all possible occasions. He conducted his court with an economy which was simply an unparalleled meanness. He was an inveterate smoker, and arranged the affairs of state in what he called his "tobacco college." His generals and ministers would assemble in a plainly furnished room in the palace, each provided with a pipe, and there, amid clouds of tobacco smoke, the affairs of the kingdom were discussed and decided upon. Taxes were still high during this reign, but the economy of the king enabled him to lay by a large sum of money for the service of the state. Though he was an arbitrary tyrant, he was well served by his ministers, and under him the kingdom advanced steadily. He obtained from Sweden in 1720 the city of Stettin, the southern part of Hither-Pomerania, and the islands of Usedom and Wollin. He gave especial care to the army, and at the time of his death Prussia had a force of 80,000 splendidly equipped and organized troops. He had a passion for very tall men, and used every effort to induce them to enlist in his favorite regiment, the "Potsdam Guard." He had his agents in foreign countries, and when "giants" could not be procured in any other way, they were kidnapped.

Frederick William seemed to take an especial delight in maltreating his son, the Crown Prince Frederick, a young man of great abilities, and naturally of a warm and amiable disposition. He had acquired a considerable degree of education and culture, and his father set to work to conquer his æsthetic tastes, and convert him into a brute like himself. The process he adopted was a very cruel one, and clouded Frederick's youth with unhappiness and suffering. In 1730 the prince attempted to escape from Prussia and take refuge with his aunt, the Queen of England. His plan was discovered by his father, and he was arrested and condemned to death by a court-martial as a deserter. The king was with difficulty persuaded to commute his son's sentence to imprisonment, but Lieutenant Katte, the companion of Frederick's flight, was beheaded, and the prince was compelled to witness the execution. Such treatment as this soured the naturally pleasant disposition of Frederick, and in after life made him moody, bitter and suspicious.

Frederick William died on the 31st of May, 1740, and was succeeded by his son Frederick II., called "the Great." He was twenty-eight years old, and in vigorous health. He was possessed of great natural abilities, and was destined to become one of the greatest sovereigns of history. He at once devoted himself with diligence to the government of his kingdom, and his people soon perceived that, though he was a more enlightened prince than his father, he was none the less a king. He took all the branches of the government into his own hands, and administered each according to his own will, seeking counsel of no one, and requiring his ministers merely to record his decisions, and to execute his orders. Prussia at once felt the impulse of his vigorous policy. When the Emperor Charles VI. died, Frederick was bound by his pledge to that sovereign to support the cause of Maria Theresa; but he saw in the necessities of the young queen the opportunity to extend his territories at her expense. He had a sort of a claim to a part of Silesia, and offered through his ambassador at Vienna to support Maria Theresa, if she would relinquish this territory to him. She returned an indignant refusal to his demand. So sure had Frederick been of her refusal that he had already ventured to invade Silesia before the arrival of the Austrian answer. He quickly drove out the

Austrians, and made himself master of the country. In the spring of 1741 an Austrian army, under Marshal Neipperg, undertook to drive Frederick out of Silesia, but was defeated in the battle of Molwitz. This battle was won by the rapid and systematic firing of the Prussian infantry, a system which had been introduced into his army by Frederick William I. Frederick was nominally in command of his army, but he was still a novice in the art of war, and the victory was gained by the able Marshal Schwerin.

The battle of Molwitz made the situation of Maria Theresa almost desperate, and a little later an alliance was formed against her by France, Prussia, Bavaria, Spain, and Saxony. A French army entered Germany and united with the Bavarian forces, while the Saxon army advanced into Bohemia. The Bavarians marched into upper Austria and occupied Linz, where the elector was proclaimed Archduke of Austria. He might have taken Vienna had he moved promptly against that city, but becoming jealous of the successes of the Saxons in Bohemia, he undertook the conquest of that country. He entered Prague on the 29th of November, and was proclaimed King of Bohemia. In January, 1742, he was chosen emperor by the electors at Frankfort, and took the title of Charles VII.

In the meantime Maria Theresa had exerted herself to repair her disasters. She fled to her kingdom of Hungary for protection, and hastening to the assembled diet, with her infant son, afterwards Joseph II., in her arms, presented herself before the nobles and deputies, and appealed to them to maintain her cause. The chivalric Hungarians were deeply moved by her trust in them, and the hall rang with the cry, "Let us die for our King, Maria Theresa!" An army of 100,000 men was raised, and was joined by a strong force of Tyrolese. This force at once took the field. One division under General Khevenhüller not only reconquered upper Austria, but invaded Bavaria, and captured Munich on the very day that Charles VII. was crowned emperor. A little later an Austrian army, under Prince Charles of Lorraine, was defeated by Frederick at Czaslau. This disaster induced the queen to rid herself of her most dangerous enemy by surrendering upper Silesia and a part of lower Silesia to him. Frederick was satisfied for the time, and peace was made between Austria and



APPEAL OF MARIA THERESA TO THE HUNGARIAN DIET.

Prussia in the spring of 1742. Frederick's example was soon followed by the Elector of Saxony, and Maria Theresa had only France and Bavaria to contend with. The French were besieged in Prague by Prince Charles of Lorraine, but managed to secure their retreat and abandoned Bohemia altogether, having lost about 48,000 men in the war.

The Emperor Charles VII. was now reduced to the most humiliating condition. He was abandoned by his allies, and his hereditary capital was in possession of the Austrians. He consented to relinquish Bavaria on condition that his army should be quartered in some neutral state of the empire. The Queen of Hungary was proclaimed ruler of Bavaria; and about the same time her cause received a decided accession of strength by the decision of England to render her more efficient aid. In June, 1743, an army, under George II. of England in person, defeated the French at Dettingen.

Frederick II. was now alarmed at the successes of Austria, as he feared that in the event of the war resulting in her favor, she would seek to recover Silesia at the first opportunity. He therefore entered into an alliance, known as the Union of Frankfort, with the emperor, the King of Sweden, and the Elector Palatine. This alliance was immediately followed by what is known as the second Silesian war. Frederick in 1744 advanced into Bohemia and captured Prague. A combined army of Austrians and Saxons was sent against him, and he was driven out of Bohemia and Silesia. In the spring of 1745 Frederick regained Silesia; but in January of that year an alliance was formed between Austria, England, Saxony, and Holland against the emperor and his allies. In the same month Charles VII. died suddenly, and the state of affairs was at once changed. Maximilian Joseph, the young Elector of Bavaria, made peace with Austria, and was allowed to keep his hereditary possessions on condition of finally surrendering his pretensions to the Austrian crown and pledging his vote to Francis of Lorraine, Maria Theresa's husband, in the election for emperor. The Queen of Hungary on her part acknowledged the imperial dignity of Charles VII.

The war with the other allies went on, and Frederick this year won two signal victories over the Austrians at Hohenfriedberg and Sorr. He then rapidly overran

Lusatia, and his lieutenant, Prince Leopold of Dessau, defeated the army of General Rutowski at Kesselsdorf. Dresden surrendered without resistance, and Saxony was at the mercy of Frederick. All parties were now anxious for peace, and treaties were signed between Prussia, Saxony, and Austria, in December, 1745. The Elector of Saxony received back his dominions on payment of a large ransom, and Austria ceded Silesia to Prussia. Francis of Lorraine, Grand Duke of Tuscany, Maria Theresa's husband, had been elected emperor as Francis I. in September, 1745, and Frederick now acknowledged him as emperor. The war between Austria and France continued several years longer, and its events belong to the history of the latter country. It was brought to a close in 1748 by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Austria retained all her German territory, but was obliged to surrender her Italian possessions of Parma and Piacenza.

For the next eight years Germany was at peace. Both Frederick and Maria Theresa, for she was the real emperor, her husband being merely an ornamental sovereign, devoted themselves to the improvement of their possessions. Frederick made great changes in his kingdom. He simplified the administration of justice, and brought it within reach of all classes. He inspected all parts of his kingdom once a year, encouraged useful industries, adorned Berlin with splendid buildings, and with works of art purchased abroad. Education was encouraged, and the king maintained a friendly correspondence with the leading literary and scientific men of France. He entertained a warm admiration for Voltaire, and in 1750 induced him to take up his residence at his court. They soon quarrelled, and Voltaire had to quit Prussia. The kingdom prospered under Frederick's wise and vigorous rule; especially the new province of Silesia, whose increased prosperity made the Empress Maria Theresa more than ever determined to regain it.

Frederick was perfectly aware of her intentions, and was assured that war was inevitable in a few years at the latest. He knew that the European powers regarded the rapid success of his kingdom with jealousy, and that he would soon be called upon to maintain his crown against them. He therefore gave great care to the army, which he maintained at the highest point of efficiency. Feeling that England, which

had hitherto aided Austria, was his natural ally, he succeeded in concluding a treaty of alliance with that kingdom in January, 1756. Austria, on the other hand, made an alliance with her old enemy, France, and this league was soon joined by Saxony and Russia. Its avowed object was the destruction of Prussia.

Frederick was secretly informed of these alliances, but he was not disheartened by the overwhelming array of force against him. The danger which threatened him brought out the great qualities of his nature in their highest perfection, and he resolved, since the war was inevitable, to gain the advantages which would arise from being the first in the field. It was all important to him that Saxony should not be held by his enemies; and as that country had joined the league against him, he resolved to attack it at once, before it was ready for the war. In August, 1756, he suddenly crossed the Saxon frontier with an army of 60,000 men, and so began the great struggle of *The Seven Years' War*. The Saxon army, 17,000 strong, at once retreated to a strong position in the valley of the Elbe, between Pirna and Königstein. Their position was immediately invested by Frederick. An Austrian army was despatched to the relief of the Saxons, but was defeated by a detachment from the Prussian army at Lowositz, on the 1st of October. The Saxons then made a desperate attempt to break through the Prussian line, but were driven back, and obliged to surrender. Frederick compelled the Saxon troops to enter his service, but they were dissatisfied, and a large number of them deserted.

The enemies of Frederick now exerted themselves to drive him out of Saxony. The diet of the empire called on the German princes to attack him as a disturber of the peace of Europe, which was not true; for, although Frederick had been the first to draw the sword, he had done so this time in self-defence. The forces of Austria, Russia, France, and all the German states save Hesse, Brunswick and Gotha, were soon in motion, and the league received a new reinforcement by the accession of Sweden to it. England collected a force of German troops on the Rhine under the Duke of Cumberland, the eldest living son of the King of England. Austria and her allies were able to bring into the field a force of over 400,000 men, while the com-

bined armies of Frederick and the Duke of Cumberland did not number half as many. Frederick did not underrate the odds against him, but hoped to atone for his inferiority in numbers by the superior discipline and efficiency of his army. His enemies were already his superiors in strength; to allow them to unite their forces would be fatal to him, and his only safety lay in adopting the daring plan of attacking them separately and in detail. He accordingly left a small force in Prussia to defend it against the Russians and the Swedes, and hastened with the bulk of his army into Bohemia. The Austrians were astounded by his sudden appearance before Prague on the 6th of May, 1757. He attacked their army under Prince Charles of Lorraine, on the same day, near Prague, and inflicted a crushing defeat upon it. A part of the Austrian force retreated to Küttenberg, where Marshal Daun was stationed with an army; but the larger part sought the protection of the fortifications of Prague. Frederick purchased his victory at a heavy cost; his most gifted lieutenant, Marshal Schwerin, was killed while leading the decisive charge.

Marshal Daun advanced to the relief of Prague, before which Frederick remained for several weeks after the battle. Frederick at once moved to meet him, and attacked him on the 8th of June, near Kolin. At the very moment of victory Frederick unwisely changed his plan of battle, and his promised success was converted into a disastrous defeat. Daun followed up his victory by overrunning the greater part of Silesia. This was the first serious reverse Frederick had encountered, and it was but the first of a series of disasters. The Russians defeated the force left for the defence of Prussia, in a great battle at Gross Jägersdorf, and a Russian fleet captured Memel. Pomerania was invaded by the Swedes. Brandenburg was open to the Austrians, who in October made a dash at Berlin, captured it, and held it for a few hours, during which they exacted a contribution from the citizens. To add to these disasters, the Duke of Cumberland placed all Westphalia in the hands of the French (whose operations will be related in the history of that country) by the dastardly convention of Klosterseven, by which he agreed to disband his army and to yield Hanover, Hesse, and the duchy of Brunswick to the French. This act at a single

blow deprived Frederick of all his allies on the continent.

The ruin of Frederick now seemed inevitable, and for a moment he gave way to

the Austrians, and were advancing into Saxony. Frederick resolved to deal them a sudden blow and drive them back, and marched at once towards the Saal. On the



FREDERICK THE GREAT.

despair, and even contemplated suicide. His true nature quickly asserted itself, however, and he set to work to repair his reverses. The French, freed by the convention of Klosterseven, had united with

5th of November he encountered the allied armies near the village of Rossbach. They were greatly superior to him in numbers, and attacked him with confidence, expecting an easy victory. Frederick displayed

more than his usual vigor on this occasion, and inflicted a terrible defeat upon the allies, and drove them from the field. This victory, one of the most memorable ever achieved by him, greatly encouraged his army, and it followed him with enthusiasm to attempt the recovery of Silesia. On the 5th of December Frederick, with a force of 30,000 men, defeated 80,000 Austrians under Charles of Lorraine, at Leuthen, inflicting upon his adversary a loss of half his army in killed, wounded and prisoners. Silesia was regained in consequence of this victory, and Frederick, who was anxious to close the war, made offers of peace to Austria. Maria Theresa refused to treat, and removed Prince Charles of Lorraine from the chief command of her armies, and bestowed it upon Marshal Daun.

A change for the advantage of Frederick now took place in the affairs of England. William Pitt became Prime Minister, and determined to conduct the war policy of England with greater vigor. The convention of Klosterseven was repudiated, and a subsidy of \$3,000,000 was paid to the King of Prussia, and he was asked to select a commander for the British forces on the continent. He named Ferdinand of Brunswick, the brother of the reigning duke, and the war was resumed against France by Great Britain and Hanover. In the course of a few months after the opening of the campaign of 1758, the French were driven out of Hanover, Brunswick, East Friesland and Hesse with great loss, and were compelled to withdraw beyond the Rhine.

Frederick had a harder task, owing to the greater number and the activity of his enemies. He attempted to seize Olmutz, but was unsuccessful. A large force of Russians invaded Prussia in the summer of 1758, and burned the town of Custrin, but failed to capture the citadel. They treated the people of the country with great cruelty. Frederick, as soon as informed of the invasion, left a force under Marshal Keith to hold Silesia, and hastened into Prussia to drive out the Russians. He came up with them at Zorndorf on the 28th of August, and at once attacked them. The battle was contested with obstinate fury all day—neither side gave quarter; but towards nightfall the Russians were driven back at all points, having lost 19,000 men and 103 cannon. They retreated into Poland.

Frederick now marched rapidly to the

relief of his brother, Prince Henry, who was hard pressed by the Austrians in Saxony. Against the advice of his best generals he took position in an exposed plain near Hochkirchen, where he was surprised on the morning of the 14th of October, by Daun, who had perceived the king's mistake. The Prussian army sustained a terrible reverse, and was obliged to retreat with a loss of 9,000 men, and all its artillery. England, France, and Prussia were now anxious to treat; but Maria Theresa, who was well supplied with money for the prosecution of the war, would listen to no proposal of peace save one based upon the ruin of Prussia. Frederick in a great measure repaired his defeat of Hochkirchen, by retreating into Silesia in such good order that Daun was unable to profit by his victory. His operations in Silesia during the rest of the year were so successful that the Austrians were obliged to evacuate that province, and take up their winter quarters in Bohemia.

The enemies of Frederick now resolved to make a determined effort to crush him, and the year 1759 witnessed the greatest disasters Prussia had yet sustained. The French made a vigorous effort to win back the territory they had lost east of the Rhine, and obliged Prince Ferdinand to retreat as far as Bremen. He now turned upon them, and on the 1st of August inflicted a sharp defeat upon them at Minden, and regained all the territory he had lost.

Frederick was not so fortunate. In the spring of 1759 the Russians in heavy force, under General Soltikoff, advanced towards the Oder, and the Austrian army under Daun and Loudon was strongly reinforced. Frederick put forth all his energies to prevent a junction of the Russian and Austrian forces. Hearing that the Russians had crossed the Oder, he sent General Wedel to check their advance. Wedel attacked them at Kay on the 23d of June, and was beaten, and the junction of the Russian and Austrian armies was soon after effected. The situation of Frederick was now critical, and he resolved to attack the combined armies with his whole force. It seemed to him that the safety of his kingdom required him to stake everything upon a single supreme effort. He made provision for the succession of his brother Henry to the crown in case of his death, and for his regency in case he should be taken prisoner, and solemnly charged him not to conclude, under any circumstances, a peace

disgraceful to Prussia. These arrangements made, he marched against the allies, and encountered them on the 12th of August, near Kunersdorf. He was defeated after a desperate struggle, and his army was put to flight, with a loss of 17,000 men. The misfortune was so great that Frederick believed himself ruined. He subsequently declared that had the allies improved their advantage Prussia must have succumbed. The Russian General Soltikoff was jealous of the Austrians, however, and withdrew without seeking to follow up his success. This gave Frederick an opportunity to rally his forces, and take the field again; but his misfortunes continued. Dresden was surrendered to the Austrians, and a little later General Fink was obliged to surrender his command of 5,000 men to the Austrians at Maxen. Marshal Daun occupied Dresden as his winter quarters, and though Frederick continued to annoy him for a while, the cold at length drove him into winter quarters in 1760.

The spring of 1760 found Frederick in the midst of disasters from which there seemed no escape. His enemies were gradually closing round him, and his resources, never very large, were almost exhausted. In the summer of this year General Fouqué, who had been intrusted with the defence of Silesia, was defeated at Landshut by the Austrians with a loss of 10,000 men, and was made a prisoner. The French about the same time defeated Prince Ferdinand at Corbach and Kloster, and held the electorate of Hanover during the remainder of the year. Frederick attempted to regain Dresden, but was obliged by Daun to raise the siege. He then marched into Silesia, where General Loudon was gaining considerable success. He was closely followed by the Austrians under Daun and Lascei, who marched on either side of his army. At Leignitz they effected a junction with Loudon, and determined to surround and annihilate the Prussian army. On the 15th of August they attacked Frederick, and in the bloody battle of Leignitz, which ensued, the Prussian king gained one of his most memorable victories. The result of this battle was the deliverance of Silesia from the presence of the enemy. Frederick's troubles were not yet ended, however. A force of Russians and Austrians marched into Prussia, and on the 4th of October entered Berlin. They held the city but a few days, and retreated upon hearing a rumor

that Frederick was advancing by forced marches to the relief of his capital. They destroyed its founderies and arsenals, and levied a heavy contribution upon the citizens. Frederick now resolved to risk everything for the recovery of Saxony, and on the 3d of October, with an inferior force, stormed Daun's position at Torgau, and gained a victory which made him master of the greater part of Saxony. Daun went into winter quarters at Dresden; while Frederick wintered at Leipzig.

The Austrian army under Marshal Daun exerted itself in the summer of 1761 to recover that portion of Saxony which had been overrun by the Prussians, but Daun found his plans thwarted at every step by Prince Henry of Prussia, who, Frederick afterwards declared, was the only general that made no mistakes during the war. The energies of Frederick were fully occupied during the greater part of the year in seeking to prevent the junction of the Russian army under Butterlin with the Austrians under Loudon. In spite of his efforts they effected a junction on the 12th of August, and for some time held Frederick in check. Their jealousy of each other was so great that they were unable to accomplish anything. At length Loudon moved off to Schweidnitz, which fell into his hands on the 1st of October. He thus secured the greater part of Silesia, and the Russians passed the winter in Pomerania. On the 1st of December the important town of Colberg surrendered to them.

The withdrawal of William Pitt from the English ministry was a severe blow to Frederick. Pitt had been his devoted friend; Lord Bute, Pitt's successor, was his determined enemy. The new ministry withdrew the subsidy Pitt had paid him, and offered to abandon Prussia if Austria would make peace. Maria Theresa would not listen to the proposal, as she believed herself on the point of recovering Silesia.

Fortunately for Frederick the Empress Elizabeth of Russia died on the 5th of January, 1762. Her successor, Peter III., was an ardent admirer of Frederick, and at once made peace and entered into an alliance with him. Sweden also made peace with Frederick, who was thus enabled to turn all his resources to the effort of defeating Austria. Being joined by his Russian allies, he advanced upon the Austrians at Buckersdorf. While the armies were on the march, news was received that Peter

III. had been murdered, and his wife, the Empress Catharine II., who succeeded him, ordered the Russian army to proceed at once to Poland. Frederick succeeded in inducing the Russian commander to conceal his instructions for three days, and the allies in the interval attacked and defeated the Austrians at Buckersdorf, and gained a complete victory. The Russians then withdrew into Poland, and Frederick laid siege to the important town of Schweidnitz, and recaptured it on the 9th of October. On the 29th of the same month Prince Henry defeated the Austrians at Freiberg; and these victories were rendered all the more effective by the successes of Prince Ferdinand over the French. In the winter the Prussians overran Franconia, Bavaria, and Suabia, and compelled the hostile German princes to withdraw their forces from the imperial army, and make peace. The empress-queen was thus left alone to continue the war, for France, disheartened by her reverses, was about to withdraw from the struggle. Negotiations were therefore begun for peace, and this time were successful, and the treaty of Hubertsberg was signed on the 15th of February, 1763, between Austria and Saxony on the one hand, and Prussia on the other. Maria Theresa resigned her claim to Silesia and left it in possession of Prussia, and Frederick agreed to cast his vote for her son, the Archduke Joseph, at the next election for emperor.

The Seven Years' War had demanded great sacrifices of Prussia, but it was on the whole a gain to her. She entered it a small, insignificant kingdom; she emerged from it one of the leading military powers of Europe, feared and respected by her neighbors, and strong at home. She also took her position as the rival of Austria, for the ascendancy in Germany, a rivalry which was destined to find a practical settlement in our own day.

Under the vigorous rule of Frederick the Great, Prussia improved rapidly. The sufferers by the war were aided to regain their prosperity by wise gifts of money and corn. Order was restored, and the losses of the war were before many years forgotten in the new reign of prosperity which Frederick's liberal and disinterested measures inaugurated. Silesia especially rewarded his fostering care, and grew rapidly in wealth and population.

In 1765 the Emperor Francis I. died, and was succeeded by his son Joseph II.

The Empress Maria Theresa continued during her lifetime the real ruler of the empire. Seven years later Austria and Prussia united with Russia in enriching themselves at the expense of Poland. That country had fallen into a state of chronic anarchy, and taking advantage of its weakness, the three powers named seized a large part of it, and divided it among themselves. Russia received Polish Livonia and the country between the upper waters of the Dwina and Dnieper; Austria obtained East Galicia and Lodomiria; and Prussia received all of Polish or West Prussia, save the important towns of Dantzic and Thorn, and a part of Great Poland. This acquisition joined the kingdom of Prussia to Brandenburg, and gave to Frederick a wealthy and populous district, though a smaller one than that obtained by either of his allies.

On the 29th of November, 1780, the Empress Maria Theresa died, and her son Joseph II. became the actual ruler of his dominions. He was anxious to introduce a system of reforms into them, and he cordially hated the Jesuits who had educated him. He caused over 650 monasteries and convents to be closed, and proclaimed religious toleration to all sects, the latter measure being partly due to the liberal views of the emperor, and partly to a desire to improve the industrial interests of the Austrian dominions. The papal nuncios were informed that they would henceforth be received simply as envoys from a friendly state. These measures were at once construed by the Jesuit party as an attack upon the church, and Pope Pius VI. visited Vienna in the hope of arranging a settlement with the emperor. Joseph treated him with marked coldness, and would not permit him to discuss the affairs of his dominions with him. From the church the emperor endeavored to extend his reforms to the state, and attempted to do away with the privileges of the nobility and introduce a uniform system of administering justice throughout his hereditary domains. His intentions were good, but he attempted to introduce his reforms with too much violence, forgetting that such measures are of slow growth.

His restless disposition led him to undertake long journeys to other countries, during which he visited Rome, Paris, St. Petersburg, the Crimea, and his provinces in the Netherlands. He proposed to Catharine II. of Russia that she should conquer the Turkish

dominions and establish her capital at Constantinople, while he should conquer Italy, and thus between them revive the old empires of the East and the West. At the same time he endeavored to force the German laws and language upon the Hungarians, and drove them into insurrection. Upon the death of his mother he was not crowned King of Hungary in the capital of that country, but at Vienna, to which city he removed the ancient crown of St. Stephen. He came near rushing into a war with Holland, and was only prevented from doing so by the armed intervention of France, which was an ally of that country.

In the meantime Frederick the Great died on the 17th of August, 1786, and was succeeded by his nephew Frederick William II., a weak king, who was ruled by unworthy favorites. Fortunately Prussia came to him in such excellent condition that his own unworthiness did not mar her influence in the affairs of Europe.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE DEATH OF FREDERICK THE GREAT TO THE FALL OF NAPOLEON I.

War Between Joseph II. and the Sultan—His Misfortunes and Death—Leopold II.—The French Revolution—Its Effect upon Germany—Francis II. Emperor—War Between Austria and France—Prussia Joins Austria—Battles of Valmy and Jemappes—Russia and Prussia Seize a Part of the Polish Territory—Revolt of the Poles—The Third Partition of Poland—The Wars of the French Revolution—The Treaty of Campo Formio—Changes in the Empire—Austria Renews the War with France—Coalition Against Napoleon—Battle of Austerlitz—The Peace of Pressburg—The Confederation of the Rhine—Napoleon's Power in Germany—Fall of the Holy Roman Empire—The Austrian Empire—War Between Prussia and France—Battle of Jena—Prussia Crushed by Napoleon—Battle of Friedland—The Treaty of Tilsit—The Kingdom of Westphalia and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw Set up by Napoleon—Austria Renews the War—Battle of Eckmühl—Ratisbon Taken by the French—Napoleon Occupies Vienna a Second Time—Battles of Aspern and Wagram—Peace of Schönbrunn—Losses of Austria—Revolt of the Tyrol—Execution of Hofer—Wise Measures of Prussia—Retreat of the French from Russia—Germany in Arms Against Napoleon—The French Driven Over the Rhine—Germany Free—Fall of Napoleon—Congress of Vienna—Return of Napoleon—Battle of Waterloo—Treaty of Vienna.

IN 1788 the Emperor Joseph II. unwisely went to war with the Turks. He took personal command of his army, but accomplished nothing, and at home troubles were thickening around him. His reformatory measures had produced only discontent and

insurrection. Nowhere were they more stubbornly resisted than in the Austrian Netherlands. A secret society was formed in those provinces in 1787 for the purpose of opposing him. Taking advantage of the French Revolution, this society, which now numbered 70,000 members, raised the standard of revolt against the emperor, and drove the imperial troops out of Flanders. A declaration of independence and an Act of Union of the Belgian United Provinces was proclaimed at Brussels in January, 1790. In Hungary the nobles, indignant at the attacks of the emperor upon their rights, incited the peasantry to revolt, and compelled Joseph to abolish all his reforms in that kingdom. The emperor sincerely desired the good of his people in introducing these measures, and their opposition caused him much sorrow. This feeling and the injuries his health had received during the campaign against the Turks brought on a fatal sickness, of which he died, almost heart-broken, on the 20th of February, 1790.

Peter Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany, brother of Joseph II., succeeded to the Austrian crown as Leopold II. He was a more prudent and cautious man than his brother, and at once restored the old order of affairs throughout his dominions, and so brought back peace to them. On the 20th of September, 1790, he was elected emperor.

The French Revolution caused great excitement throughout Germany, and was watched with the deepest interest. There was a party in the country which hoped it might prove the dawn of a system of genuine reforms, and that its influences might raise the people of the old world to greater freedom than they had ever enjoyed; but the kings and princes naturally regarded it with alarm. The country was full of French refugees, who, being of the aristocratic class, sought to induce the German states to take up the cause of the captive royal family of France. At last the Emperor Leopold and Frederick William II. agreed to support the French king. Leopold died in the early part of 1792, before this plan could be put in execution.

Francis II. succeeded his father, Leopold, on the imperial throne. In April, 1792, France, exasperated by the interference of Austria in her affairs, declared war against the emperor. The King of Prussia renewed with Francis the alliance he had made with

his father, and a Prussian army under the Duke of Brunswick, and accompanied by the king himself, invaded France. The events of this campaign will be related in the account of France during this period. The Prussians were defeated at Valmy, and the Austrians at Jemappes, and were driven out of the country. The result of these victories was that the Austrian Netherlands threw off their allegiance to the emperor and proclaimed a republic. The French also passed the Rhine and occupied Mayence, where they were welcomed by a large part of the people.

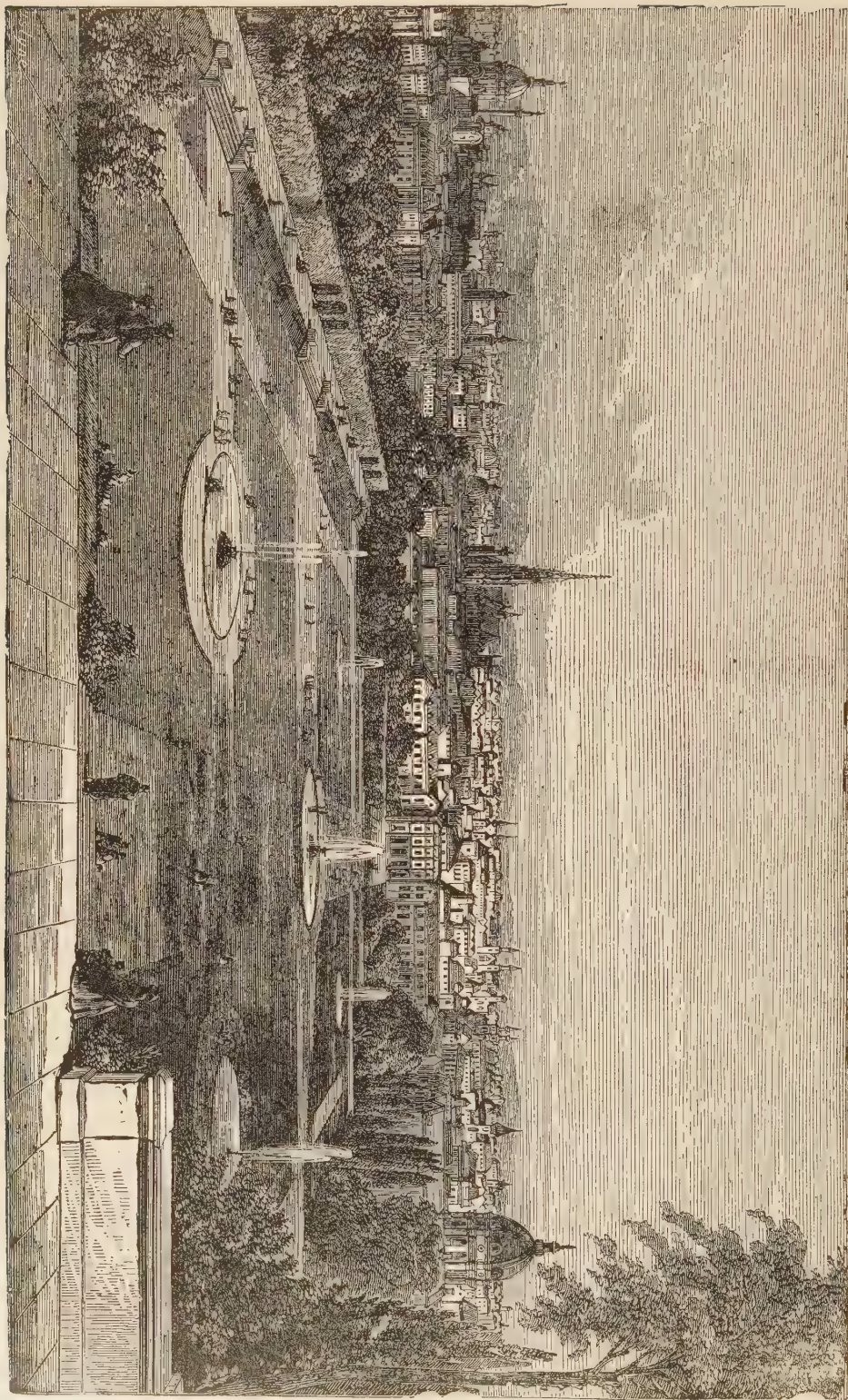
The execution of Louis XVI. was followed by a war between France, and Great Britain, Holland, and Spain. The states of the empire in a short time joined the alliance. The events of this war will be related in connection with the history of France.

During this struggle the affairs of Poland chiefly occupied the attention of the German states. In 1793, taking advantage of the helplessness of Poland, Russia and Prussia seized a part of the Polish territory, and divided it between them. Prussia received the larger part of Great Poland, and the cities of Dantzic and Thorn. This acquisition of territory by Prussia aroused the jealousy of Austria, which began to intrigue with Russia against Prussia, and carried these intrigues to such an extent that the King of Prussia gave a lukewarm support to the war against France, and seriously contemplated making peace with that country. In 1794 the Poles, under Kosciuszko, rose in revolt and tried to regain their lost territory. Prussia undertook to put down the outbreak, but it was finally crushed by the Russian forces. In 1795 a secret treaty was concluded between Russia and Austria for the third and last partition of Poland. Prussia had now become thoroughly distrustful of both of these powers, and hastened to make peace with France. On the 5th of April, 1795, the treaty of Basle was signed, by which Prussia ceded to France all her conquests on the left bank of the Rhine. A little later Hanover and Hesse-Cassel also made peace with France. Prussia was now admitted by Austria and Russia to the third partition of Poland, and obtained as her share New East Prussia and Warsaw. Austria received West Galicia.

The war between France and Austria was now confined chiefly to Italy. Napo-

leon Bonaparte was in command of the forces of the republic, and the Austrians were defeated at every point. The war was brought to a close by the treaty of Campo Formio, on the 17th of October, 1797. Austria ceded the Austrian Netherlands to France, and relinquished her claim to her Italian possessions, which were erected into the Cisalpine republic. In return for these she received Venice, Friuli, Istria, Dalmatia, and the islands along the Dalmatian coast. This treaty was distasteful to Austria, however, and she gladly joined the alliance of Russia and England against France. The war broke out again in 1799, and opened brilliantly for the allies. They were successful over the French in every direction.

The sudden return of Bonaparte from Egypt, and his resumption of the command of the French army, stayed the tide of the Austrian successes in Italy. By a rapid and daring march across the Alps, he entered Milan on the 2d of June, 1800, and on the same day the Austrians occupied Genoa. We shall be obliged to relate the events of the wars with Napoleon in detail in the French history of this period, and shall refer to them here only incidentally. On the 14th of June the Austrians were defeated in the battle of Marengo, and by this defeat lost nearly all they had gained in Italy. The successful advance of General Moreau into Germany, and his splendid victory of Hohenlinden, on the 3d of December, completed the disasters of Austria, and the emperor found himself unable to continue the war. On the 9th of February, 1801, the peace of Lunéville was signed. It confirmed the treaty of Campo Formio. The emperor ceded the Austrian Netherlands to France a second time, and agreed to her possession of the German territories on the left bank of the Rhine, which gave her that much coveted stream as a frontier. The Batavian, Helvetic, Cisalpine and Ligurian republics were also recognized by the emperor, who also gave the Margravate of Breisgau to the Duke of Modena, and the archbishopric of Salzburg, as a secular principality, to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who received the title of elector. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the Duke of Wurtemberg, and the Margrave of Baden were also created electors. All the spiritual electors were deposed save the Archbishop of Mayence, whose see was transferred to Regensburg.



VIENNA.

Of all the free cities of the empire only Lübeck, Hamburg, Bremen, Frankfort, Angsburg, and Nuremberg were allowed to retain their freedom.

These changes were forced upon Germany by Napoleon, who handed the German people from one ruler to another, as he deemed best for the interests of his own country. His disregard of the rights of his neighbors was clearly exhibited in 1803, when he seized Hanover, which was a possession of the reigning family of England. Prussia protested against this seizure, but took no further notice of it.

Austria was fully determined to renew the war at the first opportunity, and in 1805 made an alliance with England and Russia. This alliance was joined by Sweden, and it was hoped that the French would be driven across the Rhine. By a series of bold and rapid movements, however, Napoleon entered Germany and was joined by Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Baden, which were more alive to what they considered their own interests than to their duty to the empire. The Austrian army under General Mack was several times defeated, and was at length shut up in Ulm, and obliged to surrender on the 17th of October. By this surrender Austria lost the services of 30,000 troops. On the 13th of November Napoleon entered Vienna, from which city he hastened into Moravia to attack the Austrians and Russians, who had united their forces. On the 2d of December these combined armies were defeated in the great battle of Austerlitz. The Emperor Francis was so disheartened by this reverse that he opened negotiations for peace, and on the 25th of December the treaty of Pressburg was signed. Napoleon exacted the most humiliating terms of Austria. She was forced to give up Venice to Italy, the Tyrol and Vorarlberg to Bavaria, and her possessions in Suabia to Wurtemberg and Baden. For their services in this campaign the Emperor Napoleon raised the Electors of Bavaria and Wurtemberg to the rank of kings, and the German emperor was forced to recognize their new dignity, and their independence of his control within their own dominions. Hanover was turned over to Prussia, which power ceded Ansbach to Bavaria, and Cleve and Neufchatel to France. A little later Napoleon bestowed Cleve and Berg, the latter of which he had received from Bavaria, on his brother-in-law, Joachim Murat.

Neufchatel he gave to his friend, Marshal Berthier.

Napoleon was anxious to create in Germany a power whose interests would be identical with his own, and thus secure himself its friendship and assistance. The German spirit had sunk so low that it was possible to carry out this idea, and the German princes were willing to purchase advantages for themselves at the expense of the Fatherland. On the 12th of June, 1806, a league was formed by the Kings of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, the Elector of Baden, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Duke of Berg, the Archbishop of Regensburg, and some other princes, who formally declared their withdrawal from the empire, and acknowledged the Emperor of the French as their protector. This league took the name of the Confederation of the Rhine, and agreed to support the Emperor Napoleon in war with an army of 63,000 men. The Archbishop of Regensburg, who had been Electoral Archchancellor of the German Empire, was made the representative of the French emperor in the confederation, with the title of "Prince Primate."

The formation of the Rhenish confederation struck down at a blow the Holy Roman Empire, which, revived in the reign of Otto the Great as the true successor of the empire of the Cæsars, had existed nearly nine hundred years. Its fall was so complete that on the 6th of August, 1806, the Emperor Francis II. resigned the imperial crown. In 1804 Francis had added to his existing title that of "Hereditary Emperor of Austria," and after 1806 he was simply Emperor of Austria, which title his successors have since borne; but this title of emperor is very different in its signification from that which Francis resigned upon the fall of the Holy Roman Empire. Hereafter we shall speak of him as Francis I. of Austria.

Until now Prussia had escaped the weight of Napoleon's hand by remaining aloof from German affairs. Frederick William III., who had come to the throne in 1797, was very anxious to make Prussia the leading state in Germany, and was indignant at the formation of the Rhenish confederation, as it raised up a powerful rival to Prussia in north Germany. Napoleon had been for some time jealous of the independence of Prussia, and was watching for an opportunity to humble her. He now drove the Prussian king by a series of in-

sults into a war with France. In 1806 Frederick William demanded that the French troops should be withdrawn from Germany, and coupled his demand with a threat of war. Napoleon refused to yield to this threat, and Prussia declared war against France. The Prussian army was unfit for the service required of it, being greatly inferior to that which had won such glory under the great Frederick. Saxony was compelled to ally herself with Prussia, and the Prussian army took position to defend the kingdom against the French emperor, who immediately upon the declaration of war marched rapidly into Germany. On the 14th of October, 1806, the Prussians were defeated at Auerstädt and Jena. The Duke of Brunswick commanded the Prussian army at the former place, and was slain. Napoleon inflicted a heavy loss in killed and wounded upon the defeated army and took 20,000 prisoners. The results of the battle of Jena were most disastrous to Prussia. The few fortresses that held out were reduced, and the few commands still in the field were obliged to lay down their arms. Magdeburg, garrisoned by 22,000 men, surrendered without striking a blow. The king and queen fled to Königsberg, and Napoleon entered Berlin in triumph. The whole kingdom submitted to him so readily that he declared he knew not whether to be proud or ashamed of having conquered such a nation. He carried away to Paris the sword of Frederick the Great from the tomb of that hero, and the car of victory from the Brandenburg gate of Berlin.

After the battle of Jena a small Prussian force joined the Russian army on the frontier of that country. Napoleon moved forward to complete his work, and on the 7th and 8th of February, 1807, a great battle was fought at Eylau between the French and Russians. It was indecisive. On the 12th of June Napoleon gained the great victory of Friedland, and became master of Königsberg and Tilsit. Dantzie had already fallen into his hands. A little later he held an interview with the Russian emperor on a raft in the Niemen, and the treaty of Tilsit was signed on the 9th of July. Prussia, unable to continue the war without the assistance of Russia, was obliged to agree to this peace. The Prussian kingdom was literally dismembered by this treaty. All of its territory between the Elbe and the Rhine was taken from it, and,

together with Brunswick, Hesse-Cassel, and a portion of Hanover, was erected into the kingdom of Westphalia, which Napoleon bestowed upon his youngest brother, Jerome. The Polish territory of Prussia was taken from her, organized as the grand duchy of Warsaw, and was bestowed upon the Elector of Saxony, who was raised to the rank of king by Napoleon. Dantzie was made a free city. By these changes Prussia lost 5,000,000 of her subjects and the better part of her territory. Frederick William was also compelled to pay the sum of 140,000,000 francs for having made war upon France, and to reduce his army to 42,000 men. Napoleon believed he had so thoroughly crushed Prussia that she would never be able to raise her hand against him again.

Austria had been humbled, but not conquered, by the battle of Austerlitz, and had been quietly preparing to attempt the recovery of her lost territory. The time when Napoleon was occupied with his war in Spain was chosen as the best moment for striking the blow. The enthusiasm of the people was aroused by the appeals of the Emperor Francis to them to aid him in an effort for the freedom of the Fatherland, and on the 9th of April, 1809, the Austrian army, under the Archduke Charles, crossed the Inn and entered the territory of Bavaria, the ally of France. Napoleon hastened to the scene of operations, and on the 22d of April defeated the Austrian archduke at Eckmühl. The Austrians fell back to Ratisbon, but were driven from that place, and on the 13th of May Napoleon entered Vienna for a second time as a conqueror. A bloody battle was fought at Aspern on the 21st and 22d of May, and the French were forced to retreat. On the 5th and 6th of July Napoleon retrieved this reverse by his decisive victory of Wagram. The Austrian emperor, feeling himself unable to continue the war, asked for peace. An armistice was concluded a few days later, and on the 14th of October the peace of Schönbrunn was signed. Austria ceded Carniola, Friuli, Croatia, and a part of Dalmatia, with the seaport of Trieste, to France, which organized these territories into a separate government under the name of the Illyrian provinces. Salzburg, with its territory, was ceded to Bavaria, which was allowed to retain the Tyrol; and the greater part of Galicia was divided between the Emperor of Russia and the King of

Saxony. The Austrian emperor formally acknowledged the rights and dignities of all the sovereigns created by Napoleon.

During this war the Bavarians and the French had been compelled to put forth great exertions to retain the Tyrol, which was devotedly attached to the Austrian rule. After the treaty of Schönbrunn was signed, Austria advised the Tyrolese to lay down their arms and submit to Bavaria. Hofer, one of the patriot leaders during the war, rebelled soon afterwards. He was unsupported by his countrymen, and was betrayed into the hands of the French, who shot him as a traitor, at Mantua, in 1810—a most unmerited and unjust fate.

The king and people of Prussia felt deeply the humiliation to which their country and all Germany were subjected by the French. Prussia took her reverses to heart, and learned wisdom from them. She had been conquered by the superior skill and intelligence of the French; she would yet beat them with their own weapons, and she set to work to prepare herself for that task. Stein, one of the ablest statesmen of his day, was made prime minister by the king. He introduced a series of vigorous reforms, and induced the king to abolish serfdom in the kingdom, to make the civil service free to all classes, and to grant municipal rights to the towns. These changes infused new life into Prussia, and Napoleon was quick to discern them, and Frederick William was obliged to dismiss his great minister as the enemy of France. Stein fled to Russia for safety, but his system was continued in his own country. William von Humboldt succeeded in procuring the establishment of a system of compulsory education, which gave to all the children of the kingdom a common school education, and which has been the basis of the wonderful success of Prussia during the present century. The leading men of the kingdom quietly but energetically sought to prepare the people for the effort to win back their freedom by arousing in every possible way their patriotic feelings. A society called the "Tugenbund," or "League of Virtue," was organized, and embraced within its ranks thousands of all classes, but principally students and professors. Its real, though secret, object was the liberation of the Fatherland. The army was limited by Napoleon to 42,000 men. It was left at this figure, but as soon as the troops were instructed in military exercises

they were discharged and their places filled with new levies. In this way Gneisenau and Scharnhorst caused the whole nation to be instructed in the art of war. In addition to the active army, two new classes of troops were organized—the Landwehr, or militia, designed to recruit the regiments in the field, and the Landstrurm, or home-guards, composed of older and married men, and intended for the defence of the kingdom in case of the defeat of the army in the field.

At length the favorable moment came. The disastrous retreat of the French from Russia exposed them to the vengeance of the Germans, and it was resolved to seize the opportunity. On the 3d of February, 1813, Frederick William issued an appeal to the young men of Prussia to rally to the defence of the Fatherland. On the 18th he entered into an alliance with Russia, and on the 15th of March formally declared war against France. His appeal to his people was answered with enthusiasm, and in a short while he found himself at the head of a splendid army eager for action.

The united Russian and Prussian armies at once advanced against the French, and a battle was fought at Lutzen, near which the heroic Gustavus Adolphus had died in the arms of victory, on the 2d of May. The allies were defeated, and retreated beyond Dresden. Saxony now added her forces to those of France. Napoleon attacked the allies at Bautzen on the 20th of May, and the battle was renewed the next day. It resulted in the defeat of the allies, who retreated in good order into Silesia, without allowing the French to secure a single trophy of their victory. At the request of the allies Napoleon granted an armistice for three weeks, during which negotiations for peace were carried on. The opposing armies passed this time in preparing for a renewal of hostilities. The efforts for peace failed, and at the expiration of the armistice Austria formally joined the allies, who were also strengthened by the accession of Sweden to their cause.

Upon the resumption of hostilities Napoleon sent an army of 80,000 men, under Marshal Oudinot, to capture Berlin. On the 23d this force was attacked by the Prussians under General Bülow, at Gross-Beeren, and was defeated and driven towards the Elbe. Napoleon in the meantime had advanced into Silesia to attack Blücher, but learning that the Austrians, under

Prince Schwartzberg, were advancing from Bohemia upon Dresden, he retreated upon that place, leaving a force of 80,000 men in Silesia, under Marshal Macdonald, to watch Blucher. Blucher had avoided an engagement with the main body of the French, but he now turned upon Macdonald and defeated him in the battle of the Katzbach, on the 26th of August. On the 26th and 27th the allies endeavored to drive the

tions with France. Napoleon met this movement by a retreat from Dresden to Leipzig, reaching the latter place on the 14th of October. On the morning of the 16th the allies attacked the French. A terrible battle of two days ensued, and resulted in the overwhelming defeat of the French, whose losses footed up the appalling total of 70,000 men. The loss of the allies was 40,000. The result of the battle made



DRESDEN.

French from Dresden, but were unsuccessful, and retreated towards Bohemia. Napoleon now directed his army upon Berlin, but the movement was foiled by the defeat of the corps of Marshal Ney by the allies at Dennewitz, on the 6th of September. The allies studiously avoided a general engagement, though Napoleon strove hard to draw them into it, and at length moved from Bohemia into Saxony with the intention of intercepting Napoleon's communica-

tion with France. Napoleon met this movement by a retreat from Dresden to Leipzig, reaching the latter place on the 14th of October. On the morning of the 16th the allies attacked the French. A terrible battle of two days ensued, and resulted in the overwhelming defeat of the French, whose losses footed up the appalling total of 70,000 men. The loss of the allies was 40,000. The result of the battle made

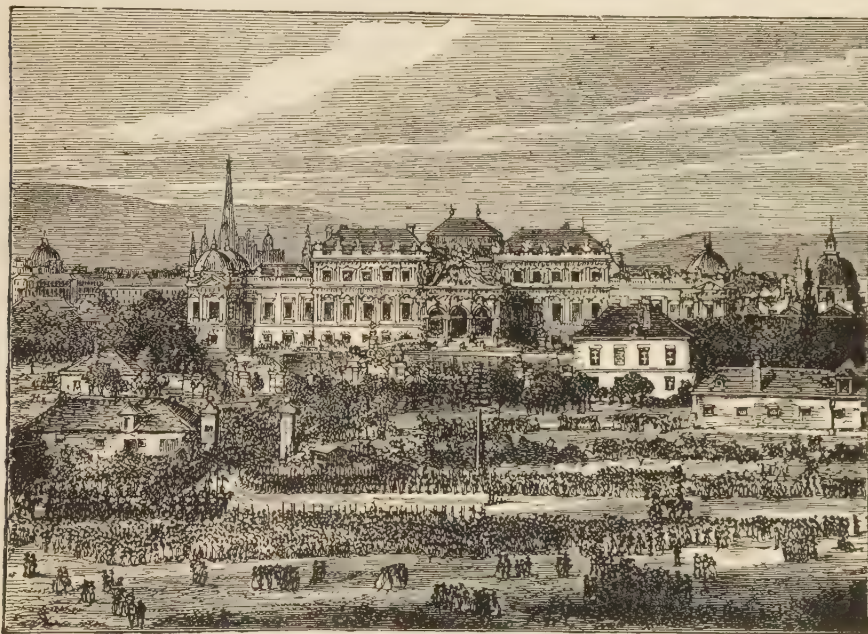
it impossible for the French to continue to hold Germany, and the deliverance of the Fatherland was but a question of time. Napoleon retreated from Leipzig to the Rhine, which he crossed at Mayence on the 2d of November. The power of the French was now utterly at an end in Germany, and the German princes who had adhered to Napoleon deserted him rapidly to save themselves. The fortresses on the Elbe, Oder, and Vistula,

garrisoned by the French troops, surrendered to the allied forces, and the allies proceeded to undo the work of Napoleon in Germany. The Rhenish Confederation was broken up; the kingdom of Westphalia was overturned; Hanover was restored to the King of Great Britain, and the Elector of Hesse and the Dukes of Oldenburg and Brunswick resumed possession of the lands of which they had been deprived.

Germany was now freed from the power of Napoleon, and the allies resolved to carry the war into France and crush their great enemy, as they did not feel safe as long as Napoleon occupied the French

restored to Germany all the territory she had taken from her since 1792.

Napoleon being overthrown, the great powers set to work to restore order to Germany and to Europe, and for this purpose a Congress of Plenipotentiaries was held at Vienna. It began its sessions on the 1st of October, 1814. Besides the plenipotentiaries, there were present the Emperors of Russia and Austria, the Kings of Prussia, of Denmark, of Bavaria, and of Wurtemberg, and nearly all the German princes. It was found that the settlement of the questions before the congress was full of difficulty. Each of the great



THE BELVIDERE—VIENNA.

throne. The Rhine was crossed, and the efforts of Napoleon to check their advance were defeated, and on the 30th of March, 1814, Paris surrendered to the invaders. We shall relate the events of this campaign in the French history of this period. On the 31st of March, 1814, the Emperor Alexander and King Frederick William entered Paris at the head of their troops. Napoleon was compelled to abdicate the French throne, and was assigned the island of Elba as a home, and Louis XVIII. was made King of France. In May the first treaty of Paris was signed between France and the allied powers, by which France

powers was anxious to secure the chief rewards for its own services. Prussia demanded the annexation of Saxony to her dominions as a compensation for her losses, and Russia claimed the whole of Poland. These demands were opposed with great feeling by the other powers, and it seemed likely that the congress would break up in confusion, and the victors fall to fighting among themselves. More moderate counsels began to prevail, when suddenly the congress was startled by the return of Napoleon from Elba, and his preparations to keep himself on the French throne. The quarrels of the allies were hushed in the

general alarm. Napoleon was declared an outlaw, a new coalition of all the European powers was formed against him, and new armies were placed in the field. Germany responded with enthusiasm to the call for troops, and it was resolved that this effort should end in the utter ruin of Napoleon.

The events which followed the return of Napoleon, until his final overthrow, will be related in the French history of this century. On the 18th of June, 1815, the great battle of Waterloo, called by the Germans the battle of *La Belle Alliance*, was fought, and in this great struggle the Prussians decided the fortunes of the day, and covered themselves with glory. The defeat of the French was so overwhelming that Napoleon made no further effort at resistance. On the 7th of July the allies again occupied Paris, and Louis XVIII. returned to his throne. On the 20th of November, 1815, the second Treaty of Paris was signed. The Germans were very anxious to recover Alsace and Lorraine, but the boundaries of France were arranged as they had existed previous to 1792. An indemnity of 700,000,000 francs was exacted from France and divided among the allies.

The Congress of Vienna continued its sessions during the campaign of 1815, and the common danger which threatened Europe made its members more inclined to compromise their claims for the sake of the general good. In June its sittings were brought to a close in the Treaty of Vienna, which arranged the boundaries of the various states of Europe to the satisfaction of the sovereigns, but without any regard to the wishes of the people. Austria recovered her possessions in Italy and Illyria, and received the Tyrol, Salzburg, Vorarlberg, and the Innviertel. Prussia received back the territory she had surrendered by the Treaty of Tilsit, and obtained the grand duchy of Posen, Swedish Pomerania, the northern part of Saxony, the duchies of Westphalia and Berg, and the country along the Rhine between Mayence and Aix-la-Chapelle. Bavaria was allowed to keep Ansbach and Baireuth, and received the upper Palatinate of the Rhine, which became known as Rhenish Bavaria, and in return for lands ceded to Austria, was given Wurzburg and Aschaffenburg. Hanover was given some additional territory and was erected into a kingdom. These were the principal changes in Germany.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE TREATY OF VIENNA TO THE PRESENT TIME.

The German Confederation—Failure of the German Princes to Redeem their Promises of Constitutional Government—Desire for a United Germany—The French Revolution of 1830—Uprisings in Germany—The Customs Union—Death of Francis I. of Austria—Tyranny of the King of Hanover—Death of Frederick William III. of Prussia—Frederick William IV.—His First Measures—French Revolution of 1848—Its Effect upon Germany—Provisional Parliament at Frankfort—It is Recognized by the Diet—The Schleswig-Holstein Question—War Between the German Confederation and Denmark—An Armistice Concluded—The Prussian Assembly—A New Parliament Summoned—A Constitution Adopted—The King of Prussia Urged to Accept the Title of Emperor of Germany—He Refuses—Failure of the Frankfort Assembly—Troubles in Austria—Revolution in Hungary—It is Crushed by Russia—Francis Joseph Emperor of Austria—Efforts to Unite Germany under the Leadership of Prussia—The Austrian Party—Peace with Denmark—The Italian War of 1859—William I. Becomes King of Prussia—First Years of his Reign—Count Bismarck—Jealousy Between Prussia and Austria—The Danish War—Denmark Gives up the Duchies—Quarrel Between Prussia and Austria—Prussia Makes an Alliance with Italy—The Seven Weeks' War—Battle of Königgratz—Austria Humbled—Prussia Supreme in Germany—Austria Expelled from Germany—Wise Measures of the Austrian Government—The North German Confederation—France Jealous of Prussia—France Makes War upon Prussia—Germany United in Opposition to the French—The War Begun—Battle of Sedan—Surrender of Napoleon III.—Paris Invested by the German Army—Surrender of Metz—Siege of Paris—Progress of the War—Victories of the Germans—Formation of the German Empire—The King of Prussia Chosen Emperor—Capitulation of Paris—Close of the War—The Germans Enter Paris—Meeting of the Imperial Diet—Organization of the Empire—Hostility of the Roman Catholic Church to the Empire—Firm Measures of the Government—The Catholic Clergy Refuse to Obey the Laws and are Punished—Expulsion of the Jesuits—Friendly Relations with Austria.

THE jealousies of the various German states made it impossible to restore the empire, and they therefore joined in a league known as the *German Confederation*, which consisted of thirty-nine states, including the free cities of Lübeck, Hamburg, Bremen, and Frankfort. Each state retained its independence in the management of its own affairs, but for the direction of the general interests of the confederation a Federal Diet, consisting of plenipotentiaries from each and all of the states, was established. The diet was to hold its sessions at Frankfort, and was to be presided over by

the plenipotentiaries of Austria. The members of the confederation pledged themselves not to make war upon each other, but to refer their disputes to the federal diet for settlement, and not to form any alliances with foreign powers which might be hostile to any German state. A federal army was formed, to which each state was required to contribute troops according to its population. The fortresses of Luxemburg, Landau and Mayence were

constitutional government set up in its place. The people were induced to believe that the downfall of Napoleon would not only secure independence for their country, but would inaugurate the era of freedom for which they had hoped so long. When the power of Napoleon was broken, and he was confined at St. Helena, the German princes conveniently forgot their promises, and continued their absolute rule. Austria, under the guidance of Prince Metternich,



NEW MUSEUM AT BERLIN.

declared the property of the confederation, and were garrisoned with federal troops. The act of confederation required each state to grant constitutional government and religious and political equality to its people.

This last requirement was a simple act of justice. The German princes, at the outset of the war of liberation, had promised their people that, if they would unite for the freedom of the Fatherland, the old despotic system should be abolished, and

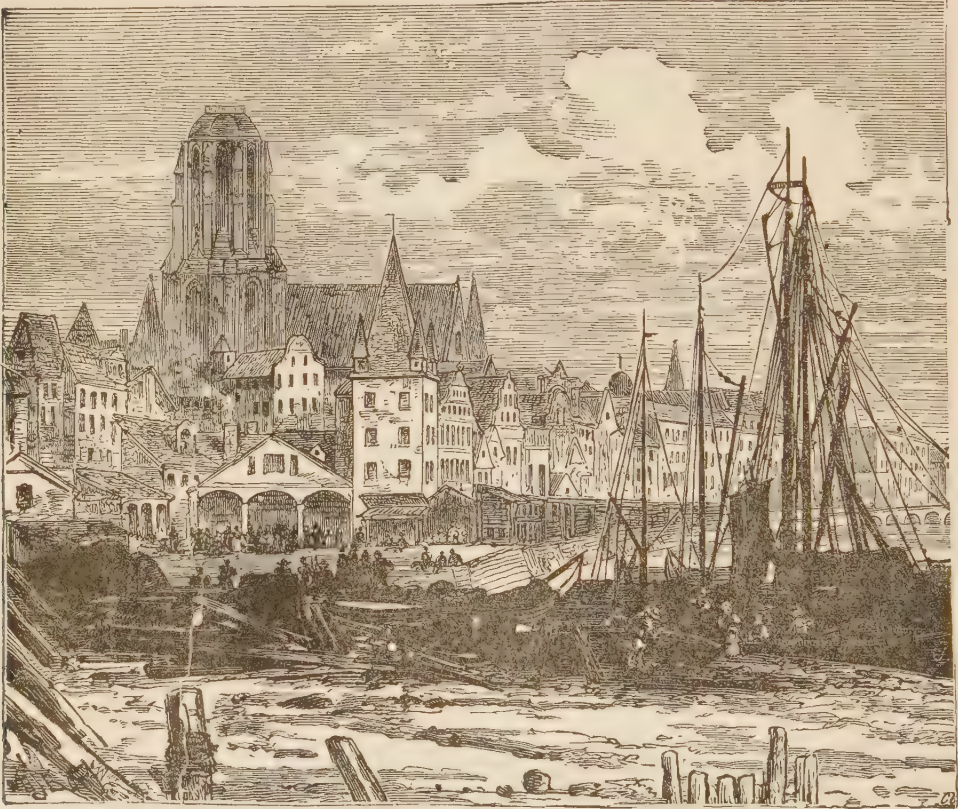
became the resolute opponent of constitutional government in Germany. Frederick William III. of Prussia appeared at first willing to fulfil his promise, but at length evaded it by setting up a number of provincial diets. The German people gave open expression to their disappointment, but accomplished nothing by their murmurs.

Another result of the war of liberation was the growth of the desire to reunite all Germany in one great nation, such as it had

been before the great interregnum (A. D. 1256). The confederation satisfied but a small part of the German people, and was generally regarded as but a makeshift to tide over the difficulties which followed the peace of 1815. No thoughtful person expected it to last, and few desired its continuance. The professors and students of the universities, and the educated class, were anxious for a strong and united Germany, and began to agitate for the purpose of securing that end. The governments of

but in vain. Various outbreaks occurred to show that it was alive and impatient of its fetters, until at last, in our own day, its hour of triumph came.

Austria and Prussia were but slightly affected by the French revolution of 1830, but some of the smaller German states were thrown into a ferment by it. A popular rising took place in Brunswick, and the duke, who was hated by his people, was forced to fly for his life, and his palace was burned by the people. His brother suc-



FRANKFORT ON THE MAIN.

the states were opposed to the movement for unity, and showed their hostility by dismissing the most active of the professors and placing the liberty of the universities and of the press under restrictions. It was impossible to crush out the popular wish for free government and unity, however, and these feelings grew stronger with each succeeding year. The governments of the states and the federal diet sought earnestly to crush the German spirit and to prevent it from fulfilling its true destiny:

ceeded him, and restored order by granting the constitution demanded by the people. Saxony, Hesse-Cassel, Saxe Altenburg, and Hanover were obliged to grant constitutions more or less liberal in their character. A disturbance occurred in Frankfort, and as it was brought about chiefly by students and journalists, the various governments made it an excuse for treating the universities and the press with greater severity.

Some years before this Bavaria had taken a step which did much to keep alive the

idea of German unity, and to show that it was practicable. Louis I., King of Bavaria, who had succeeded his father Maximilian in 1825, made a treaty with Wurtemberg for the purpose of regulating the customs of the two kingdoms. This act gave rise to the idea of a Customs Union, which should embrace all Germany. In 1828 it was carried into effect. Prussia was regarded as the power best suited to form the centre of this union, and the greater number of the German states made treaties with her for this purpose. This union added greatly to the growing influence of Prussia in Germany, and did much for commerce.

On the 2d of March, 1835, the Emperor Francis I. of Austria died. He was succeeded by his son Ferdinand, a weak and incompetent prince. No change was made in the Austrian policy, which continued to be directed by Prince Metternich, the real ruler of the empire. In 1835 William IV. of England died, and his brother Earnest Augustus became King of Hanover. He revoked the constitution of 1833 and set up a less liberal one in its place. This produced an outbreak on the part of the students of the University of Göttingen, which was ruthlessly crushed by the new king, who was a man of harsh and violent character.

On the 7th of June, 1840, died Frederick William III. of Prussia, leaving his crown to his son Frederick William IV. The new king began his reign by granting an amnesty to all political offenders, and his language and conduct at the outset of his career induced his people to believe that in him they had found the constitutional king they had long hoped for. Frederick William IV. made Berlin the chief centre of German learning and science, and did much to adorn and improve the city. He also paid great attention to the welfare of the people of the kingdom; but he took no step to bring about the reign of constitutional government. In vain his people appealed to him to grant them a constitution, and reminded him of the promises of his father. The most he would do was to summon to Berlin a *United Diet*, which met on the 11th of April, 1847. It was simply a union of the various provincial diets, and was in no sense a parliament, or assembly such as the people desired. The king extinguished the last popular hope by declaring to this body that nothing would induce him to grant a constitution, or

change in any way the natural relation between a king and his subjects; for this King of Prussia had very extravagant ideas of the "divinity doth hedge about a king."

In February, 1848, the third French Revolution broke out at Paris. The agitation soon spread to Germany, where the popular discontent was profound and universal. Germany was soon in a blaze of excitement. All the races subject to Austria rose in revolt, and a rising at Vienna headed by the students compelled the emperor, on the 13th of March, 1848, to dismiss Prince Metternich, who fled to England, and to grant freedom of the press, a liberal constitution, and a national guard to the several members of the empire.

At Berlin the people rose in arms, and on the 13th of March and for several days thereafter sharp conflicts occurred between the citizens and the royal troops. The king, after several days of hesitation, promised the people, on the 17th of March, to grant them a constitution. The people demanded that the troops should be sent out of Berlin, and on the 18th an immense crowd assembled before the palace to urge the demand. Two shots were fired by some unknown parties, and a furious conflict began between the troops and the citizens, and was continued late into the night. Many lives were lost, and it seemed that the battle would be renewed with greater fury the next day; but on the 19th, the king yielded to the popular demand, and declared himself "at the head of the movement." Berlin was placed under the protection of the armed citizens, and the troops were withdrawn. The ministry was dismissed, an electoral law was passed by the united diet, and elections were ordered for a national assembly.

The smaller German states, in the meanwhile, had taken the alarm. The princes of nearly all of these yielded at once to the storm, changed their ministries, and adopted a liberal policy. King Louis of Bavaria was compelled to resign his crown to his son Maximilian II. In Baden a considerable party demanded a republic, and were aided by "free bands" from Switzerland, but as a rule the German people desired simply constitutional government without the abolition of royalty. Switzerland had just escaped from a serious trouble. In 1846, under the influence of the Jesuits, who were willing to ruin the country if

they could not rule it, seven Catholic cantons separated themselves from the confederation, and took up arms to maintain their position. They were defeated by the federal forces under General Dufour, and were compelled to resume their places in the confederation. The federal government subsequently broke up the convents and expelled the Jesuits. In 1848 changes were made in the Swiss constitution which brought it nearer to that of the United States, and this free land was not troubled with revolutionary outbreaks during this stormy period.

In the meantime the friends of German unity endeavored to take advantage of the popular uprisings to secure that end. A body of 500 Germans from various states met at Frankfort on the 21st of March, and constituted themselves a provisional parliament. The federal diet recognized the authority of this parliament, knowing that it was sustained by the nation. The parliament summoned a national assembly, the members of which were elected by the people of the various states. The national assembly met at Frankfort on the 18th of May, 1848, and established a provisional central government, with the Archduke John of Austria at its head. The archduke was acknowledged by the various German governments, and on the 12th of July the president of the federal diet formally resigned into his hands the power formerly exercised by that body, and the German confederation came to an end. A responsible ministry of seven members was chosen by the archduke from the leading members of the assembly. That body spent so much of its time in useless discussions that the friends of the movement began to fear that it would fail to carry out the great work intrusted to it.

While these discussions were in progress trouble was brewing between Germany and Denmark. The King of Denmark, as Duke of Holstein, was a member of the German confederation. The duchy of Schleswig was entirely the property of Denmark, although a large part of its people were Germans. This German part of the population of Schleswig and the people of Holstein asserted that, in virtue of a treaty made in 1460, the two duchies could not be separated, and that when the male line of the Danish royal family should die out the duchies would revert to Germany and their connection with Denmark would cease. The Danish king on the other hand claimed

that all of Schleswig and the greater part of Holstein were irrevocably united to the kingdom of Denmark. The German party in the duchies appealed to the German federal diet for protection, but the matter remained undecided until the death of Christian VIII. in 1848. Frederick VII., his son and successor, reasserted the Danish claim to the duchies, and the German party, taking advantage of the revolutionary movements throughout Europe, rose in arms against Denmark. King Christian attempted to put down this outbreak by force, but the cause of the duchies was embraced by the German federal diet at Frankfort, which sent an army to their assistance under the Prussian General Wrangel. The Danes were speedily driven out of Schleswig, but their fleet blockaded the ports of Germany, and did much damage to the commerce of that country. On the 27th of August an armistice for seven months was concluded at Malmö. A temporary government was set up for this period, composed of two Prussian and two Danish representatives. This arrangement gave great offence to the national assembly, and in Frankfort disturbances took place which were quelled by the troops. Two Prussian deputies were murdered by the mob, and this produced very great bitterness of feeling in the assembly, which spent its time in useless quarrels instead of in legislation.

The Prussian national assembly, to which we have referred, met at Berlin on the 22d of May, 1848. The radicals proved so impracticable, and were sustained in their opposition by such a large number of the people of Berlin, that in November the government adjourned the assembly to Brandenburg. The Left, or extreme party, refused to leave Berlin, and the assembly was dissolved by the government. The king then summoned a new parliament to meet on the 26th of February, 1849, and on the 5th of December, 1848, published to the people the draft of a constitution he meant to submit to the parliament. The parliament met at the appointed time, but as no understanding between it and the government could be had, it was dissolved on the 27th of April. A parliament was chosen under a new electoral law, and met on the 7th of August. It succeeded in harmonizing to a certain extent the desires of the government and the people, and on the 6th of February, 1850, the king took the oath

to maintain the new constitution. Though the new system was far from realizing the hopes of the people, it was a great gain for them; and from this time constitutional government may be said to exist in Prussia.

The Frankfort assembly at length reached the discussion of the constitution; but by this time the various German governments had settled their difficulties, and were not inclined to accept any loss of power for the general good. An

effort was made to exclude Austria from the confederation, but failed, as the wish was general that Austria proper should remain a part of Germany. That government demanded that the empire as a whole should be admitted to the confederacy. It also attempted to dictate the form of government for the confederacy, but on the 27th of March, 1849, the majority of the assembly decided that the German empire should be revived at least in name; that the chief of the confederacy should have the title of "Emperor of the Germans," and that this title should be hereditary in his family. On the 28th it was resolved to offer the imperial dignity to the King of Prussia. This was done on the 3d of April. Frederick William declined the honor for the reasons that he could not

accept it without the consent of the German princes, and that the constitution did not give to the emperor sufficient power to enable him to fulfil the duties of that high station. This answer produced great disappointment in Germany, and was fatal to the effort for union. A few of the states accepted the new constitution; but Austria, Prussia, Hanover, and the other leading

states withdrew their representatives from the assembly, and on the 20th of May its most distinguished remaining members resigned their seats. The rump adjourned to Stuttgart, where on the 18th of June it was dispersed by the government of Wurtemberg.

The Saxon diet had endeavored to force the king to accept the Frankfort constitution. The government dissolved the diet, and a conflict broke out in Dresden between



FRANCIS JOSEPH I., EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA.

the troops and the people, and the king was forced to fly to the fortress of Königstein. The government appealed to Prussia for aid, and the troops of that country entered Saxony and put down the outbreak. Insurrections of a more violent character broke out in Rhenish Bavaria and Baden, and were likewise quelled by the Prussians.

During all this while the Austrian em-

pire had been the scene of a terrible struggle. The diet met at Vienna on the 22d of July, 1848, but its members, speaking many different languages, could scarcely understand each other, and were so divided by national jealousies that they could accomplish nothing. The Hungarians, led by Louis Kossuth and others, demanded complete independence. This was refused by Austria, and a series of disturbances ensued at Pesth, in which the imperial representative was murdered. The emperor at once took the field with a part of the garrison of Vienna, to punish the Hungarians. The troops were to march on the 6th of October; but a large number of them fraternized with the people, and the loyal regiments were driven from Vienna after a sharp engagement. The minister of war was murdered by the mob, the emperor fled from the capital to Olmütz, and Vienna remained in possession of the revolutionists. The emperor immediately set to work to concentrate his army, and on the 21st of October Vienna was invested by the imperial forces. It was carried by storm on the 30th of that month. Such of the leaders of the revolution as did not save themselves by flight were shot by the imperialists upon the re-occupation of the city, and the people were disarmed. On the 1st of December, 1848, the Emperor Ferdinand, whose health was very delicate, abdicated his throne in favor of his nephew, Francis Joseph, then eighteen years of age.

The government of the new emperor acted with vigor, and by the opening of the year 1849 had reduced all the German provinces of Austria to submission. The Italian disturbances were quelled with great severity in the spring of 1849. The revolt in Hungary was more difficult to deal with. An Austrian army under Prince Windischgrätz was sent into Hungary to put down the uprising, but was defeated in a number of hard-fought battles, and was driven back towards the frontier with heavy loss. The patriots captured Buda-Pesth, their ancient capital. Large numbers of Germans and Poles entered Hungary and joined the patriots, and the Hungarian army soon numbered 200,000 men. The commander-in-chief was Görgey, a native of Hungary, and a general of ability. He was ably supported by Generals Bem and Dembinsky, both of whom were Poles. The Austrians being driven to the frontier, the Hungarian diet met at Debreczin and declared Hun-

gary independent of Austria; the republic was proclaimed, and a provisional government was organized, at the head of which Kossuth was placed.

Austria now confessed her inability to conquer Hungary, and appealed to Russia for help. The Emperor Nicholas had for some time been massing his troops on the Austrian frontier, being fearful that the revolutionary disturbances might extend to his own dominions. He readily responded to the appeal of Francis Joseph, and late in May, 1849, a Russian army advanced into Hungary. The Austrian army was reinforced and placed under the command of the brutal Haynau, who had but recently stamped out the insurrection in Lombardy. This army entered Hungary from the east, and at the same time a strong force of Croats under their Ban Jellachich invaded the unhappy country from the south. Though overmatched, the Hungarians fought bravely, but were defeated in the great battle of Temesvar. Buda-Pesth was reconquered by the Austrians, and the diet, which had taken refuge at Szegedin, was put to flight. Kossuth assembled a council at Arad on the 11th of August, and Görgey was appointed dictator, with absolute powers. On the 13th of August, only two days later, Görgey brought the war to a close by surrendering with his entire army to the Russian General Rödiger. This step astounded the nation, and Görgey was generally regarded by his countrymen as a traitor, doubtless with good cause. The leaders of the revolution sought safety in Turkey, whence they made their way to England and America. The fortresses held by the patriot troops at once capitulated. The sufferings of the Hungarians had been very great during the war, but they counted them as nothing compared with the failure of their hopes of freedom which had been so near fulfilment.

While Austria was engaged in her struggle with Hungary, Prussia endeavored to unite Germany in a confederation under her own leadership and without including Austria. On the 26th of May, 1849, an alliance for this purpose was concluded between Prussia, Hanover, and Saxony, and was subsequently joined by some of the smaller states of north Germany. As this alliance did not embrace all Germany, it was called "the German Union." A parliament of the union was held at Erfurt in April, 1850, but neither Hanover nor Sax-

ony would send deputies to it, and Hanover abandoned the union. While this parliament was in session, a congress of the German princes, who acknowledged the leadership of Prussia, met at Berlin on the 10th of May. Austria had by this time completed the subjugation of Hungary, and, alarmed for her supremacy in Germany, set to work to revive the German confederation. Bavaria and Wurtemberg united with her, and called on the German states to send representatives for this purpose to Frankfort. Saxony, Hanover, the Hesses, and a number of the minor states responded, and the representatives of the states which supported Austria met at Frankfort on the 10th of May, the very day the congress of princes acknowledging Prussia as their leader met at Berlin.

Germany was thus divided into two hostile parties, and a civil war came near breaking out between them in consequence of an attempt on the part of the Elector of Hesse-Cassel to levy taxes without the consent of the chambers of his state. This produced an uprising of the people, and the elector was obliged to leave Cassel. He appealed to the Frankfort diet, and an Austrian and Bavarian force entered his territory to restore his authority. Prussia, which had expected this step, at once occupied Cassel and Fulda with her troops. Austria demanded their withdrawal, which was refused. Both parties then prepared for war, and it seemed that the question whether Austria or Prussia should occupy the first place in Germany was to be settled by the sword. An effort was made to avert a civil war, and Prussia and Austria were induced to consent that a free conference of all the German princes should at once be held to arrange the constitution of Germany, and that Prussia and Austria should settle the affairs of Hesse-Cassel, and also of Schleswig-Holstein between them. The result was that the "free conference" of the German princes was held at Dresden, but accomplished nothing. Prussia then, as a measure of peace, acknowledged the Frankfort diet, and her example was followed by the other states. Thus the German confederation was restored as it had existed previous to 1848. This settlement was completed by the 12th of June, 1851. The claims of Prussia and Austria to the supremacy in Germany were yet to be settled.

In the meantime the armistice of Malmö

had expired, and the war with Denmark had been resumed. The Germans were not as successful as they had been at the outset, and Denmark was supported by the great powers. Peace was made in 1851, the King of Denmark resuming the government of the duchies; and in 1852 an arrangement was entered into by the great powers at London, providing for the settlement of the whole of the Danish dominions upon Prince Christian, of Schleswig-Holstein-Glücksburg, who had married a princess of Hesse. Neither Germany nor the duchies accepted this arrangement, and the question was left unsettled.

Matters went on very quietly in Germany after this. Eight or ten years of peace gave prosperity to the whole country; commerce and manufactures increased rapidly; and considerable attention was paid in the north German states to the cause of popular education. On the 8th of October, 1858, Frederick William IV. of Prussia was obliged by the failure of his reason to relinquish the government of his kingdom, which was administered for the next few years by his brother, Frederick William Lewis, as prince regent.

In 1859 war broke out between Austria on the one hand and France and Italy on the other. We have related the events and the results of this struggle, by which Austria lost all her Italian provinces save Venetia, and Italy became partially united. This partial union of Italy exercised a powerful influence upon Germany in reviving the hopes of those who longed for the union of the Fatherland, and the exclusion of Austria from Germany.

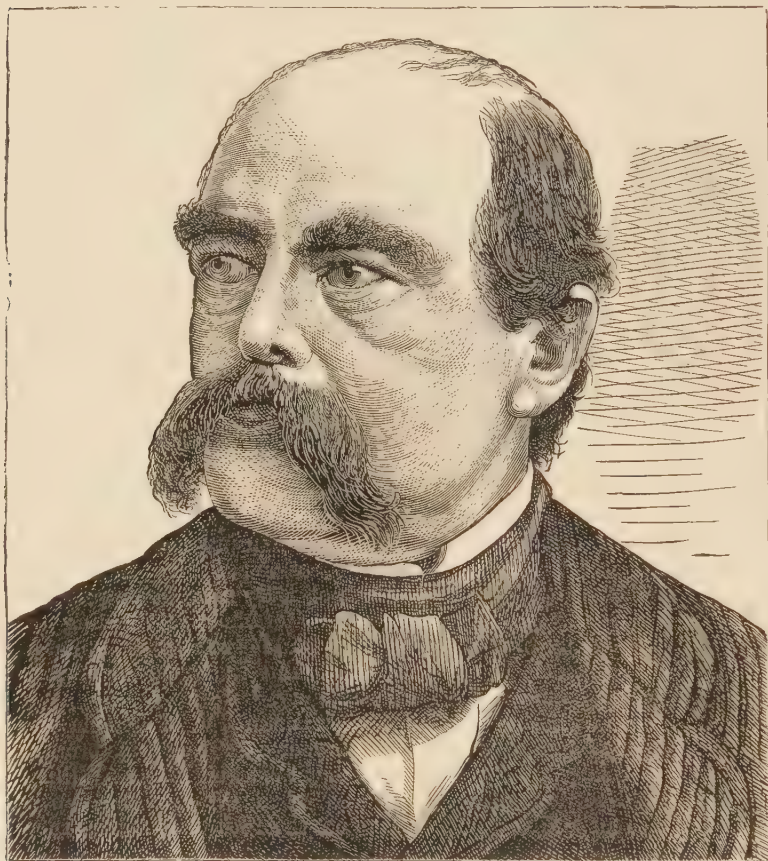
Frederick William IV. of Prussia died on the 2d of January, 1861, and his brother, the Prince Regent, became king as William I. He was crowned with great pomp at Königsberg, on the 18th of October, 1861. He began his reign with the determination to reorganize the Prussian army upon a basis which should make it irresistible. The Representative Assembly stoutly opposed the course of the government, as it involved the kingdom in a heavy outlay of money. The king persisted in his design, however, and on the 8th of October, 1862, appointed as his prime minister, Count Otto von Bismarck-Schönhausen, and also intrusted to him the portfolio of foreign affairs. No better choice could have been made. Bismarck was a statesman of the first order, and was thoroughly in sympathy with the

king's desire to make Prussia the leading state of Germany. He went further than the king, and was resolved to drive Austria out of Germany. Bold and fearless in all things, he was firm and even despotic in his manner of carrying out his plans, and moreover was thoroughly indifferent to public opinion. He became from this time the master spirit of the Prussian policy, and with his aid the king succeeded in carrying out his scheme of army reform in spite of

forms in the German constitution. Prussia refused to have anything to do with this congress, and the Austrian scheme fell to the ground.

Another question now arose to claim the attention of Germany, and to keep in abeyance the jealousies of the two leading states of the confederation. On the 30th of March, 1863, Frederick VII. of Denmark issued a decree ordering that the duchy of Schleswig should be separated from Holstein and

Lauenburg, and incorporated in the Danish kingdom. This step was in opposition to the fundamental law of the duchies of 1460, which provided that they should not be separated. It excited great indignation in Germany, and reopened the Schleswig-Holstein question in all its bitterness. The federal diet resolved to compel the Danish king to relinquish his design; but before it could do so Frederick VII. died, on the 16th of November, 1863, and his successor, Christian IX., confirmed the decree. The death of Frederick put an end to the



COUNT VON BISMARCK.

the opposition of the chambers, and in direct violation of the constitution. Bismarck declared openly in the Prussian Parliament that the question of supremacy in Germany could be settled between Prussia and Austria only by "blood and iron."

Austria had watched the course of Prussia with ill-concealed impatience, and in August, 1863, to the astonishment of Germany, summoned a council of the princes to meet at Frankfort to make certain re-

male line of the Danish royal family, and the Germans declared that Christian IX. had no right to the duchies, which ought now of right to become pure German states, and that as the duchies could not be separated, all three must go to the nearest heir, who was the Duke of Augustenburg. This prince had, in 1852, resigned his right to the duchies, but in 1859 his son Frederick protested against this surrender, and now asserted his claims, which were indorsed by

the bulk of the German people. The duchy of Lauenburg was claimed by several of the German princes.

As the German Federal Diet had not accepted the arrangement made in London in 1852, concerning the duchies, to which we have referred, it was free to act independently. It declared the duchies vacant, and determined to occupy them with the troops of the confederation until the succession to them could be settled. For this purpose a force of Saxons and Hanoverians was sent into Holstein. Bismarck was not content to allow the question to be settled in this way. He meant to secure the duchies for Prussia, not only to increase her territory, but to put her in possession of the important harbor of Kiel, in Holstein, which was necessary in order to give her a first-class naval station. By his subtle diplomacy he induced Austria to unite with Prussia in a joint occupation of the duchies, independently of the action of the confederation. Both the Austrian and Prussian Chambers refused to vote supplies to their governments for the support of this war, which, they declared, was strictly the duty of the confederation; but those governments persisted in their determination. The allied forces under the Prussian General Wrangel crossed the Eider on the 1st of February, 1864, and attacked the strong intrenchment known as the Dane-wirk. On the 6th of February, the Danish army fell back to the lines of Düppel, which were soon after invested by the Prussians, who carried them by storm on the 18th of April, after a siege of three weeks. The Austrians laid siege to the fortress of Fredericia, which was suddenly evacuated by the Danes. With the exception of a short armistice, caused by the efforts of the great powers to restore peace, the war went on until October, 1864. The Danes blockaded the Prussian ports with their fleet, and won a victory over the allied

fleet off Heligoland, but their army was steadily defeated, and was driven not only out of the duchies but also out of Jutland, and was forced to make a stand among the islands. Greatly discouraged by her reverses, Denmark asked for peace, and a treaty was signed on the 30th of October, 1864. The King of Denmark resigned all his rights in the duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg in favor of the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia. It now became apparent that the pretext



CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK WILLIAM OF GERMANY.

of the victorious powers of defending the rights of the Duke of Augustenburg was merely to cover their design of getting the duchies into their own hands. They continued to occupy them with their troops. Austria was on the whole indifferent to an increase of territory in this direction; but was resolved that Prussia should obtain no such advantage at the cost of the duchies. The two powers at once began to quarrel over the proper disposition of the duchies, and it seemed at one time that their disputes would end in war. This danger was

averted for the moment by the Convention of Gastein, negotiated by Count Bismarck and the Austrian envoy, Count Blome. Prussia purchased the rights of the Austrian emperor in the duchy of Lauenburg, and until the question of inheritance could be settled it was agreed to place Schleswig under Prussian and Holstein under Austrian rule. Prussia was to hold the port of Kiel, but it was to be free to the Austrian fleet. Prussia was not yet prepared for war, and consented to this arrangement to gain time.

The quarrel soon broke out afresh. General von Manteuffel, the Prussian Governor of Schleswig, forbade all agitation in that duchy in favor of the Duke of Augustenburg, and at the same time, Austria, resolved to baffle the Prussian scheme for securing the duchies, allowed the duke's party to take such steps as they pleased in Holstein. On the 26th of January Prussia entered a formal protest against the Austrian policy in Holstein; and was answered that Austria would maintain her policy with firmness. This correspondence was followed by measures which showed that the inevitable struggle was close at hand. The fortresses of the Saxon and Silesian provinces of Prussia were put in a state of defence; Austria began to concentrate troops in Bohemia; and the smaller German states put their forces on a war footing. In March, 1866, a treaty of alliance was signed between Prussia and Italy. The latter agreed to attack Austria in Venetia in case of war between that power and Prussia; and Prussia agreed not to make peace until Venetia was freed from Austrian rule. Austria endeavored to strengthen herself by exciting the confederation against Prussia. The neutral powers, in view of the danger of war, endeavored to avert it by proposing the assembling of a conference for the settlement of all questions dangerous to the peace of Europe. This effort failed, and the war followed quickly. It should not be forgotten that the affair of the duchies was merely a pretext for the war; the true cause of the great struggle was the contest which we have traced from the days of Frederick the Great between Austria and Prussia for the supremacy in Germany.

On the 7th of June, 1866, Prussia took the decisive step of occupying Holstein with her troops, and compelling the Austrian forces to withdraw from that duchy. Austria demanded that the confederation should assist her in punishing Prussia for thus vio-

lating the federal constitution. The majority of the smaller states responded favorably to this demand, and on the 14th of June the federal diet resolved to mobilize the federal army, with the exception of the Prussian contingent. Prussia at once notified the diet that she no longer recognized the existence of that body or of the confederation, and withdrew her representative from the diet.

The struggle which now ensued is known as "the Seven Weeks' War." To the popular mind it seemed that Prussia was over-matched, but to those who had studied the condition of Germany the issue of the struggle could not be doubtful. The efforts of the Prussian government to reorganize the army, though in violation of the constitution of the kingdom, had secured to Prussia the most intelligent, best organized, and most efficient army in Europe. The troops were armed with the needle-gun, a weapon greatly superior to the ordinary rifle; and the chief of the Prussian staff, General Von Moltke, was the first soldier in the old world. Every department of the Prussian civil service was organized to afford the promptest and most thorough assistance to the army, and the Prussian civil and foreign policy was directed by the master mind of Bismarck. That great statesman had satisfied himself that the war would be confined to Germany. The French emperor had declared to him he would not interfere; England was too much devoted to peace to draw the sword; and Russia owed Prussia a debt of gratitude for assistance in putting down the recent Polish outbreak. Austria, on the other hand, was hampered by her old traditions, and her army was vastly inferior to that of Prussia in discipline as well as in equipment and arms. No great statesman directed her councils, and she was now to find that she had lived so long in the past that she was no match for the civilization she had so successfully banished from her own dominions.

The north German states of Saxony, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, and Nassau declared for Austria, which was supported by the better part of south Germany. Hanover, Saxony, and Hesse were quickly overrun by the Prussian troops. The Hanoverian troops defeated a body of Prussians at Langensalza on the 27th of June, but their victory accomplished nothing. They were surrounded by the Prussians, and on the 29th of June King George was obliged to

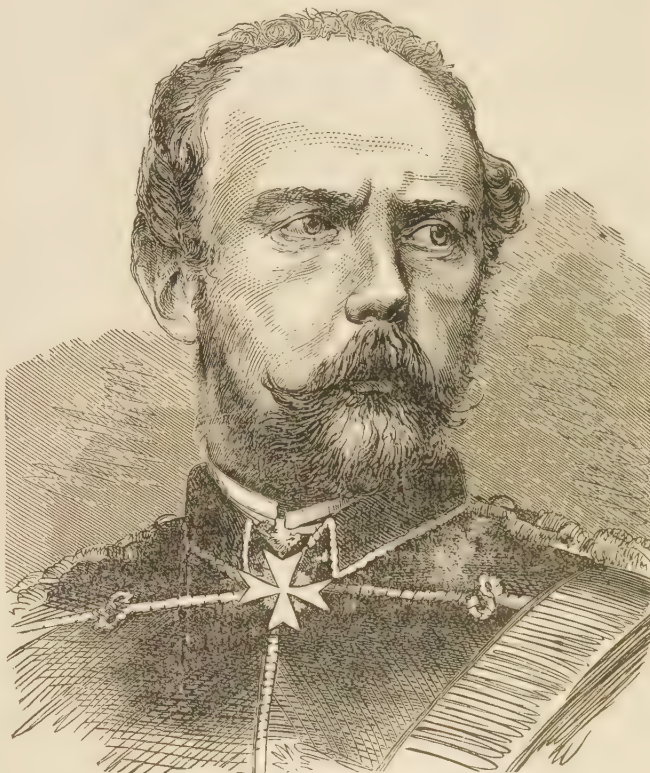
surrender, with his whole army. He was compelled to yield his crown also, and was not allowed by Prussia to remain within the Hanoverian territory. The conquest of Hanover was a great gain for Prussia, as it placed her in possession of the territory which lay between her eastern and western provinces. She had long desired to obtain this territory, and now, having won it, proceeded to annex it to her dominions.

In western Germany the Prussian forces were commanded by General Von Falkenstein. Opposed to him was the army of the confederation, under Prince Charles of Bavaria, and Prince Alexander of Hesse. The Austrians had placed a large number of Venetian troops in their army in this quarter, supposing they would fight better there than in Italy. Manteuffel defeated the confederate forces at Aschaffenburg. In this battle the Venetian troops refused to fight the allies of Italy, and laid down their arms. In consequence of this victory Von Falkenstein occupied Frankfort on the 16th of July, the federal diet having abandoned the city on the 14th. Falkenstein was now made Governor of Bohemia, and his successor, General Manteuffel, proceeded to complete the conquest of the Rhine country.

In the meantime the war had been decided elsewhere. At the commencement of hostilities the main Austrian army, under Marshal Benedek, held the frontier of the empire from the east of Austrian Silesia westward to the vicinity of Prague. It numbered 280,000 men, including the Saxon army, which was united with it. The Prussian forces numbered about 256,000 men, and were divided into two armies. The first army, 100,000 strong, commanded by Prince Frederick Charles, the king's nephew, was stationed in lower Silesia; the second army, under the Crown Prince Frederick William, 116,000 strong, occupied upper Silesia. A column of

40,000 men, under General Von Bittenfeld, constituted the right wing of the first army, and occupied Saxony. The whole force was commanded by the King of Prussia in person; but the campaign was in reality directed by General Von Moltke, the chief of staff.

As soon as the occupation of Saxony had been successfully accomplished, all three of the Prussian columns were ordered to cross the Bohemian frontier and concentrate near Gitschin. This brilliant movement was successfully accomplished in the course



PRINCE FREDERICK CHARLES.

of a few days. Frederick Charles defeated the Austrians near Gitschin, besides gaining several other hard-won successes. During the advance of the second army, its left wing, under General Von Steinmetz, defeated the Austrians at Nachod and Skalitz. The three columns of the Prussian army were successfully united near Gitschin, and on the 2d of July were joined by King William in person, who assumed the command.

Marshal Benedek, after being forced back from the frontier, had taken position

on the Elbe, with his front covered by that stream and the Bistritz. His right was protected by the fortress of Josephstadt, and his left by the fortress of Königgratz. Near his centre was the village of Sadowa, and on the heights overlooking this village Benedek established his head-quarters. His army numbered about 200,000 men.

On the morning of the 3d of July the first Prussian army, under Frederick Charles, made a heavy attack upon the Austrian position at Sadowa. It was in-

Austrian right wing, and about the same time their left was broken by the column of General Von Bittenfeld, and their centre, at the village of Chulm, was carried by the army of Prince Frederick Charles. The Austrians now gave way at all points, retiring at first in good order, but breaking at length, under the close pursuit of the Prussians, into a disorderly flight. Such was the battle of Sadowa or Königgratz, one of the most important in modern history. The Prussians lost 10,000 men; the



BATTLE OF KONIGGRATZ, OR SADOWA.

tended that this attack should be supported by the army of the crown prince, but a rain which fell during the previous night and throughout the day made the roads so heavy that the latter force did not reach its position until early in the afternoon. The first army was largely outnumbered, but kept up its attack with vigor for several hours, until the advance of the crown prince lessened the pressure upon it. The Prussian assault was now renewed with vigor; the crown prince drove back the

Austrians 20,000 killed and wounded, and 18,000 prisoners.

The battle of Königgratz was decisive of the war, and Austria, feeling herself unable to continue the struggle, made overtures for peace. On the 26th of July the preliminaries of peace were signed between the principal combatants and several of the smaller states. On the 23d of August the treaty of Prague was signed. By this treaty Austria was forever excluded from Germany, and agreed to pay to Prussia an

indemnity of 40,000,000 thalers for the expenses of the war. In return for one-half of this sum Austria resigned all her rights in Schleswig-Holstein in favor of Prussia. Peace was concluded between Prussia and Bavaria, Baden, and Wurtemberg in the latter part of August; with Hesse Darmstadt in September; and with Saxony in October. Bavaria was compelled to cede a small part of her territory to Prussia, and Hesse Darmstadt had to relinquish the landgravate of Hesse Homburg and the right to garrison the fortress of Mayence. A secret alliance was formed between Prussia and these countries, with the exception of Bavaria, by which they agreed to place their troops under the supreme command of the King of Prussia in time of war. Previous to the treaty of Prague, Prussia had annexed to her territory, by right of conquest, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, and Frankfort.

The extraordinary success of the war caused the constitutional party of Prussia to forget and forgive the violations of the constitution by the king and his ministers now that they saw the result of that policy. The king, on his return to Berlin on the 4th of August, was received with enthusiasm by all parties, and a cordial reconciliation between the sovereign and the chambers ensued and has since been unbroken.

The events of the war in Italy have been related in the history of that country, and need not be repeated here.

After the return of peace the Austrian emperor, ceasing to take part in German affairs, addressed himself to the improvement of his hereditary states. Peace found the Austrian empire in a most deplorable condition. Its armies were rendered almost worthless by the reverses they had sustained, and its finances were nearly ruined. The various nationalities composing the empire, weary with their long deprivation of civil and religious freedom, were ready to rise in revolt against the imperial government thus weakened. At this critical juncture the emperor summoned to his assistance, as President of the Imperial Council, the Baron Von Beust, the former Prime Minister of Saxony. Von Beust advised a prompt reconstruction of the imperial system, and his advice was acted upon. Representative government was established in all the states, and in each the people were given a share in the control of the public affairs. The long-deferred hopes of Hungary were to

some extent realized. That country was given a separate diet and ministry, and the Emperor Francis Joseph was formally crowned King of Hungary at Pesth in 1867. In 1868 the official title of the empire was by an imperial decree changed to the "Austro-Hungarian Monarchy."

The establishment of constitutional government in Austria has been attended by the happiest results, but was secured only by a determined contest with the old nobility and the clergy. Fortunately for his country the emperor has firmly adhered to his reforms, and despotism has been abolished in its chosen home. Religious toleration has been granted, thus securing the equality of all creeds before the law; and marriage and education have been taken from the control of the church and made subject to the state. In 1870 the Concordat, or treaty with the pope respecting religious matters, was formally annulled.

In Germany, immediately after the close of the war of 1866, a confederacy of the northern states was formed under the leadership of Prussia, with the title of the North German Confederation. The states of this league placed their armies entirely under the control of Prussia. The first diet of the confederation met at Berlin on the 24th of February, 1867. It immediately addressed itself to the task of framing the federal constitution, and succeeded so well that on the 1st of July the constitution was in operation. It provided that the affairs of the confederation should be administered by a diet elected by the north German people, and a federal council composed of the representatives of the states of north Germany. The King of Prussia was made President of the Confederation. This constitution was not regarded as final, for the south German states were still independent, and a large party in north Germany, known as the National Liberal party, desired their union with the new confederation. Count Bismarck, who openly favored such a union, received the warm support of this party in both the Prussian parliament and the federal diet. A considerable advance was made in May, 1868, when a customs parliament, elected by all the German states, met at Berlin to adjust the commercial relations of the states. Baden and Hesse Homburg signed a convention by which their military system was arranged upon a basis similar to that of the confederation. Baden was very anxious to

join the northern confederation, but was deterred by the unwillingness of the other south German states to take such a step. Two strong parties in south Germany were hostile to Prussia: the Ultramontanes because of her Protestantism, and the Democrats because of her leaning toward absolutism. These parties opposed the union of northern and southern Germany, under the leadership of Prussia, with such bitterness that even the most sanguine friends of the union began to despair of its accomplishment. It would most likely have been

should cede to France the left bank of the Rhine. The demand was refused with firmness by Prussia, though it was believed at the time that her refusal would give rise to another war. The French emperor then entered into negotiations with the King of Holland for the purchase of the duchy of Luxemburg, which had formerly been a part of the German confederation. Prussia protested against this acquisition, and prepared to support her protest by force. It seemed not unlikely that the affair would result in war; but the danger was averted

by a conference of the great powers at London, which separated Luxemburg from Germany, formed it into a neutral state, and guaranteed its neutrality. The Emperor Napoleon was greatly mortified by these failures, and Prussia won considerable credit by her firmness on these occasions. Great ill-feeling existed between Prussia and France from this time, and it was not long before it resulted in war.

In July, 1870, Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern, at the request of the Spanish government, became a candidate for the crown of Spain. This candidacy was made the occasion by France of seeking to impose a check upon Prussia. France had never reconciled herself to the union of Germany under the leadership of Prussia, and was seeking an opportunity to prevent the union



COUNT VON MOLTKE.

deferred for years but for the appearance of a new danger which aroused the German spirit to its highest point, and united all parties against a common foe.

The success of Prussia in the war of 1866 excited the jealousy of France, which had until now been considered the leading state of Europe. The Emperor Napoleon III. gave Prussia to understand that he should expect some compensation for permitting the great increase of the Prussian territory which had resulted from the war. Early in August, 1866, the French ambassador at Berlin formally demanded that Prussia

of the south German states with those of the north. As soon as the candidature of Prince Leopold became known, it was denounced in the French legislative assembly as an aggression of Prussia, and as an effort of that power to surround France with enemies by placing on the Spanish throne a monarch hostile to France. A large part of the French people demanded that the emperor should take firm measures to prevent the success of the "Prussian scheme," and compel that government to withdraw Prince Leopold's name. The King of Prussia declared that he had

nothing to do with Prince Leopold's candidature, and that he had no power to forbid or command the acceptance of the Spanish crown by his relative. Prince Leopold, as a measure of peace, at once resigned his candidature of his own will. This did not satisfy France, however, and M. Benedetti, the French minister at Berlin, was instructed to demand of the King of Prussia an assurance that the candidature of Prince Leopold should not be renewed. M. Benedetti repaired to Ems,

out for Berlin, which he reached on the 15th.

The king's conjecture was correct. It was announced in Paris that the King of Prussia had insulted the French ambassador, and excited crowds filled the streets demanding war. On the 15th of July the French government declared war against Prussia, and orders were issued for the immediate concentration of the French army on the German frontier. The news of this declaration was communicated to King



RUINS OF THIONVILLE AFTER THE BOMBARDMENT.

where the king was staying at the time, and on a public promenade urged upon him the demand of the French government. King William not only refused to give the pledge required of him, but declined to continue the conversation on the subject. This interview took place on the 13th of July, and the next day the German governments were officially informed of it by telegraph. As it was certain that the refusal of King William would be made by France a pretext for war, he at once set

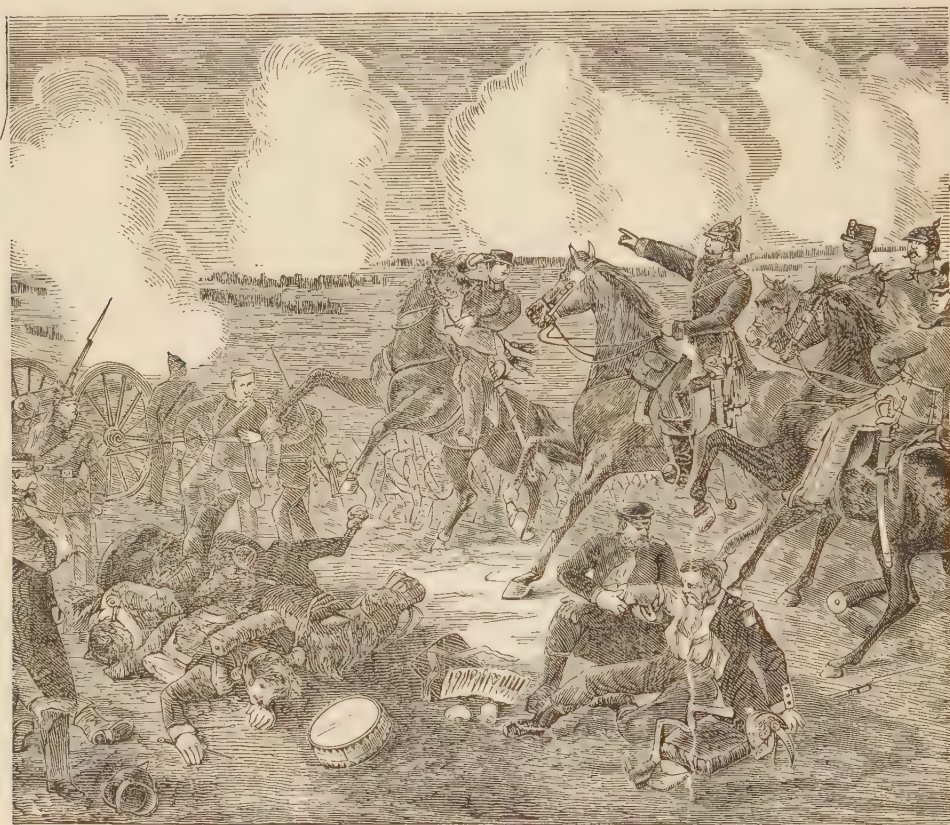
William upon his arrival at the railway station at Berlin by Count Bismarck. Orders were at once issued by the Prussian government for placing its forces and those of the confederation in the field. The federal council met on the 16th and indorsed the course of King William, and promised him its hearty support, and on the 19th, the confederate diet assembled and took measures for a vigorous prosecution of the war.

France had relied largely upon the sup-

posed hostility between north and south Germany; and in so doing had committed a fatal error. However the German states might differ among themselves, they regarded France as a common enemy, and remembered the slavery of their fathers under the great Napoleon too well to wish to repeat the experience in their own persons. Moreover, France was avowedly seeking to interfere in a purely German

the war were carried on with rapidity. It was clearly understood that Germany was acting in self-defence, and that France was fighting for the recovery of her lost supremacy in Europe.

The German forces numbered over one million of men. As in the war with Austria, they were really directed by the great soldier, General Von Moltke. The chief command of this immense force was held



THE BATTLE OF GRAVELOTTE.

question, and one very dear to the hearts of the German people. South Germany would neither unite with the enemy of the Fatherland, nor remain neutral in such a struggle. On the 16th of July the south German states formally notified the King of Prussia that their forces were subject to his orders, and the Crown Prince of Prussia at once left Berlin and assumed the command of the united forces of south Germany. Great enthusiasm prevailed throughout the Fatherland, and preparations for

by the King of Prussia, who, though an old man, took the field in person. A part of this force was retained in Germany for the defence of the country, and the remainder was organized into three armies and hurried forward to the Rhine with a rapidity and precision which excited the admiration of the world. By the end of July all three armies were in position. The first, under General Von Steinmetz, held the right of the German line, and took position near Treves; the second, under Prince Frederick

Charles, held the centre, and occupied Rhenish Bavaria; while the third, under the Crown Prince Frederick William of Prussia, held the left, and occupied the right bank of the Rhine, from Manheim to Rastadt. The third army was composed of the south German forces and three Prussian army corps.

The German commanders had expected an immediate invasion of their country by the French, and were astonished at the delay upon the part of their enemy. Some fruitless petty encounters took place, but the French made no effort to advance, and the King of Prussia resolved to invade the French territory and thus save Germany from being made the scene of hostilities. The forward movement was begun by the third army, and on the 4th of August the French were defeated at Weissenburg in the first battle of the war. The third army then crossed the border and entered France. On the 6th the crown prince attacked the right wing of the French army under Marshal MacMahon, at Wörth, and after a stubborn conflict, in which both sides lost heavily, the French were routed, and MacMahon was unable to collect the scattered fragments of his corps. Leaving the Baden troops to lay siege to Strasburg, the crown prince moved leisurely across the Vosges mountains. On the 6th of August the first and second armies attacked the main army of the French, under Marshal Bazaine, at Saarbrücken, and stormed and carried the Heights of Spicheren in splendid style, and forced the French to retreat upon the fortress of Metz. The success of the crown prince at Wörth and the victory at Saarbrücken broke the whole French line, and the next day all the German armies were in France. While the third army was moving through the Vosges, the first and second armies advanced towards Metz.

Marshal Bazaine, the French commander, made the fatal mistake of endeavoring to hold Metz. At length, perceiving his error, he resolved to retreat towards Chalons, where MacMahon was rapidly assembling a new army. He began this movement too late, and conducted it too leisurely. His withdrawal was begun on the 14th of August, and was at once detected by the Germans, who attacked the French rear-guard at Courcelles and defeated it. Von Moltke took advantage of the delay in the French movements, caused by this battle, to

throw portions of the first and second armies across the Moselle for the purpose of seizing the roads by which the French were retreating. He meant to force them back upon Metz and shut them up in that fortress. While these movements were in progress, the third army, which had reached the neighborhood of Nancy, was ordered to halt there, in order to be able to render assistance to the other armies in case of need. On the 16th Bazaine, having passed a short distance beyond Metz, was attacked by the German forces which had crossed the Moselle. The battle took its name from the village of Mars le Tour, around which it was fought. It is called by the French the battle of Vionville. It continued throughout the entire day, and was contested with great stubbornness by both sides. The result was that the French army was forced back nearer to Metz, and the retreat of Bazaine was brought to an end. The 17th was passed by both armies in preparing for the decisive encounter. The German forces by great exertions were concentrated in their new position, and by the morning of the 18th Von Moltke had about 190,000 infantry, 24,000 cavalry, and over 600 pieces of artillery in readiness. Bazaine took up a strong position near Gravelotte, and strengthened his line by constructing a series of intrenchments and rifle pits. The French forces numbered 110,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry, and 260 pieces of cannon. On the 18th of August the great battle of Gravelotte was fought, and was one of the most gallantly contested fields of history. The French were defeated and driven back towards Metz, within the fortifications of which they took refuge. The Germans at once invested the fortress and shut up the French army within their encircling line, thus rendering it useless for the remainder of the campaign.

These brilliant successes far exceeded the most sanguine anticipations of the German leaders. They made sure the safety of Germany from invasion by the French, and carried dismay into France. They were won at a heavy cost, however. The Germans admitted a loss of 16,000 men in the battle of Mars le Tour or Vionville; and at Gravelotte the losses were so heavy that the Prussian government shrank from publishing the returns. The flower of the German army fell that day.

The defeat of Bazaine's army and the

investment of Metz left the forces of the | lons, where McMahon was assembling an
 Prussian crown prince free to resume their | army. A fourth army was formed of troops

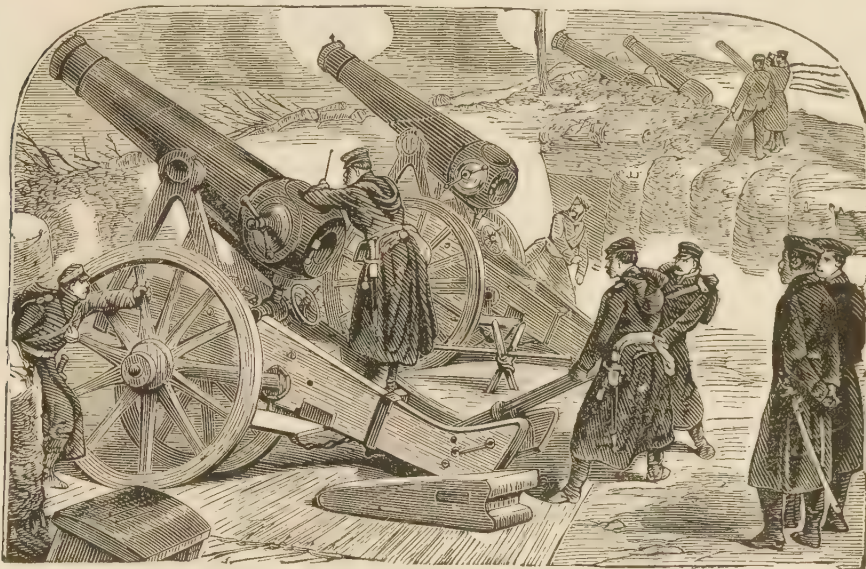


REJOICINGS AT BERLIN OVER THE GERMAN VICTORIES IN FRANCE.

advance. The prince was ordered to move | which had until now belonged to the sec-
 from Nancy, where he had awaited the | ond army, was placed under the Crown
 issue of the battles before Metz, upon Cha- | Prince of Saxony, and was called the army

of the Meuse. The Saxon crown prince was ordered to co-operate with Prince Frederick William in the movement upon Châlons, and the King of Prussia assumed the supreme command of the third and fourth armies, which moved steadily towards Châlons. They had gotten as far as Ligny, at which place the Prussian crown prince established his head-quarters, when news came that Marshal MacMahon had broken up his camp, had passed through Rheims, and was marching rapidly towards the Meuse. It was evident that he was seeking to relieve Bazaine at Metz, and the third and fourth German armies at once wheeled to the right, and hurried on in pursuit of

artillery was rapidly placed in position to cannonade the helpless mass gathered within the town. The bombardment was prevented by the surrender of the French army by General de Wimpffen, who had succeeded MacMahon, who had been severely wounded in the battle. The Emperor Napoleon III. had accompanied MacMahon's army, and now surrendered himself to the King of Prussia, and was assigned the Castle of Wilhelmshöhe, near Cassel, as a residence. By this surrender 84,000 men, 50 generals and 5,000 other officers became prisoners to the Germans, with all their artillery, arms, and stores. The officers, who gave their parole not to serve again during the war, were set



GERMAN SIEGE BATTERY BEFORE PARIS.

MacMahon. The French commander concentrated his army near Vouziers, and on the 28th of August moved towards the Meuse at Beaumont. On the 30th of August the French were attacked by the Germans near Beaumont and driven towards Sedan. The result of the German victory was that their army held the roads leading from the Meuse toward Metz. The effort of MacMahon to reach Metz was thus completely baffled, and Von Moltke now prepared to crush his army by a final blow. On the 1st of September the decisive battle of the campaign was fought before Sedan, and after a terrible struggle the French were driven into the town of Sedan, which the Germans at once surrounded. Their

at liberty, but the troops were sent to Germany as prisoners of war.

It was hoped in Germany that this disaster would bring the war to an end, but the German commanders did not share this hope, and as soon as the fruits of the victory at Sedan were secured, marched promptly upon Paris. The Government of the National Defence, which had succeeded the empire, would not consent to make peace upon the German terms, which were nothing less than the cession of Alsace and the German part of Lorraine, and the war went on. By the middle of September the Germans were in front of Paris, which was completely invested by them; the third army establishing itself on the south and

southeast of the city, while the fourth held the country on the north and northeast of Paris. On the 19th of September a French column under General Ducrot made a determined effort to prevent the investment, and on the 30th another attempt was made by General Vinoy. Both were unsuccessful. The Prussian crown prince established his head-quarters at Versailles, where, also, on the 5th of October, King William established his head-quarters. On the 13th and 21st of October the French made two determined but unsuccessful attempts to break through the German lines. Frequent encounters occurred between the opposing

October, Marshal Bazaine, who had made several vigorous but unsuccessful efforts to break through the German investment, surrendered his army and the fortress of Metz to Prince Frederick Charles. The force surrendered by him consisted of three marshals, 6,000 officers and 173,000 men. It was the most important capitulation in history. The first and second armies were left free by the surrender of Metz to take the field against the French in other quarters. The first army was placed under General von Manteuffel. A force was left behind to occupy Metz and hold Lorraine in subjection, and the remainder hastened towards



BOMBARDMENT OF STRASBURG.

forces, to the general disadvantage of the French.

The French now raised by extraordinary efforts a third force, called the army of the Loire, which it was hoped would compel the Germans to raise the siege of Paris. A fourth army was formed in the northern departments, under General Faidherbe, to co-operate with the army of the Loire.

The energy of M. Gambetta, who had escaped from Paris in a balloon, and had assumed dictatorial powers in the provinces, did not save France from fresh reverses. Strasburg, which had been besieged by the Baden troops since the battle of Wörth, surrendered on the 27th of September, and the ancient town passed once more into the hands of the Germans. On the 27th of

the northwest to attack the French under General Faidherbe. The second army, under Prince Frederick Charles, hastened to the Loire to the assistance of the Germans engaged in that quarter.

Before the fall of Metz the operations on the Loire had assumed a most important character. On the 12th of October General von der Tann occupied Orleans, after driving the French, under General La Motterouge, out of that city. On the 8th of November, being threatened by a greatly superior force of the French, Von der Tann withdrew from Orleans. On the 10th he was attacked by the army of the Loire, now under command of General De Paladines, and was defeated—the only victory gained by the French during the war. Von der

Tann fell back to Tournay, where he was joined by the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg with reinforcements sent from the army before Paris, to enable him to hold the French in check until the arrival of the second German army, now on its march from Metz. The grand duke won some successes over the French forces near Chartres, and a few days later Prince Frederick Charles arrived with his forces and assumed the general command.

General Trochu, the commander of the garrison of Paris, concerted a plan with General De Paladines to attempt a simultaneous movement for the relief of Paris. The army of the Loire was to attack and drive back the forces of Frederick Charles, and advance upon Paris by way of Fontainebleau. At the same time General Ducrot with a force of 60,000 picked troops was to cut his way from Paris through the German lines on the Marne, and unite with the army of the Loire. The success of these movements would compel the Germans to raise the siege of Paris. On the 28th of November the army of the Loire began its forward movement, and attacked the Prussian left at Beaune la Rolande. After a battle of six hours the French were forced to withdraw. Heavy skirmishing succeeded this battle, and on the 2d of December the French again attacked the German army, striking this time at their centre, but were forced back. On the morning of the 3d the Germans assumed the offensive, drove back the French line at all points, broke it into three separate parts, and forced each to retreat by a separate route, every step carrying them farther apart. On the 4th the German army reoccupied Orleans. The French army was now divided into two separate columns, one commanded by General Bourbaki, and the other by General Chanzy, who was given the chief command of the army of the Loire. The effort of Ducrot to break the investment of Paris was made in gallant style on the 29th and 30th of November, but was unsuccessful. The French were driven back at every point, and the German line was maintained intact.

The efforts of the Germans in the north of France were very successful. The towns and fortresses of that section were rapidly occupied by them. The French were defeated near Amiens on the 27th of November, and on the 28th Amiens was surrendered to General Manteuffel. After the recovery of Orleans by the Germans in December,

Manteuffel moved from the Somme towards the coast, and on the 5th of December defeated the French at Buchy, in consequence of which victory Rouen fell into his hands. On the 8th a German corps occupied Dieppe. While Manteuffel was thus engaged, General Faidherbe, having recruited his army, advanced rapidly towards Amiens to recover that city. Manteuffel by forced marches reached Amiens before him, and defeated him near that city on the 23d of December. He again defeated the French at Bapaume on the 2d and 3d of January, 1871. On the 19th of January General von Goeben, Manteuffel's successor, defeated Faidherbe at St. Quentin.

In the meantime Prince Frederick Charles had advanced against the army of the Loire, and had forced it back into Brittany. After several encounters, he inflicted upon it a severe defeat at Le Mans on the 11th of January, 1871.

The column which retreated from Orleans on the 3d of December under General Bourbaki halted at Bourges, where it was reinforced and organized as a separate army. On the 5th of January, 1871, Bourbaki, in accordance with orders from Gambetta, set out from the Loire to raise the siege of Belfort, on the eastern border of France. He reached the vicinity of Belfort on the 14th of January, but found the besieging force strengthened by the army of General Von Werder, who had succeeded in reaching Belfort ahead of him. In a series of engagements on the 15th and 16th of January Bourbaki attempted to force the German position, but was defeated, and forced to retreat. Manteuffel, who had been detached from his command in the north, now arrived, and took command of the German forces. He intercepted Bourbaki's retreat, and forced him to choose between surrendering his army and withdrawing into Switzerland. Bourbaki chose the latter, and crossed the Swiss border. His forces were at once disarmed by the Swiss authorities. His army consisted of 84,000 men.

Paris in the meantime had been hard pressed by the Germans, who, on the 21st of January, began to bombard the city. This bombardment was kept up steadily until the surrender of the city. The French made several desperate efforts to break up the investment, but their sorties were invariably repulsed. Hunger began to try the patience of the Parisians, and the Gov-

ernment of the National Defence was obliged to quell an insurrection in the city. The last sortie of the French was made on

the movement for the union of Germany had been revived in the Fatherland, and the successes of the German army had been



HOISTING OF THE GERMAN FLAG OVER MONT VALERIEN.

the 19th of January, and was repulsed, and on the 28th of January Paris was formally surrendered to the German army.

During the progress of the war in France so many appeals to the national sentiment in favor of this union. The glory achieved was the common gain of Germany, as were the more substantial results of the war.

Influenced by the feelings aroused by the struggle, the south German states came to desire a close union with the northern confederation. About the middle of October they sent plenipotentiaries to Versailles to give formal expression to their wishes. On the 15th of November treaties were signed with Hesse and Baden, with Bavaria on the 23d, and with Wurtemberg on the 25th of November, for the union of these states with the confederation. These treaties were approved by the North German Diet and the South German Parliaments, and the Northern Confederation was changed to a *German Confederation*. The union of the Fatherland was now an accomplished fact, and the rejoicings of the German people were deep and sincere. This event was soon followed by one of equal importance. On the 4th of December the King of Bavaria proposed to the other German sovereigns and to the free towns that the President of the Confederation should receive the title of German Emperor. This proposal was agreed to, and the imperial crown was formally offered to the King of Prussia, and

February, 1871, by Count Bismarck and the south German plenipotentiaries, in behalf of Germany, and by MM. Thiers and Favre, on the part of France. By the terms thus agreed upon France ceded to the German empire the province of Alsace, with the exception of Belfort, and the German part of Lorraine, including Metz and Thionville; and agreed to pay Germany



WILLIAM I., EMPEROR OF GERMANY.

accepted by him. On the 18th of January, 1871, in the presence of a brilliant assembly of German princes and officers of the army, held in the Hall of Mirrors in the Palace of Versailles, King William was solemnly proclaimed Emperor in Germany.

The surrender of Paris closed the war. It was followed by an armistice of three weeks, during which the French people organized a government competent to conclude a permanent peace. The preliminaries of peace were signed on the 26th of

the sum of 5,000,000,000 francs as an indemnity for the expenses of the war.

On the 1st of March a portion of the German army entered Paris, and occupied a small part of it. On the 3d they evacuated the city. The preliminary treaty of peace being ratified by the French National Assembly at Bordeaux, the German troops were withdrawn to the frontier departments placed in their possession as security for the execution of the treaty, and the war was over. A final treaty of peace was con-

cluded at Frankfort by Count Bismarck and M. Favre, on the 10th of May. It was substantially the same as the preliminary treaty. The results of the war made Germany the first military power in Europe.

The emperor left Versailles for his own country soon after the close of hostilities, and on the 17th of March made his triumphal entry into Berlin, where he was received with enthusiasm.

On the 21st of March the first diet of the new empire met at Berlin. It at once set to work to make such changes in the German constitution as were demanded by the creation of the empire. This task was completed in about a month. The new constitution is substantially that of the German

ness of the state. The imperial chancellor is also the minister for foreign affairs. Though important privileges were reserved by the states in establishing the empire, there would seem to be little doubt that the tendency of affairs is to weaken these privileges and strengthen the power of the imperial government.

During the year 1871 the work of organizing the German empire was completed without difficulty or interruption. The large payments exacted from France enabled the government to meet its financial needs without imposing new taxes. Count Bismarck was raised to the rank of prince, and was appointed by the emperor chancellor of the empire, and to his energetic



ENTRY OF THE GERMAN ARMY INTO PARIS.

Confederation. The empire consists of twenty-five states, including the three free cities. Each state is left free to manage its domestic affairs, and may receive and send diplomatic representatives. Matters affecting the general welfare of the states are under the exclusive control of the imperial government; and the imperial diet is charged with legislation upon all such questions. The executive power is intrusted to the emperor, who has the right to form alliances, conclude treaties, declare war, and make peace. He is represented in the diet by the imperial chancellor, whom he appoints, and who presides over the federal council, and directs the busi-

ness of the state. The imperial chancellor is also the minister for foreign affairs. Though important privileges were reserved by the states in establishing the empire, there would seem to be little doubt that the tendency of affairs is to weaken these privileges and strengthen the power of the imperial government.

One of the most remarkable events of the year was the sudden and bitter opposition of the mass of the Roman Catholic clergy to the unity of Germany under the supremacy of Prussia. This hostility was in some way connected with the new dogma of papal infallibility. During the sessions of the Vatican Council the German bishops had been most active in their hostility to the doctrine, but immediately upon its promulgation accepted it without hesitation, and commanded their followers to do likewise. About the same time they began an open opposition to the empire, and from



WILLIAM II, Emperor of Germany.

their pulpits denounced it in such seditious language that the imperial government was compelled to take severe measures against them. A bill was passed by the diet prescribing severe punishments for seditious language uttered in the pulpit. Only the gravest reasons of expediency induced the German government to depart from the policy of religious toleration.

In September, 1872, the Emperor of Austria visited the German emperor at Berlin, and was cordially received, and in 1873 the Emperor William and the King of Italy visited Vienna. These visits were significant of the fact that Austria had accepted in good faith the changes in Germany and Italy, and was determined to take her place and do her duty honestly in the new arrangement of European affairs.

Recent events in Germany show that the public policy includes internal improvements, the extension of education, the elevation of the working classes, the strengthening of the army, more than prominent interference in foreign affairs. The socialistic element has been dealt with vigorously, the unity of the empire has been fortified by safeguards of law and sentiment, the functions and spheres of church and state have been more clearly defined, and the influence of the nation in European affairs has been fully sustained.

Emperor William I. died on March 9th, 1888. On the 22d of March, 1887, his 90th birthday was celebrated throughout the empire with imposing ceremonies, and he was the recipient of hearty congratulations from all classes of his subjects, including private individuals, and commercial, civil and military bodies. During his long and eventful public career he was one of the most conspicuous rulers in Europe, wise and sagacious, firm and resolute, possessed of the skill of the diplomat, the courage of the hero, the simplicity of character which levels distinctions between royalty and the common people, the parental concern for his subjects which strongly attached them to his person and reign, and that broad catholicity of sentiment and action which is at once the distinguishing trait of the enlightened ruler and the safeguard of his throne. Few monarchs have attained his age, and few could ever boast of a reign so benign and prosperous. When, at length, he "fell on sleep," the nation gave unmistakable sign of its sorrow and its deep sense of the loss

it had sustained. Berlin was draped in black, and emblems of mourning everywhere gave impressive evidence that a calamity had fallen upon the nation. Amidst testimonies of profoundest respect from the rulers of the globe, and eulogies of the virtues by which he was distinguished, he was laid to rest with his royal ancestors. The accident of being born to wear a crown does not render one kingly; happily in the case of William I. the crown befitted the man.

Emperor William I. was succeeded by his son, Frederick III., whose reign was one of the shortest recorded in history. He



EMPEROR WILLIAM II.

signalized his accession to the throne by proclaiming amnesty for certain political offences, and entered upon a policy no less enlightened and promising than that which had characterized his illustrious father. A marriage had been proposed between Prince Alexander of Battenberg and Princess Victoria of Prussia. This, for diplomatic reasons, was violently opposed by Prince Bismarck, who was never in the habit of opposing in any mild manner whatever incurred his displeasure. The project of the marriage was finally dropped, and Bismarck withdrew his resignation, which, during the controversy, had been placed in the hands of the emperor.

Frederick III., styled "the noble," was born October 18th, 1831, and married Victoria, the princess-royal of England,

January 25th, 1858. His career as emperor was terminated by an illness of which he was the victim before his accession. He died June 15th, 1888, having reigned but a little more than three months.

The young Emperor William II. stepped upon the throne with sword in hand. William II. is the elder son of the late Emperor Frederick III., and was born on the 27th day of January, 1859. He has been most carefully prepared for his high station. In all but years and experience at the helm of the state he is every inch a king. He and his younger brother Henry were sent to the Latin school at Cassel, and were in the same classes and sat on the same benches filled by the sons of the common people. He was a close student, and was graduated with his class. From the gymnasium he went to the University of Bonn, where he was put through a thorough course, and was particularly strong in constitutional law and political economy.

The whole story of this young man, his characteristics and his career, do not offer to Europe a very promising nor peaceful picture. William is, besides, popular with the army, a hard worker, and was a favorite pupil of Field-marshal Von Moltke. In the year 1881 he was married to the lovely Princess Victoria Augusta, daughter of the Grand Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, by whom he has several children. His eldest son, William, the present Crown-Prince and heir apparent to the German throne, was born in 1882.

Prince Bismarck and his sons, Herbert and William, resigned their positions under the government March 17th, 1890, and two days later Von Caprivi was appointed as Bismarck's successor. Early in July, 1891, Emperor William visited London, received the "freedom of the city," and was given an enthusiastic reception, which was intended to strengthen the bonds of peace and good will already existing between Germany and England.

BOOK XIX.

THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE TREATY OF VERDUN.

Geographical Position of France—Ancient Gaul—The Cimri—The Belgæ—The Phœnician Colonies—The Greek Towns—The Gauls Cross the Alps—Destruction of Rome—Gallia Cisalpina—The Romans in Gaul—Aix Founded—Narbonne—Quarrel Between the Ædui and Sequani—Ariovistus Seizes a Part of Gaul—Julius Cæsar Made Proconsul of Gaul—He Defeats Ariovistus—Conquers Gaul—Revolt of the Belgæ—It is Suppressed by Cæsar—Uprising of the Gauls—Vercingetorix—He is Beaten by Cæsar and Surrenders—Gaul Tranquillized by Cæsar—Lyons Made the Capital—Gaul Under the Romans—The Institutions of Primitive Gaul—The Druids—Claudius Drives the Druids from Gaul—Revolt of Civilis—Sabinus—Introduction of Christianity into Gaul—Persecutions of the Christians—St. Denis—St. Hillary—State of Gaul During the Decline of the Roman Empire—Constantine Protects the Christians—The Germans Invited into Gaul—Julian Conquers them—The Great German Invasion—The Visigothic Kingdom—The Burgundians—The Franks—Kingdom of Aëtius—Invasion of the Huns—Battle of Chalons—St. Genéviève—Childeric—Situation of Gaul at the Fall of the Roman Empire—The Franks—Clovis Becomes King of the Franks—Reasons for Transferring the Narrative to the History of Germany—Gaul a German State.

MODERN France comprises the largest part of the region known by the Romans as Gallia Transalpina.

At some unknown period of antiquity this region was colonized by the Gauls, a tribe of warriors of Celtic descent, who are believed to have migrated from central Asia. They took possession of the wide region extending from the Rhine to the Atlantic and from the Mediterranean to the North Sea. From them this country acquired the name of Galltacht or Gaul. Somewhat later, the Cimri, another great Celtic race, invaded western Europe—perhaps about the middle of the seventh century before the Christian era. They entered Gaul from the northeast, and after a prolonged and desperate struggle with their Gallic kinsmen, obtained final possession of a large extent of country north of the Loire, including the peninsula of Armorica. Another Celtic nation, the Belgæ, took possession of the region east of the Rhine. There they were thrown into constant contact with the Germans, and

came to resemble them very much in manners and character. About two hundred years after the invasion of the Cimri, the Belgæ crossed the Rhine and conquered northern Gaul. Being of the same race as the Gauls already settled there, the Belgæ easily assimilated with them in course of time; but still retained many of their German characteristics. They gave to their country the name of Belgica. These nations constituted the inhabitants of ancient Gaul.

At a very early period the Phœnicians established colonies on the Mediterranean coast of Gaul, and are believed to have been the first to open and work the mines of the Cevennes. Later on they were supplanted by the Greeks, who became possessed of their colonies, founded others, and introduced into all the superior civilization of Hellas. About the year B. C. 600 some Greek refugees from Phocæa, in Asia Minor, founded the city of Marseilles. Antibes, Nice, Agde, and some other towns, all owe their existence to the Greeks. These people were content with their colonies and did not seek to extend their influence into the interior of Gaul.

The Gauls, who were driven from their possessions by the Cimri, emigrated into the adjoining countries. They twice crossed the Alps and overran northern Italy, and a portion passed the Pyrenees, entered Spain and became mixed with the Iberians of that country, from which they took the name of Celtiberi. About B. C. 390 the Senonian Gauls (Senones) passed the Apennines, and advanced upon Rome. They defeated the Roman army upon the Allia, captured Rome, and burned it, as we have related elsewhere. They were induced to withdraw only upon the payment of a costly ransom.

The Gauls now established themselves permanently in northern Italy, and were a constant terror to Rome until the victories of the Consul Decius, in B. C. 295, of L. Æmilius and Atilius, in B. C. 284, and of Claudius Marcellus, in B. C. 223, broke their power. After a long struggle all the Italian possessions of the Gauls were conquered by Rome, and northern Italy was organized as a Roman province under the title of Gallia Cisalpina. The Alps were thus constituted the boundary between the free Gauls and Rome, about B. C. 191.

Half a century passed away, and Rome began to cast longing eyes at the Gallic possessions beyond the Alps. The Greek

colony of Massilia or Marseilles, being at war with the neighboring Gauls, appealed to Rome for aid, and a powerful army was despatched to its aid under the Consul Opimius, B. C. 154. The Gauls were defeated by the Romans and became tributary subjects to Marseilles. Some years later the Romans defeated the Salyes on the lower Rhone; took formal possession of the conquered territory, and established their first colony in Gaul by founding the city of Aquæ Sextiæ, or Aix, in Provence, B. C. 123. From this point the Romans extended their conquests rapidly, and in B. C. 121 organized their possessions in Gaul as a province, their dominions corresponding very nearly with the modern Dauphiné and Provence. In B. C. 118 the colony of Narbo Martius, or Narbonne, was founded, and became the Roman capital of southern Gaul. The province acquired from this city the name of Gallia Narbonensis, and extended from the Garonne and the Pyrenees to the Alps and the borders of Italy.

Towards the middle of the first century before the Christian era, two Gallic tribes, the Ædui, inhabiting the region afterwards known as Burgundy, and the Sequani, occupying upper Alsace, became involved in war. The Sequani appealed to the Germans, who dwelt beyond the Rhine, for aid. A vast German army, under Ariovistus, crossed the Rhine and defeated the Ædui. The German leader then demanded of the Sequani the cession of the third part of their lands as the price of his aid. The Sequani refused, and united with their former enemies to drive out the Germans. Ariovistus defeated the combined tribes in a great battle, in B. C. 60, and at once occupied their territory, pushing his advance up to the very frontier of the Roman province. Gaul had ceased to be independent, and the only question to be decided now was whether it should be the prize of the Germans or the Romans. The latter had watched the progress of Ariovistus with open impatience, as they had for some time seriously contemplated the conquest of the whole of Gaul.

Gallia Cisalpina and Gallia Narbonensis were ruled at this time by Julius Cæsar as Proconsul, B. C. 58. He had foreseen the approaching contest with the Germans, and had quietly prepared for it. The Germans soon gave Rome a valid ground for war by making incursions into eastern Gaul. Cæsar sent a message to Ariovistus, and informed

him that if he wished to live on terms of peace with Rome, he must confine himself strictly to the right bank of the Rhine. The German leader haughtily answered that he held his province in Gaul by the same right by which Rome held hers, and defied Cæsar to meet him in the field. Upon receipt of this message, Cæsar at once marched against Ariovistus and inflicted a terrible defeat upon him in the plains of Alsace. The German army was routed with a loss of over 50,000 men, and the survivors fled in dismay over the Rhine. A little later Ariovistus died from rage and shame at his defeat.

This defeat destroyed the German power in Gaul, and Cæsar at once prepared to add that country to the Roman dominions. In B. c. 57 the tribes of northern Gaul formed a league against the Romans, and took the field with an army of over 300,000 men. The Remi alone refused to join the confederation and made an alliance with Cæsar. In the campaign which ensued Cæsar conquered the greater part of the regions known in modern times as Normandy and Brittany. The next year the whole of Armorica or Brittany was subdued, and in the same year Crassus, one of Cæsar's lieutenants, compelled the submission of nearly all the Aquitanian tribes, who dwelt south of the Garonne.

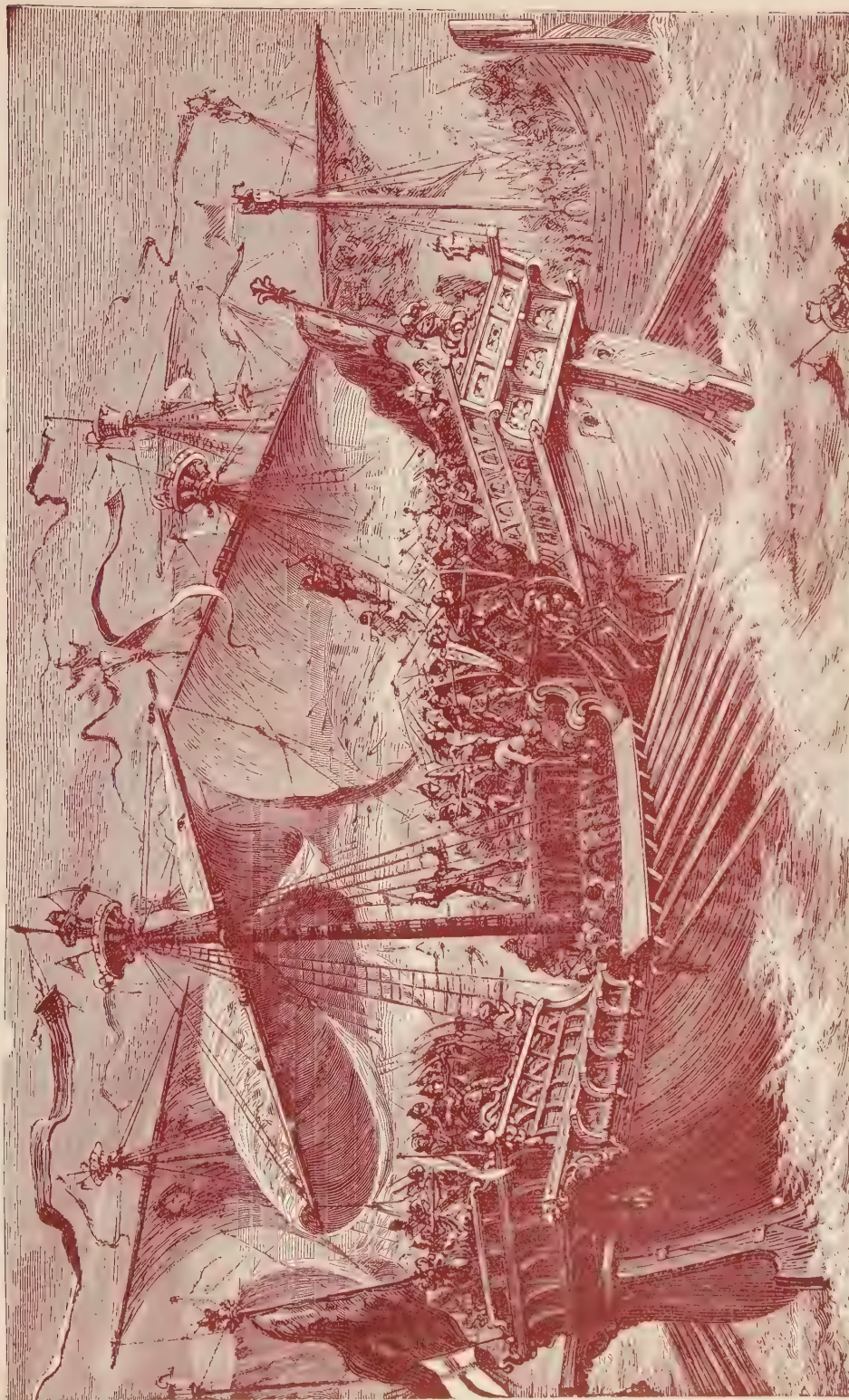
In B. c. 55, during the absence of Cæsar in Brittany, the Eburones, a Belgic tribe, dwelling on the banks of the Meuse, rose in insurrection, massacred one of the Roman legions stationed among them, and besieged another, under Q. Cicero, in its camp. Cæsar returned to Gaul as soon as informed of the danger, and with a force of but 7,000 men cut a passage through the Belgæ into the camp of Cicero. In the spring of B. c. 53 the Romans subdued the Eburones, utterly exterminated them, and compelled Ambiorix, their leader, to seek safety in the difficult region of the Ardennes.

The next year, B. c. 52, the Gauls rose in general revolt against the Romans. They were led by Vercingetorix, a young man of noble birth and commanding influence among the Arverni, and who was destined to prove himself a commander of unusual merit. He arranged the outbreak with great secrecy, and summoned the Gauls to meet him at Gergovia, the chief town of the Arverni. An immense army gathered there at the appointed time, and the troops, with cheers, hailed Vercingetorix as their

commander. It was in the winter, and Vercingetorix supposed that the Romans would not be able to take the field against him until the spring.

Cæsar was in Italy when he received the news of the uprising of the Gauls. He at once set out for Gaul and reached it in an almost incredibly short time. Disregarding the severities of the winter, he collected his troops, marched into the country of the Arverni, and ravaged it far and wide. Avaricum (Bourges) was taken after a memorable siege, in spite of the efforts of Vercingetorix to relieve it, and nearly the whole of its 40,000 inhabitants were put to the sword. Vercingetorix retreated to Gergovia, a place of great strength, and repulsed the attack of Cæsar upon the town. The Romans were obliged to raise the siege and retire northward. Vercingetorix followed in pursuit, and came up with Cæsar near Dijon. A bloody battle ensued, in which the Gallic leader was beaten. He threw himself into the strongly fortified town of Alesia, in the country of Mandubii, which was at once besieged by the Romans. The position was so strong that Cæsar determined not to risk an assault upon it, but to reduce it by a blockade, and erected works of circumvallation on an enormous scale. Vercingetorix thereupon dismissed his entire force of cavalry, with orders to appeal to the Gauls to join him in a final effort to secure the independence of their country. In answer to this appeal an army of nearly 250,000 men assembled under Vergasillaunus, and attempted to force Cæsar to raise the siege of Alesia. Cæsar defeated the relieving army of the Gauls in three engagements, scattered it, never to be reunited, and took Vergasillaunus prisoner. These successes sealed the fate of Alesia. Seeing that a capitulation was inevitable, Vercingetorix, arrayed in his best armor and mounted on a superbly caparisoned charger, rode into the Roman lines the day after the last battle, and presenting himself before Cæsar, cast his arms at the conqueror's feet in token of his submission. He was kept a prisoner for several years, and then, having graced the triumph of Cæsar at Rome, was put to death in his dungeon. The fall of Alesia really settled the fate of Gaul, but it was some time before the entire country was reduced to submission.

Having conquered Gaul, Cæsar proceeded to organize it as a Roman province. He



DEFEAT OF THE FRENCH FLEET OFF HELIGOLAND

treated the natives kindly, and as far as was consistent with the establishment of Roman institutions among them, permitted army, in which they constituted the legion of the "Alauda," so called from the figure of a lark on the front of the helmet. These



VERCINGETORIX SURRENDERS TO CÆSAR.

them to retain the privileges of local government. He induced the best of the conquered warriors to enlist in the Roman troops were given the privileges of Roman citizens. The Gauls of Belgium and Aquitania also enlisted in large numbers in the

Roman army, and greatly distinguished themselves in the subsequent civil wars. The conquests of Cæsar were erected into a Roman province, to which the name of Gallia Comata was given.

Upon the establishment of the Roman empire by Augustus, Gaul was made an imperial province; that is, it was placed under the immediate government of the emperor. It was divided into four great administrative districts. These were Gallia Narbonensis, in which no change was made; Aquitania, which was enlarged, and extended from the Loire to the Pyrenees and the Cevennes; Gallia Lugdunensis, which reached from the Loire to the Rhone and the Saone, and northward to rivers Oise, Somme, and Marne; and Gallia Belgica, which embraced all northern Gaul as far as the Rhine, and extended along that river almost to the Lake of Constance.

The seat of government was fixed at Lugdunum or Lyons. This city, founded in B. C. 42, grew with remarkable rapidity, and within fifteen years became the most flourishing town in Gaul. It was always a favorite residence of the Roman emperors. Four well-built roads extended from Lyons to the various parts of the province. Every effort was made to Romanize the Gauls and attach them to the empire, as well as to destroy all their old ties and associations. They were well treated, and the privileges of Roman citizenship were liberally, though judiciously, extended to them. Civilization made rapid strides throughout the province. Flourishing schools were established at Bordeaux, Toulouse, Arles, Vienne, Autun, Rheims, and other cities, and those of Arles and Autun in time became so famous as to be counted worthy rivals of the most celebrated academies of Greece and Italy. The Gauls eagerly sought the benefits of education, and ere long natives of the country were to be found in all the branches of the Roman service. The cities founded by the Romans, especially in the south of Gaul, were adorned with handsome buildings and noble public works, of which the Pont du Gard, the triumphal arch and theatre at Orange, and the amphitheatre and the "Maison Carrée" at Nîmes, are notable examples. By the middle of the first Christian century Gaul was thoroughly imbued with the civilization of Rome, and was making great advances in it yearly.

The change thus accomplished was great indeed. The primitive Gauls had main-

tained an aristocratic or oligarchical form of government, the most remarkable feature of which was the extraordinary power of the Druids. Cæsar informs us that in his time the whole political power of Gaul was divided between the Druids and the knights or nobles. The mass of the people were serfs or slaves. They could not be bought or sold, and ill-treatment of them was punished by a fine, but in all other respects they were completely in the hands of the nobles. Each noble was surrounded by a number of them, who constituted a special class of retainers, whom he was bound to protect against all persons; the retainers on their part were obliged to defend his person and maintain his interests with absolute devotion. The noble supported them, and they readily shared all his dangers. If he fell in battle, or was killed, it was the duty of his clients to sacrifice themselves on his tomb, that they might share his fate in the future life. It is said that no instance was ever known of an attempt to evade this obligation.

The Druids stood at the head of the Celtic religious organization. They were divided into the inferior priests; the bards, who were supposed to be divinely inspired, and whose influence over the people was immense; and the Druids proper. The last class were exempted from all civil and military obligations, and passed their lives in the solitudes of the forests, engaged in theological and metaphysical studies and meditations. They taught, says Cæsar, "that souls do not perish, but pass after death into other bodies; considering this as a most powerful stimulus to bravery and courage, since it tends to remove altogether the fear of death." A solemn conclave of the Druids was held every year at a sacred place in the country of the Carnutes. This assembly constituted also a high court of appeal. Causes of all kinds were brought before it. Those who refused to accept its decisions were excluded by it from the sacrifices—a punishment much dreaded by the Gauls, as it banished the offender from the society of his people and incapacitated him for any public function. The Druids were not only ministers of religion and judges of the law; they were the physicians of the people, philosophers, professors of such of the arts and sciences as were known to the Celts, poets, genealogists, and historians. They monopolized all the culture and intellectual power of their race, and

their influence over their people followed as a natural result.

The religious rites of the Druids were often cruel and bloody. Human beings were frequently sacrificed in order to gain the favor of the gods, or to avert the death or illness of some individual; it being believed that the gods required a human life for every life granted. Sometimes a huge frame of wicker, made in the shape of a man, was filled with human beings—generally condemned criminals or captives taken in war—and was set on fire, the wretched beings perishing in the flames.

Augustus did not attempt to persecute or proscribe the Druidical religion in Gaul, but he spared no pains to undermine it and draw the Gauls from it. He refused the privileges of Roman citizenship to all who took part in the ancient worship, and especially in the human sacrifices, and endeavored to combine the old worship with that of the gods of Rome in such a manner as to make the latter supplant the former. He was very successful, and in the course of a few years almost the entire nobility and the more influential classes abandoned Druidism. It still retained its hold upon the lower classes, but it ceased from this time to influence the course of affairs in Gaul. The Emperor Claudius determined to strike a death-blow at the old faith, and in A. D. 43 issued a decree forbidding the Druidical worship under pain of death, and banishing all classes of the Druids from Gaul. They fled to Britain; but the vengeance of the emperor pursued them, and they took refuge in the mountains of Wales and Scotland. Their chief stronghold in the isle of Anglesey was taken with terrible slaughter by the Roman general Suetonius Paulinus.

The general tranquillity which pervaded Gaul was broken in A. D. 69 by an insurrection of the tribes of Belgic Gaul, led by Claudius Civilis. He proclaimed the "Empire of the Gauls," and set up Julius Sabinus, who claimed descent from Julius Cæsar, as emperor. After some reverses, the Romans put down the outbreak. Civilis submitted, together with his people, and they were granted amnesty. Sabinus escaped, and, with his wife Eponina, took refuge in a subterranean cavern. They remained in concealment there for nine years, but were at length discovered. Sabinus was loaded with chains and taken to Rome, where he was put to death. His heroic

wife demanded to share his fate, and was executed with him.

This was the last effort of the Gauls to regain their freedom. A long period of unbroken tranquillity followed, during which the province made great advances in refinement and luxury. The national character suffered, and the Gauls became as indolent and apathetic as they had been fierce and restless in their primitive days.

At some time during this period the Christian religion was introduced into Gaul. The exact date of this event is not known. Some writers hold that St. Paul, in his journey into Spain, passed through Gaul and sowed the first seeds of Christianity there; others place its introduction at a later period. The first definite information we have on the subject is the arrival in Gaul, about A. D. 155, of a band of Christian missionaries from Asia Minor, led by Pothinus and Irenæus, disciples of St. Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna. They were very successful in their labors, and planted the church firmly upon the soil of Gaul. Twenty years later Marcus Aurelius inaugurated a cruel persecution of the Gallic Christians, and in A. D. 202 Septimius Severus renewed the persecution in a still more cruel form. These trials did not destroy the new faith; but, as elsewhere, the constancy of the martyrs proved the means of spreading Christianity. About A. D. 250, Fabian, Bishop of Rome, despatched a band of missionaries to Gaul. They were led by Dionysius, better known as St. Denis, Saturninus, Stremonius, Martialis, Trophimus, Gratian, and Paul, who founded the sees of Paris, Toulouse, Clermont, Limoges, Arles, Tours, and Narbonne. Nearly all these bishops suffered martyrdom during the reigns of Valerian and Diocletian, but their work was taken up and carried on by faithful successors, and from their time we may date the permanent Christianization of Gaul. By the opening of the fourth century the church was firmly established in all the principal cities of the province. During the fourth century St. Hillary, Bishop of Poitiers, successfully combated the Arian heresy and prevented it from spreading over Europe; and St. Martin, Bishop of Tours, established the monastic system in Gaul. The Christian religion spread steadily throughout the province, in spite of the efforts of the emperors to destroy it, and when Constantine came to

the throne was already rapidly becoming the predominant faith of Gaul.

Gaul fell into a sad state of disorganization and suffering during the period of the decline of the empire. A formidable insurrection of the peasants occurred during the reigns of the Emperors Maximian and Diocletian. In the rearrangement of the empire, in A. D. 292, Gaul was divided into seventeen provinces, and made part of a prætorian prefecture. The administration of Gaul was confided to the Cæsar Constantius Chlorus, who fixed his head-quarters at Arles. He was mainly occupied in the effort to defend the Rhine frontier against the constant efforts of the Germans to pass

With their aid Constantius conquered his rival; but when the struggle was over, the German allies of the emperor refused to return to their own country, and the frontier provinces were given up to them. The Salian Franks seized the isle of Battavia and the larger part of Brabant and Hainault. They ravaged the country with fire and sword, and sacked and burned to the ground Trèves, Cologne, Mayence, Worms, Spires, Strasburg, and thirty-four other flourishing cities of Gaul. Constantius despatched an army to the relief of Gaul, under his cousin Julian, in the beginning of A. D. 356. Julian defeated the Germans at Cologne, Sens, and Strasburg, drove



BOULEVARD SÉBASTOPOL, PARIS, SHOWING THE RUINS OF THE PALACE OF THE EMPEROR JULIAN.

it. He was succeeded by his son Constantine the Great, who defeated a formidable horde of Franks who were ravaging the northeastern provinces, and drove them back into Germany, A. D. 310. Like his father, Constantine protected the Christians, and when he became sole Emperor of Rome established Christianity as the religion of the empire.

The death of Constantine was followed, as we have seen, by a struggle between his successors, which resulted in the triumph of Constantius. In this war both Constantius and his rival Magnentius sought the assistance of the Germans beyond the Rhine.

them over the Rhine, and compelled them to sue for peace. Julian then returned to Paris, which he made his favorite residence. He enlarged and improved the city, and built him a palace on the left bank of the Seine, the ruins of which still exist. While residing here he was proclaimed Augustus, or emperor, by the army, in A. D. 360.

Upon the death of Julian the Germans whom he had defeated reappeared on the Rhine, and in order to gain any advantage over them the emperors were obliged to employ the services of barbarian mercenaries. The division of the empire under Arcadius and Honorius greatly weakened

it and encouraged the Germans to a corresponding degree. They increased their pressure upon the Rhine frontier, and in A. D. 398, Trèves, the capital of Gaul, was surprised, sacked, and destroyed by them. Honorius sent an army against them under the great Stilicho, but this able general could do no more than hold back the tide of invasion for a while. The savage hordes of Asia were moving in an irresistible torrent into northern Europe, and the nations of that region were being pressed steadily upon the Roman empire. Yielding to this pressure, the Germans marched upon the frontiers of Gaul. Their way was impeded by their kinsmen, the Ripuarian Franks, who, as we have seen elsewhere, were the allies of Rome. They remained faithful to their alliance, and sought to defend the Rhine frontier, but were decisively defeated. On the night of the 31st of December, 406, the Germans passed the Rhine and swarmed into Gaul. They were followed from time to time by other tribes, and the invaders spread themselves over a large part of Gaul, which they held permanently.

When the Roman legions in Britain heard of the irruption of the Germans into Gaul, they threw off their allegiance to the feeble Honorius, and set up as emperor an adventurer named Constantine. He had a considerable following, and gained the assistance of the Burgundians and Franks by confirming them in the possession of the lands they had seized in Gaul. With their aid Constantine made himself master of southern and central Gaul, and routed an army sent against him from Italy by Honorius. He next invaded Spain, and won some successes, but after a reign of three years his good fortune deserted him, and he was defeated and compelled to surrender to the forces of Honorius. He was promised his life, but Honorius did not scruple to violate his pledge, and Constantine was put to death, A. D. 411.

The fall of Constantine was followed by a period of confusion and anarchy, the history of which is almost unknown. During this period three powerful German nations planted themselves firmly in Gaul. These were the Visigoths in the south, the Burgundians in the east, and the Franks in the north and west.

Alaric, the King of the Visigoths, died in A. D. 410, after the sack of Rome, and during the invasion of Italy. He was succeeded by his brother-in-law Adolphus, or

Ataulphus. He had married Placidia, the sister of Honorius, who had been taken prisoner by Alaric. As a means of inducing the Goths to quit Italy, Honorius conferred upon Adolphus the southern provinces of Gaul. The Visigoths at once crossed the Alps, and defeating the last of the pretenders who had followed Constantine, subdued and took possession of the country assigned them. In 418 a new treaty was made with Honorius, by which the limits of the Visigothic kingdom were clearly defined. It embraced the whole of the Roman Aquitania. Adolphus was assassinated in A. D. 415, but transmitted his kingdom intact to his successors.

The Burgundians came into Gaul at the time of the great invasion in 406. They took possession of Alsace; and, somewhat later, were given by Honorius the province of Gallia Sequanensis as a reward for defeating and slaying the pretender Jovinus. They gained some other territory, and their kingdom extended from the Lake of Geneva as far as Coblenz on the Rhine. The Rhone and the Allier separated them from the Visigoths on the east, and the Mediterranean formed their southern border. Lyons, Geneva, Basle, Autun, and Langres were their principal cities. The kingdom of Burgundy, thus formed, existed for more than a century, and was finally absorbed by the empire of Charlemagne.

Both the Visigoths and Burgundians were Christians at the time of their settlement in Gaul. They had adopted the Arian heresy, however.

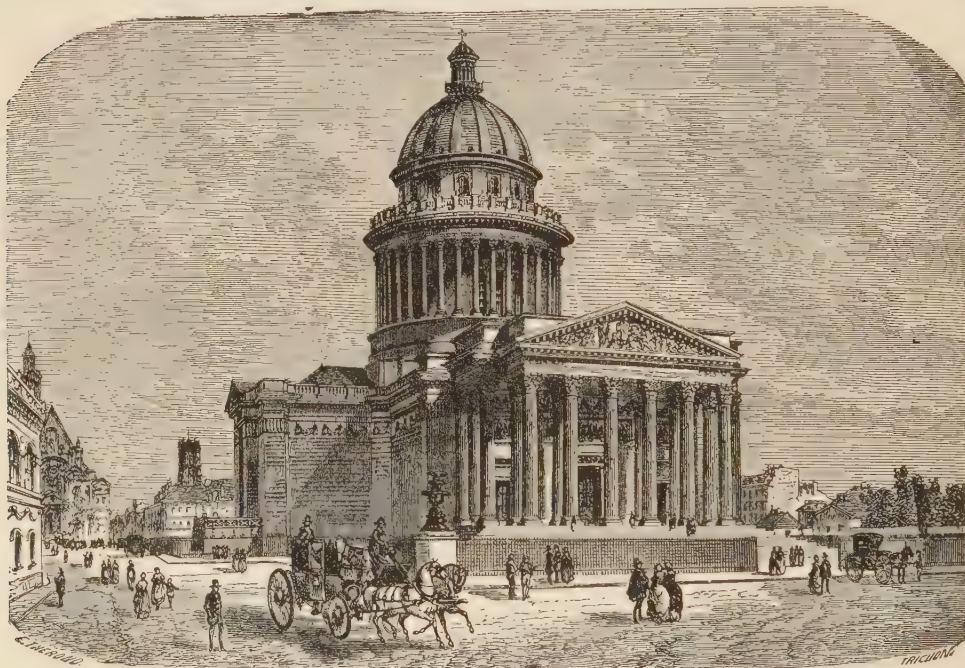
The Franks, as we have seen in our account of them in the history of Germany, passed the lower Rhine, and occupied the country between that river, the Scheldt, and the Ardennes Mountains. By degrees they made themselves masters of nearly the whole of Belgium, and finally pushed their conquests as far as the Somme. In A. D. 413 they captured and plundered for the fourth time the Roman capital of Trèves, and somewhat later seized Cologne and the whole region between the Rhine and the Meuse. As we have seen, the Franks comprised a confederation of a number of kindred tribes, the chief of which were the Salians, or Sali, the Ripuarii, the Sicambri, the Bracteri, and the Chamavi. They gave their name at an early day to the region held by them; it was called Francia, or the land of the Franks. By degrees, as we have seen, the Salian Franks became the

predominant tribe, and founded the kingdom of the Franks.

During the reign of Valentinian III. the imperial general Aëtius undertook to restore the Roman authority in Gaul. He won some signal successes over the Visigoths, the Burgundians, and the Salian Franks, and seemed on the point of realizing his designs. His progress was checked by the sudden appearance of the Huns under Attila in Gaul. The Huns crossed the Rhine in February, 451, and ravaged the country as they advanced. Metz was taken by storm and destroyed, and the barbarians

Chlodio. The battle of Chalons and its results have been related elsewhere, and we need not repeat the narrative here.

During the reigns of Avitus and Majorian, Gaul was governed by the patrician Ægidius, whose high qualities won him the admiration of the Franks. These deposed their king, Childeric, and elected Ægidius to their throne. Eight years later Childeric was recalled from his exile by his people, and a war broke out between the Franks and Ægidius. The Franks regained all the territory of which they had been deprived by Aëtius, drove the Romans from Paris,



CHURCH OF SAINTE-GENÈVIÈVE (THE PANTHÉON), PARIS.

moved westward towards Paris. The people of that city were on the point of flying from it in terror when their courage was revived by a peasant girl named Genoveva, who declared to them in the name of heaven that the barbarians should not come within sight of the walls. Attila verified her prediction by turning aside from Paris towards the Marne. The grateful Parisians have, in all subsequent ages, honored Genoveva under the name of St. Genéviève as the patron saint and protectress of their city.

Attila moved towards Chalons, whither he was followed by Aëtius, whose ranks had been reinforced by the Visigoths under their king, Theodoric, and the Franks under

and forced them back to the Loire. Ægidius died in 465, and was succeeded by his son Syagrius, who made Soissons his capital, and reigned over the districts of the Oise, the Somme, the Marne, and the Aisne. During the reign of Syagrius, the Western empire fell, never to be re-established. The Eastern Emperor Zeno acknowledged the royal title of Odoacer, the Gothic King of Italy, and entirely abandoned all effort to retain Gaul as a part of the imperial dominions.

"It was impossible to foresee which of the several powers among which Gaul was then divided, or whether any of them, would ultimately obtain the dominion of

the country. At first sight the chances seemed in favor of the Visigoths, whose monarchy, now reaching to the banks of the Loire, comprised at least a third part of Gaul, while toward the south it stretched beyond the Pyrenees, into the heart of Spain. But there was one great obstacle to the complete establishment of the power of the Visigoths in Gaul; they professed an heretical form of Christianity—they were Arians, while the mass of the Gallo-Roman population was firmly attached to the primitive Catholic faith. This difference of belief engendered among the orthodox bishops and clergy a deep aversion to the Visigothic rule, and the influence of the priesthood being then predominant, it was evident that the final arbitration lay mainly in their hands. Amid the general decomposition of the ancient social system, the lower orders had learned to look up to the church as their most powerful defender; it was the bishop who administered justice, redressed grievances, appeased tumults, sheltered the fugitive in the asylum of his palace, and alleviated by his charity the miseries of war. An authority thus deeply rooted and universally respected was not likely to accept the dominion of a race of foreign heretics, who lost no opportunity of oppressing and persecuting, even to imprisonment and death, the professors of the true faith. The bishops looked round for some new element by means of which the wreck of society might be reconstructed; and they were led, by virtuous motives, to fix their hopes upon the Franks, who, although still pagans, seemed open to any powerful influence, and offered a promising field for missionary enterprise. The Franks were at that moment in the rudest state of barbarous ignorance, unskilled in military science, and to all appearance quite unfit to cope with such a vigorous empire as that of the Visigoths; but, armed with the patronage and co-operation of the church, their ultimate triumph was secure, for the Gallic nation, as distinguished from the extraneous races of the barbaric invasion, was thus engaged in their favor. Such, doubtless, was the secret of the great social revolution at the close of the fifth century in Gaul. 'It was the church,' as M. Michelet observes, 'that made the fortune of the Franks.'

Childeric, King of the Salian Franks, died in 481, and was succeeded by his son Chlodwig, or Clovis, then but fifteen years old.

This event is usually regarded as the foundation of the French monarchy. From this time until the treaty of Verdun, after the fall of Charlemagne's empire, the history of France and the history of Germany are one and the same. France, as we have seen in our account of Germany, now passed under the dominion of the Germans. For this reason the writer has deemed it best to relate the events of the reigns of Clovis and his successors, down to the division of Charlemagne's dominions, in the history of Germany. The reader is referred to the Second and Third Chapters of Book XVIII for the narrative, which it is unnecessary to repeat here.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE TREATY OF VERDUN TO THE DEATH OF LOUIS IX.

The Treaty of Verdun Assigns France to Charles the Bald—He Establishes his Authority—Ravages of the Northmen—Charles Seizes a Part of Burgundy—Becomes Emperor—The Successors of Charles—Charles the Fat—Paris Besieged by the Normans—Charles the Simple—The Northmen are Given Normandy as the Price of a Peace—Rollo—Normandy Organized—Weakness of Charles—Louis d'Outremer—Hugh Capet Founds the French Monarchy—Robert the Pious—Is Separated from his Wife by the Church—Introduction of Southern Civilization into France—Religious Awakening—Erection of Churches—Persecution of the Jews—Henry I.—Famine in France—The Truce of God—William of Normandy—Establishes his Authority over his Duchy—Philip I.—William of Normandy Conquers England—War Between Normandy and France—Philip's Quarrel with the Church—The Crusades—Louis VI.—Extent of the French Dominions—Enfranchisement of the Communes—Different Constitutions of the Boroughs in the North and South of France—Growth of the Royal Power—Wars of Louis with Henry I. of England—Louis VII.—Sets Out on the Second Crusade—Its Failure—Divorce of Queen Eleanor—She Marries Henry Plantagenet—Henry Becomes King of England—Origin of the Enmity Between France and England—Philip Augustus—Marries Isabella of Hainault—His Policy—War with England—Philip and Henry Agree to Join the Crusade—Philip Aids the Rebellion of Richard Cœur de Lion—The Third Crusade—Philip's Jealousy of Richard—Returns to France—Leagues with John Against Richard—Agnes de Méran—War Between Philip and John—Gains of Philip—The Albigensian War—Prince Louis' Expedition to England—The War in Languedoc—Death of Philip—Louis VIII.—Louis IX.—His Good Reign—War with England—Louis Joins the Crusade—His Death—Is Canonized.

THE Treaty of Verdun assigned France to Charles the Bald, but deprived that country of its natural frontier of the Rhine, as the division was made according to the language of the inhabitants of the

dominions of Louis the Gentle. "Now that a tongue was considered a bond of nationality, the French were contented to surrender to Lothaire, the emperor, a long strip of territory, running the whole way up from Italy to the North Sea, including both banks of the Rhine, and acting as a wall of partition between them and the German-speaking people on the other side!"

the islands and mainland of Denmark and Norway, these fierce rovers swept across the North Sea, and soon made France one of the chief objects of their attacks. They were pagans, and, cherishing a bitter hatred toward Christianity and its followers, never spared a monk or a monastery. In their light but strong and swift galleys they could easily ascend the navigable rivers, and no storm was fierce enough to keep



THE TREATY OF VERDUN.

Charles the Bald found his new kingdom in a state of anarchy. Brittany, Aquitaine, and Septimania or Languedoc were practically independent, and it required a long and severe struggle to reduce them to a state of semi-allegiance to him. During this period the kingdom was exposed to the ravages of the fierce Scandinavian freebooters, known as Northmen, and in later times as Normans. Starting from

them from the open sea. Their leaders were warriors and poets, and animated their followers with wild songs of the deeds of their ancestors. They soon reached the Straits of Gibraltar in their forays, and extended their ravages to the shores of the Mediterranean. In A. D. 841 they ascended the Seine as far as Rouen and pillaged and burned that city. Every year their depredations were repeated, and in 845,



BURNING OF JOAN OF ARC - ROUEN, FRANCE.

under their famous leader, Regnor Lodbrog, they reached Paris. Charles the Bald abandoned his capital without a blow, and the Norsemen plundered the city and its rich churches and abbeys, and then consented to make terms with Charles, who purchased their withdrawal by the payment of 7,000 pounds of silver. In 857 they again took Paris, and massacred a large number of its inhabitants. Returning in 862 they met with a vigorous resistance from Robert the Strong, whom Charles had made Count of Paris and governor of the region between the Seine and the Loire. In spite of the gallant efforts of Count Robert, the weakness of Charles enabled the Normans to inflict serious damage upon France during the next five years. In A. D. 866 Count Robert was slain in an engagement with the famous pirate chief, Hastings.

The Emperor Lothaire died in A. D. 855, leaving his dominions to his three sons. One of these sons, Lothaire, King of Lorraine, died in A. D. 869, and though his dominions, in the absence of direct heirs, should have gone to his eldest brother, the Emperor Louis, Charles the Bald took advantage of the occasion to increase his own kingdom at the expense of Lorraine by the addition of the western districts between the Meuse and the Scheldt—Cisjurane Burgundy—and the counties of Lyons and Vienne. The death of the Emperor Louis in August, 875, enabled Charles to gain a still greater advantage. He promptly crossed the Alps, entered Italy, and induced the pope to espouse his cause and crown him emperor on Christmas day, A. D. 875. This brought on a war with his brother Louis, the German, who invaded France in 876, but the death of Louis in August of the same year brought the struggle to a close, and in 877 Charles himself died.

Charles was succeeded by his only surviving son, Louis the Stammerer, who died a year and a half later, A. D. 879, leaving his throne to his two sons, Louis III. and Carloman, who reigned conjointly—Louis in the north of France, and Carloman in Aquitaine and Burgundy. During this

reign Duke Boso, the brother-in-law of Charles the Bald, rebelled, and with the general consent of the people of those regions made himself King of Burgundy and Provence. His capital was established at Arles. The kingdom thus set up maintained its separate existence for more than a century and a half. Louis died in August, 882, after having decisively defeated the Northmen under their leader Hastings at Sancourt, near Abbeville. Carloman followed him in 884.

The direct heir to the crown being a mere infant, the nobles conferred the sovereignty upon the Emperor Charles the Fat, the son of Louis the German. In A. D. 885 the Northmen, under their famous leader Rollo, laid siege to Paris in over-



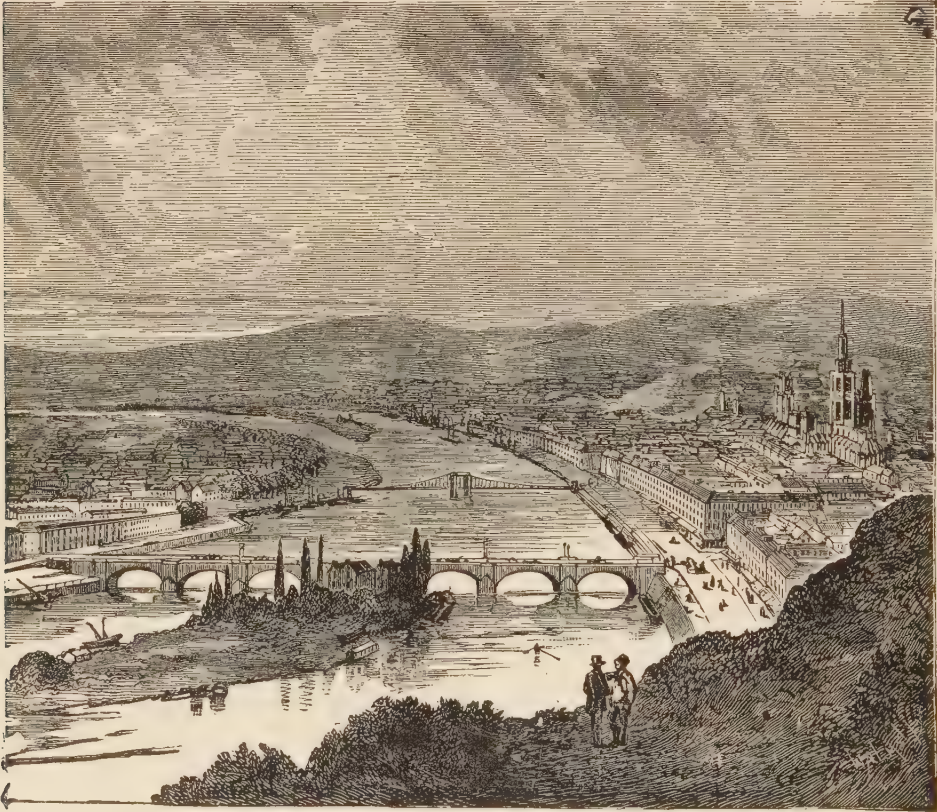
CASTLE OF ROUEN.

whelming force. The city was bravely defended for eighteen months by Eudes, the son and successor of Count Robert the Strong. After a long delay Charles marched from Germany to the relief of Paris, but on reaching the vicinity weakly consented to purchase the withdrawal of the Northmen by the payment of 800 pounds of silver. The whole empire was disgusted by the weakness and incompetence of Charles, and he was deposed in A. D. 887.

The nobles now offered the crown of France to Count Eudes, the heroic defender of Paris, in grateful recognition of his services. Eudes had already been made Duke of France by the Emperor Charles. His authority as king was firmest in Anjou,

but it was not recognized in Aquitaine, and was merely nominal south of the Loire. A powerful party adhered to Charles the Simple, the last survivor of the Carolingian house, and after a brief struggle, Eudes generously ceded to his young opponent the sovereignty of the region between the Seine and the Meuse. At his death in A. D. 898 he enjoined the barons who surrounded him to transfer their allegiance faithfully to Charles the Simple. Robert, the brother of Eudes, succeeded him as Duke of France,

in addition that he and his followers should cease their depredations and embrace Christianity, A. D. 912. The region thus granted to Rollo took from its new settlers the name of Normandy. Rollo made Rouen his capital, and he and his followers having now an interest in the land, kept back their rude countrymen from further aggressions, and so constituted a most effectual protection to France from this hitherto exposed quarter. When Rollo went to take the oath of fealty to his new sov-



ROUEN, THE OLD CAPITAL OF NORMANDY.

er the crown passed, in accordance with his wish, to Charles.

The reign of Charles the Simple is chiefly noted for the permanent settlement of the Northmen in France. Under their leader, Rollo, they harassed the kingdom so greatly that Charles, who was too poor to bribe, and too weak to resist them, purchased a peace by granting to Rollo, or Rolf, as a perpetual fief, a large portion of northwestern France, with the feudal sovereignty of the duchy of Bretagne or Brittany, on con-

dition that he and his followers should cease their depredations and embrace Christianity, A. D. 912. The region thus granted to Rollo took from its new settlers the name of Normandy. Rollo made Rouen his capital, and he and his followers having now an interest in the land, kept back their rude countrymen from further aggressions, and so constituted a most effectual protection to France from this hitherto exposed quarter. When Rollo went to take the oath of fealty to his new sov-

ereign, he was told that it was necessary to kneel and kiss the king's foot. He indignantly started back and refused to perform the humiliating ceremony. The French courtiers insisted upon the point of etiquette, however, and Rollo ordered one of his men to come forward and perform the act for him. The rough soldier, stooping down, lifted the king's foot with such rudeness that the monarch was thrown violently backward from his seat. The Northmen burst into a shout of laughter, and as the French

were in no condition to resent the insult, they suffered it to pass without remark. Rollo received the hand of the Princess Gisèle, the daughter of Charles, in marriage, and became one of the most useful and loyal of the king's subjects. He proved himself a wise, able, and prudent ruler, and under him Normandy rose rapidly to a high state of prosperity. "The ruined churches were rebuilt, the towns walled and fortified, the land carefully cultivated, justice impartially administered. The barbarian Northmen adopted with marvellous facility the language and manners of the nation among whom they had settled, and Normandy became in the course of a few years celebrated throughout France for its advancement in the arts of industry, commerce, and civilization."

The weakness and incapacity of Charles the Simple became more apparent every year. The government was entirely in the hands of his minister, Haganon, a man of low birth, whose insolent use of his power brought about a rebellion of the nobles. Charles was defeated, and fled into Lorraine, attended by Haganon, and Robert, Duke of France, the brother of Count Eudes, was crowned king at Rheims, in A. D. 922. Charles attempted to regain his crown, and a bloody battle was fought at Soissons, in which, though Robert was slain, Charles was utterly defeated, June, 923. Rudolph of Burgundy was chosen the successor of Robert. Charles made another effort to regain his crown, but was made captive, and with one brief interval of freedom passed the remainder of his life in prison. He died in October, 929. Upon the first capture of Charles, his widow and infant son fled to England, and took refuge with her brother Athelstan, the Saxon king. The young Louis, who, from his early exile, received the name of Louis d'Outremer, was carefully educated by his uncle, and in after life displayed more vigor than was commonly manifested by the members of his family. Upon the death of King Rudolph, in A. D. 936, Hugh the Great, Duke of France, and Dukes Herbert of Vermandois, and William Longsword of Normandy, recalled Louis d'Outremer from his exile, and placed him upon the throne. Hugh became alarmed for his own power by the independent spirit of Louis, and at length renounced his allegiance, and declared himself a vassal of Otto the Great of Germany. The Duke of Normandy and

some of the other great nobles followed his example, and the German king invaded France and reduced Louis to great extremities in spite of his gallant struggle for his crown. In the midst of these troubles King Louis was killed by a fall from his horse in A. D. 954.

Hugh the Great, who was the real ruler of France, though he never claimed the royal title, now bestowed the crown upon Lothaire, the son of Louis. Two years later (956) Hugh died, and was succeeded as Count of Paris and Duke of France by his eldest son, Hugh Capet, so called because of his wearing habitually in after years when he came to the throne an abbot's cap instead of a crown. Upon the death of the Emperor Otto the Great, Lothaire attempted to regain possession of the duchy of Lorraine, or Lotharingia. This effort was defeated by the energy of Otto II. In 978 Otto invaded France with an army of 60,000 men, and encamped before Paris, which was defended by Hugh Capet. The approach of winter compelled the emperor to retire into Germany, and a reconciliation was effected in 980; Lothaire renouncing his pretensions to Lorraine, contrary to the advice of Hugh Capet and the wishes of the French people. He died in 986, and was succeeded by his son Louis V., surnamed *Le Fainéant*, who reigned but a little more than a year. He died in May, 987, and with him ended the Carolingian line in France. The French nobles passed by Charles, Duke of Lower Lorraine or Brabant, the only brother of Lothaire, because of his worthless character, and conferred the throne upon Hugh Capet, who was crowned at Rheims, July 1st, 987.

With the accession of Hugh Capet the real history of the French monarchy begins. His elevation to the throne was regarded as the triumph of the French nationality over what had generally been regarded as the foreign rule of the Carolingians. The dynasty which he founded continued to rule France in unbroken succession until the outbreak of the French Revolution in the eighteenth century. Hugh reigned nine years, and proved himself an able and sagacious sovereign. The first years of his reign were disturbed by the efforts of Charles of Lorraine to obtain possession of the throne, but they proved futile, and the power of Hugh was firmly established. Charles was made a prisoner, and died after a few months confinement in 992. Hugh

endeavored to secure the adhesion of the powerful nobles of the south, and was also careful to win the support of the church by bestowing rich possessions upon the clergy. He also restored to the monasteries throughout his dominions the privilege of free election, which had been discontinued since the reign of Charles the Bald. Having secured the succession by causing his son Robert, surnamed the Pious, to be crowned at Orleans, Hugh died peacefully at Paris, which had once more become the capital of France, on the 24th of October, A. D. 996, in the fifty-seventh year of his age.



HUGH CADET.

Robert the Pious succeeded his father without opposition. He was in his twenty-fourth year, and had been a pupil of the famous Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II., under whom he had gained a fair education. He excelled in music, and passed his time in the composition of hymns, and in acts of charity, to which his benevolent and amiable disposition inclined him. Having married his cousin Bertha, a union within the degrees prohibited by the church, the kingdom was laid under an interdict by Pope Gregory V., and for some years of

spirited opposition to the ecclesiastical authorities, Robert was obliged to part from his faithful wife, whom he never ceased to regret, in order to regain for his people the enjoyment of their religious rites, of which they had been deprived during the interdict.

In A. D. 1006 Robert the Pious contracted a second marriage with Constance, the daughter of the Count of Toulouse, a woman of imperious will and overbearing disposition, who ruled her husband with a rod of iron. The chronicles of the times abound in anecdotes showing the meek patience with which the king endured her tyranny, and the affectionate ingenuity with which he shielded others from it. Constance brought in her train and attracted to her court a large number of the gay and polished natives of Aquitaine, who introduced the superior civilization and elegance of the south into the northern provinces.

The general belief in the near approach of the end of the world, which overspread Christendom at this time, was felt in a marked degree in France. It expressed itself in a movement in which all classes joined for the restoration and improvement of the churches and religious houses, and the erection of new edifices of this character. "It was the beginning of that wonderful architectural movement of the Middle Ages, which has covered Europe with its glorious monuments of Christian art and Christian self-devotion. The Abbey of St. Martin at Tours, the splendid Church of St. Aignan at Orleans, the Cathedrals of Perigueux, Angoulême, and Cahors, are among the many remarkable foundations dating from the reign of Robert the Pious, to which were added, later in the century, the magnificent Abbeys of Cluny, Vezelai, and St. Sernin at Toulouse."

In the midst of this religious enthusiasm, the news arrived of the profanation and destruction of the Holy Sepulchre by Hakem, the Fatimite Khalif of Egypt. The Jews were suspected of having instigated this outrage, and were everywhere, especially in France, attacked, and numbers

were put to death with great cruelty. At Sens the attack upon them was directed by the gentle King Robert himself, A. D. 1016.

The last years of Robert were vexed by the revolt of his sons, who were driven into rebellion by the insolent and factious conduct of their mother Constance. Robert took the field against them, and after a bloody campaign in Burgundy, compelled them to submit. The king never rallied from the shock which this unnatural conflict caused him. He fell ill immediately after the peace, and died at the Castle of Melun in 1031, after a reign of thirty-five years.

Constance endeavored to set aside the claims of her elder son Henry in favor of her favorite and youngest son Robert, and the kingdom was once more plunged into civil war. Eudes, the great Count of Blois, Chartres, and Champagne, supported the queen mother with such vigor that Henry was obliged to ask aid of Duke Robert of Normandy. With the aid of Robert, whose fearless and reckless conduct during this war won him the name of "Robert the Devil," Henry compelled his mother and her followers to submit. In the settlement of the kingdom he generously provided for his mother, and bestowed the duchy of Burgundy upon his brother Robert, whose descendants held it for more than three centuries. Constance, overcome with mortification at her defeat, died at Melun in July, 1032. As payment for the assistance rendered him by Robert of Normandy, Henry was obliged to cede to that prince Gisors, Chaumont, Pontoise, and the whole district called the Vexin, lying between the Oise and Epte. By this acquisition the frontier of Normandy was advanced to within twenty miles of Paris.

About this time a fearful famine, which lasted three years, prevailed throughout France, and inflicted the most terrible suffering upon the country. The church availed itself of the general consternation and dependency to impose a check upon the evil practice of private war, by the proclamation of the "Truce of God," which has already been referred to. Though never rigidly enforced, the truce was never abolished, and it greatly mitigated the miseries of private war, and by aiding the progress of agriculture and commerce, which were placed under its special protection, it did much towards the restoration of social order and public confidence.

Robert the Devil, of Normandy, was suspected of having obtained his crown by the murder of his elder brother Richard III. He gave color to this suspicion a few years later, after having compelled the Duke of Brittany to become his vassal, by undertaking a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He named his illegitimate son William his successor in case he should never return, and the barons willingly accepted his choice and swore allegiance to the young duke, then a lad of seven. Robert set out on his pilgrimage, reached Jerusalem, but died at Nicæa, in Bithynia, on his return, A. D. 1035. The Norman barons, upon learning the death of their duke, refused to acknowledge William on the ground of his illegitimacy. William was supported at first by Henry of France, but the king at length turned his arms against the young duke. William inflicted a decisive defeat upon the king at Mortemer in 1058, and by the victory of Varaville compelled Henry to abstain from interference with the affairs of Normandy, and established his own authority firmly over his duchy.

Henry I. died in August, 1060, and was succeeded by his eldest son Philip, the child of his third wife, a Russian princess. Philip I. was a child of eight years at this time, and for the next seven years the kingdom was wisely administered by his guardian, Baldwin V., Count of Flanders, who was also his uncle. The death of Baldwin in 1067 left Philip, though not yet fifteen, his own master. He was possessed of fair abilities and a good education, but from an early age he manifested a strong tendency to voluptuousness and debauchery, which soon became the leading traits of his character. During his minority William of Normandy undertook the memorable expedition which made him master of England. Before attempting it, William visited his youthful suzerain at St. Germain-en-Laye, and solicited his aid; but the counsellors of the king induced him to decline William's request, as they feared that success would make William too powerful a neighbor, while in case of failure France would lay herself open to the just enmity of England. William was not disheartened by this refusal, and carried his enterprise through to a triumphant success. Having conquered England, he was crowned king at Westminster on Christmas day, A. D. 1066.

The union of the English to the Norman crown made William a more powerful so-

ereign than Philip, who was his feudal suzerain, and this aroused the jealousy of the latter, who in 1075 took the field against William in support of Alan, Count of Brittany, who had rebelled against his Norman liege. Uniting his forces with those of Alan, he compelled William to raise the siege of Dol and retire with considerable loss. Somewhat later Philip encouraged Robert Courthouse, William's eldest son, to rebel against his father. That prince for several years maintained a desultory warfare in Normandy, but failed to accomplish any decisive result. William for a long while bore these aggressions of Philip with extraordinary patience, but at length determined to put a stop to them. He demanded of Philip the restoration of the Vexin district, which the crown had unlawfully recovered during his long minority. Philip met this demand with an insulting refusal, and William marched into the disputed district, ravaged it with great severity, and took and burned the town of Mantes. He was thrown from his horse amid the ruins of the town and severely injured. His attendants removed him to Rouen, and afterwards to the monastery of St. Gervais, near that city, where he died six weeks later, September 10th, A. D. 1082.

The habitual immorality of Philip now brought him in conflict with the church. His private revenues being too small to defray the cost of his infamous pleasures, he undertook to increase them by the sale to the highest bidder of bishoprics and other ecclesiastical dignities. Gregory VII. was at this time pope, and such wholesale simony aroused his indignation. He gave the king his choice between a cessation of the practice and excommunication and deposition. Philip, afraid to face the stern monk of the Vatican, chose the former alternative, and for a while obeyed the papal mandate. When Gregory's hands were tied by the struggle with Henry IV. in the war of investitures, the French king relapsed into his old ways, and the pope deemed it best not to proceed to extremities against him.

In 1092 Philip, notwithstanding that his Queen Bertha had been a good wife and had borne him several children, imprisoned her in the Castle of Montreuil, having grown weary of her. In the same year he seduced and carried off Bertrade de Montfort, the wife of the Count of Anjou, the most beautiful woman in the kingdom. The countess had exacted from the king a promise that

she should share his throne, and Philip had no difficulty in finding two bishops who pronounced the blessing of the church upon the infamous union. The Count of Anjou, the husband of Bertrade, and the Count of Flanders, the stepfather of Queen Bertha, took up arms against Philip, but this danger was averted. The church then stepped in, and in 1094 the guilty pair were excommunicated, and Philip was forbidden to use any of the ensigns of royalty until he should abandon Bertrade and do penance for his sin. Philip, who really cared very little for the papal anathema, nevertheless desired to save his crown, and made an outward submission to the pope, who took no further notice of his acts. Philip continued to live with Bertrade, and had her crowned queen at Troyes. She bore him four children, whose legitimacy, however, was never admitted. In the meantime Queen Bertha died broken-hearted in her prison at Montreuil. The beginning of the excitement which led to the crusades now arose to draw attention from the private life of the king, and, occupied with his zeal for the recovery of Jerusalem, the pontiff allowed the king and Bertrade to live together without further molestation to the end of their days.

The origin and events of the crusades will be related in another place. No event of importance occurred in France after the departure of the first army of the cross. All eyes were fixed upon Palestine, and peace and order prevailed at home.

Philip I. died in 1108, after a reign of over forty-seven years—one of the longest in the history of France. He was succeeded by his son Louis VI., called *Le Gros* (the Fat), in consequence of his corpulency, who was one of the ablest and best sovereigns that ever sat on the French throne. At the time of his accession the immediate dominions of the King of France consisted of the five cities of Paris, Melun, Etampes, Orleans, and Sens, with the district surrounding each. These towns were separated from each other by the strong fortresses of nobles, who interrupted the communication between them, and carried on a regular system of brigandage, pillaging travellers, and seizing and imprisoning them in their dungeons, from which they could only escape by payment of a heavy ransom. Public law was trodden under foot by these marauders, and no such thing as order or security existed in any part of the kingdom. The first care of Louis VI. was to put a

stop to this state of affairs, and he accomplished this by encouraging the people to combine and resist the rapacious and seditious barons. Suger, Abbot of St. Denis, whom he made his confidential friend and prime minister, induced the church to give the king and the commons a hearty and effective support in their contest with the nobles. This struggle, which lasted for eight years, resulted in what is known in French history as the "Enfranchisement of the Communes." Encouraged by the king, the various communes united for defence against their feudal lords, and compelled them to grant them not only a bare security of personal freedom, but those great privileges of internal organization and self-government by which the commons, or *tiers état*, became one of the great constituent orders of the state and a check upon the power of the great feudal nobility. Much as Louis contributed to this movement, he did not originate it. "The foundation of the communes was the work, not of Louis VI., nor of any other sovereign, but of the citizens themselves, the result of a simultaneous insurrectionary movement throughout France, for defence against oppression, the maintenance of the rights of property and the protection and development of commerce. Louis did not originate the movement, but he contributed to its success by making himself the champion of public order, by laboring to redress wrongs and reform abuses, and by asserting the supremacy of the crown over all its vassals, most of whom had thrown off all idea of subordination." The forms of municipal government adopted varied in the north and south of France. In the south the cities had never lost the municipal privileges bestowed upon them by the Romans. They now simply asserted them by choosing their own magistrates, and arming for the common defence. In the north the liberties of the towns were generally wrung from the feudal lord. There was also a third class of towns, consisting of those which were voluntarily enfranchised by their feudal lords, and granted personal freedom, security of property, and certain commercial privileges, but which did not possess the right of choosing their own magistrates or conducting their own government.

Another result of this organization of the communes was the increase of the royal power. The sovereign was frequently

called upon to mediate between the nobles and the people; both sides regarded his decision as final; and hence he came to be recognized as the supreme power of the state. Most of the boroughs were required to pay an annual contribution to the royal treasury, and to furnish a stated force of militia upon the requisition of the king. With the supplies thus obtained, the French kings were enabled to extend their domains and make their authority respected by their rebellious vassals. Assisted by the counsels of Suger, Louis ruled his kingdom so firmly and intelligently that he not only restored the power of the crown, and revived the prosperity of the country, but enlarged his dominions to something like their natural and ancient dimensions. The best proof of his merits as a ruler is the strong affection which his people bore him.

The reign of Louis VI. was marked by several wars. Robert of Normandy, returning from the Holy Land, was captured by his brother Henry I., who had become King of England, and imprisoned for life in Cardiff castle. His son, William Cliton, escaped from the pursuit of Henry, and appealed to Louis of France to place him in possession of his father's duchy of Normandy. Louis responded to his appeal, and a war of several years ensued with Henry. William was killed in 1128, and thus the chief cause of the quarrel between France and England was removed. Henry, in order to strengthen himself in France, married his only daughter, the Empress Matilda, to Geoffrey Plantagenet, the eldest son of Foulques V., the reigning Count of Anjou. This was a shrewd move, for in 1129 Foulques abdicated his dominions in favor of Geoffrey, and set out for the Holy Land, thus bringing one of the most important portions of France under the influence of the English crown. Henry I. died in 1135, and was succeeded on the English throne by Stephen of Boulogne, who also claimed Normandy. That duchy was contested by Geoffrey Plantagenet in right of his wife, and a bloody struggle ensued for its possession. Geoffrey was worsted, and the son of Stephen gained the duchy with the assistance of the French king. Louis gained another advantage near about the same time. William X., Duke of Aquitaine, in order to atone for his many crimes, went on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James of Compostella in Spain, where he died in April, 1137. Before setting out he

named his only daughter Eleanora the sole heiress of his dominions, and placed her under the guardianship of Louis VI., on condition that she should be given in marriage to the son of the king, called Louis le Jeune to distinguish him from his father. Louis VI. eagerly accepted the offer which brought to the heir to his crown almost the whole of France, south of the Loire, and the marriage was solemnized in August in the Cathedral of Bordeaux. The king himself died on the day previous to the marriage, and Louis VII. became king. His kingdom extended from the river Somme and the borders of Flanders to the Adour and the base of the Pyrenees.

The reign of Louis VI. was a period of great intellectual activity in France, and is illustrated by such names as Roscelin, St. Anselm, Peter Abelard, William de Champeaux and St. Bernard.

Louis VII. inherited neither the talents nor good sense of his father. In 1141, four years after he began to reign, he quarrelled with the pope about the right to nominate an Archbishop of Bourges. The pope was supported by the Count of Champagne, between whom and Louis war broke out the next year. Louis was obliged by his superstitious fears to yield two years later, and added another victory to the triumphs of the Holy See. He took part in the struggle between the houses of Blois and Anjou for the possession of Normandy, by siding with Geoffrey Plantagenet, and secured him in the possession of that duchy. In the end a compromise was effected, by which Stephen retained the English throne during his life, and Geoffrey's eldest son Henry was named as Stephen's heir. In 1147 Louis VII. left France to take part in the Second Crusade. He gained no credit in this expedition, and after visiting Jerusalem, and failing to capture Damascus, and lingering in Palestine for a whole year for very shame, Louis returned to France in 1149. His kingdom had been well administered in his absence by the Abbot Suger, one of the wisest statesmen France ever produced, and who had vainly striven to prevent the king from engaging in the crusade, and Louis found his estate in excellent condition upon his return. The death of Suger in January, 1152, deprived the king of his best counsellor. The death of this great man was followed by the principal political blunder of Louis' life. He had had cause during his visit to Palestine to

suspect the fidelity of his wife, Queen Eleanora, and upon his return had confided his trouble to Suger, who begged him for the good of France to conceal and overlook, if possible, the misconduct of the queen. The high-spirited queen despised her incompetent husband, and the breach widened between them daily. Both parties demanded a separation, and in March, 1152, the Council of Beaugency pronounced their marriage null and void, on the convenient plea of the affinity existing between them. Eleanora, resuming her rank as Duchess of Aquitaine, assumed the government of her hereditary dominions, and thus stripped the French crown of more than half of its possessions. Six weeks later, Eleanora bestowed her hand upon Henry Plantagenet, Duke of Normandy and Count of Anjou. In October, 1154, Henry became, by the death of Stephen, King of England, and the most powerful sovereign of Europe. Thus was laid the foundation of the life-long enmity which existed between these two sovereigns. Louis was no match for Henry, who managed to gain the advantage of him at every turn, but he gave his rival no little trouble in the course of his reign. He gave shelter and protection to the exiled primate of England, Thomas à Becket, and aided and abetted the rebellion of Queen Eleanora and her sons Henry, Geoffrey, and Richard against Henry. Upon the suppression of this rebellion, however, he was glad to make peace with England. He died on the 18th of September, 1180, and was succeeded by Philip II., called Augustus, his son by a third marriage with Alice, the sister of the Count of Champagne.

Philip was fifteen years old. His surname of Augustus is said by some writers to have been given him because of his having been born in the month of August; others regard it as synonymous with "Great." Soon after the commencement of his reign, he married Isabella, the daughter of Count Baldwin of Hainault, and niece of Philip of Flanders, who received as her dowry the town of Amiens and the promise of a part of Flanders at the death of her uncle. Philip's first act of importance was indicative of the future policy of his reign—to increase the power of the crown at the expense of the great feudatories. He compelled the powerful Duke of Burgundy, who had robbed the church and refused restitution, to make ample reparation for the in-



NAPOLEON AT THE BATTLE OF AUSTERLITZ.

juries he had inflicted, and to submit himself to the clemency of the sovereign. Upon the submission of the duke, he treated him with a wise generosity. In 1182 he gave another proof of the decisive energy of his character by banishing the Jews from his kingdom and confiscating their synagogues to the church, and by denouncing heavy penalties against profane swearers, blasphemers, gamblers, and the heretical sect of the Paterini, of the last of which many suffered death.

War broke out again in 1187 between France and England, and a considerable part of the English possessions in Berry was overrun by the French king before Henry could arrive. A truce was arranged before a battle was fought, and Philip and Henry met near Gisors in 1188 to arrange a definite peace. At this meeting the news was received of the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin, and the venerable Archbishop of Tyre made a powerful appeal for aid against the Moslems. The kings, losing sight of their own interests, arranged a settlement, and solemnly pledged themselves to assume the cross and rescue the Holy City from the infidel. Their example was followed by the chivalry of France, England, and Normandy, and two years were assigned for preparations for the crusade.

In spite of this arrangement, however, the next summer witnessed the renewal of the war. Philip found an ally in Richard Cœur de Lion, the son of Henry of England, who openly rebelled against his father, and did homage to Philip for his continental possessions. Henry was obliged to sue for peace, and to sign a humiliating treaty, by which he made an unqualified submission to his rival, renounced all claim to the sovereignty of Berry, purchased by a heavy payment the restoration of the towns captured by the French, and consented that all the barons who had taken arms in behalf of Richard should remain the vassals of that prince. He died from grief and mortification in 1189, and was succeeded by his son Richard.

Philip Augustus, and Richard I. of England, set out to join the Third Crusade in 1190, and reached Palestine early in the spring of 1191. Their first operation was the siege of Acre, of which Richard was the hero, as he was indeed of the whole crusade. Philip, who was a statesman rather than a warrior, bitterly resented the glory

of his rival, and upon the surrender of Acre left Palestine and returned to Europe, having first bound himself by a solemn oath to respect the rights and territories of Richard. He repaired at once to Rome, where he endeavored to persuade the pope to absolve him from this oath, but Pope Celestine III., to his credit, refused to grant his request. Failing in his effort, Philip returned to France, fully resolved to strike a blow at Richard at the first opportunity. The occasion soon offered itself. John, the brother of Richard, was busy plotting to make himself King of England and Duke of Normandy, and Philip at once entered into his plot. John did homage to the French king, not only for Normandy, but for England also, and Philip proceeded to overrun the dominions of Richard in France. The English king, in the meantime, had been captured by the Duke of Austria, who was his enemy, on his return from the Holy Land, and was held a prisoner for more than a year. He recovered his liberty just as Philip and John believed that their schemes were about to be crowned with entire success. Richard soon appeared in Normandy at the head of his barons, won back the territory taken from him by Philip, and inflicted a stinging defeat upon him at Fretteval, near Vendome, on the 15th of July, 1194. Hostilities went on without any decisive result for either side until January, 1199, when Pope Innocent III., a bold and resolute pontiff, interfered, and compelled both parties to make peace. A treaty was concluded allowing each king to retain his actual possessions. In April of the same year the death of Richard relieved Philip of his ablest antagonist. Philip thereupon embraced the cause of Arthur, Duke of Brittany, the nephew of King John, who disputed with his uncle the crown of England and Normandy, but Philip did not yet proceed to an open rupture with John. He was too deeply involved in a quarrel with the church to undertake the hazard of a foreign war.

After the death of his first wife, Isabella of Hainault, Philip had contracted a marriage with Ingelberga, the daughter of the King of Denmark, a princess described as beautiful, virtuous, and amiable. At his first meeting with her, however, he conceived such an aversion to her that he compelled the bishops to dissolve the marriage. The queen appealed to Rome, and the pope refused to sanction the acts of the French bishops.

In spite of this refusal, however, Philip married the beautiful Agnes de Méran, daughter of the Marquis of Istria. Pope Celestine III. endeavored to turn him from his purpose, but in vain. Celestine's successor, Innocent III., was a pontiff after the style of Gregory VII., and commanded Philip to put away Agnes and take back his lawful wife. Upon the refusal of the king to do this, the pope placed the whole kingdom under an interdict, and for eight months the churches were closed, and the people were deprived of all the rites of their religion, except the baptism of infants and the extreme unction for the dying. The growing discontent of his people obliged Philip to yield, and he put away Agnes, who died a few weeks later. Ingelberga was reinstated in her outward position, but in private the king treated her with brutal severity. Upon the submission of the king the interdict was removed from France.

The quarrel of Philip Augustus with the pope concerning his marriage prevented him from taking any active measures against John of England in support of the claim of Arthur of Brittany to the English crown. A compromise was therefore arranged, by the terms of which the Infanta Blanche of Castile, the niece of John, was given in marriage to Prince Louis, the eldest son of Philip, John bestowing on his niece as a dowry the sum of 30,000 marks of silver and the city and county of Evreux. He also declared her the sole heiress of his continental dominions in case of his dying without direct heirs. Philip undertook that Arthur should renounce all his pretensions to John's dominions, and should do homage to John for his duchy of Brittany. These matters being arranged, Prince Louis and Blanche of Castile were married on the 23d of May, 1200.

Peace was not yet to be restored. John, becoming violently enamored of the beautiful Isabella of Angoulême, the affianced bride of Hugh de Lusignan, Count de la Marche, repudiated his own wife, Hawise of Gloucester, and carried off Isabella and married her. The Count de la Marche demanded justice, and his demand being supported by the nobles of Poitou and Limousin, Philip, as the feudal lord of all, summoned John to appear at his court of Paris, in May, 1202, and answer the charges brought against him. John disregarded the summons, and war instantly ensued. Philip promptly invaded Normandy and reduced

several important towns. John attempted to defend his territories, and captured the Count de la Marche and Arthur of Brittany, whom Philip had put forward to head the uprising in Poitou against his uncle. The fate of Arthur is shrouded in mystery, but the common belief at the time was that he was murdered by King John's own hand in the Castle of Rouen and thrown into the Seine, April 3d, 1203. This barbarous crime made John an object of bitter hatred to his people. Poitou rose against him and ranged itself on the side of the French king. Normandy was the next object of Philip's operations, and by the spring of 1204 the entire duchy was overrun by him and annexed to the crown of France. In 1205 the districts of Saintonge and Angoulême were subdued and annexed by Philip. In 1206 John crossed the channel and made a feeble effort to regain his lost territories, but after some trifling successes was obliged to make peace. He renounced all claim to the sovereignty of Normandy, Brittany, Maine, and so much of Anjou and Touraine as lies north of the Loire, ceding also to Philip the city of Poitiers and the surrounding territory. Thus in three years' time Philip had nearly doubled the size of his kingdom, for he had also acquired the provinces of Vermandois and Artois, and soon after added Auvergne to these. These accessions of strength made France, next to the German empire, the most powerful and populous state of Europe.

The French king was now a powerful territorial sovereign, and had steadily carried forward the policy upon which he had conducted his reign—the advancement of the royal power at the expense of that of the nobles. In the south a series of events greatly increased his authority and possessions. The people of southern France, being an enlightened community in which the arts and sciences were liberally cultivated, and a spirit of inquiry encouraged, had never rendered to the Roman see the blind and unquestioning obedience which characterized the north. In the course of time there had sprung up a sect in Languedoc known as Albigenses, who denounced the ambition and corruption of the court of Rome, denied the supremacy of the pope, and the doctrines of the sacrifice of the mass, purgatory, and image worship. Innocent III. resolved to crush out these bold heretics, and turned them over to the ter-

rible tribunal known as the Inquisition, which was given power to search out and punish their heresy. Raymond VI., Count of Toulouse, was the protector of the Albigenses, whose belief he shared. The papal messengers endeavored to induce him to surrender his subjects to the tortures of the Inquisition, and failing in this, threatened him with the vengeance of the pope. Indignant at this insult to his lord, one of the attendants of the count slew one of the papal envoys in January, 1208. Innocent III. thereupon declared Raymond excommunicated and deprived of his throne, and proclaimed a crusade against him. A large army was assembled at Lyons in the summer of 1209, and placed under the orders of Simon de Montfort. War was immediately begun. It lasted six years, and resulted in the conquest of Languedoc by the crusaders with the most horrible cruelties. Raymond was deprived of his territories, which were bestowed upon Simon de Montfort. The sufferings inflicted upon the Albigenses form one of the darkest records in history.

Philip Augustus took no part in this war. In 1213, Innocent III., who had laid England under an interdict, invited him to undertake the conquest of that country. Philip collected an immense army at a heavy expense, and was on the point of setting out, when he was forbidden by the papal legate to attack England, which John had made a fief of the holy see. Although thoroughly indignant at such treatment, Philip obeyed the papal mandate. He turned northward and marched against the Count of Flanders, who had thrown off his allegiance and had allied himself with the Emperor Otto IV., the nephew of John of England. This action threw Philip on the side of Frederick of Hohenstaufen, and was a great gain for the young king. Philip gained important advantages over the Flemish count, who, to check him, formed a coalition against France, comprised of the emperor, John of England, and all the great nobles of the Low Countries. The decisive battle of this war was fought at Bouvines, between Lille and Tournay, on the 27th of August, 1214. The imperial army, commanded by the Emperor Otto in person, was about 150,000 strong, and contained a body of English archers commanded by the Earl of Salisbury, the illegitimate brother of King John. Philip attacked this army with an inferior force, and in one of the hardest fought battles in

history routed it with immense loss, taking many of its leaders prisoners, among them the Count of Flanders and the Earl of Salisbury. The victory put an end to the power of the Emperor Otto, and settled the dispute for the empire in favor of Frederick II. John of England, who had utterly failed to accomplish anything, and had retreated within the farthest limits of Poitou, obtained a truce for five years on payment of 60,000 marks. The Counts of Flanders and Boulogne forfeited their fiefs, and the former was imprisoned for life. The principal result of the war was the moral prestige acquired by the crown and monarchy of France.

Upon the return of John to England the discontents of the barons of that kingdom broke out in the struggle which resulted in the granting of Magna Charta, the foundation and bulwark of English liberty. The pope bitterly denounced the great charter, and forbade the king and the barons, on pain of excommunication, to observe it. The barons refused to yield to the pope, and war again broke out between them and the king. The barons, driven to despair by the unscrupulous king, invited Prince Louis, the son of the King of France, to come over and assume the English crown. Louis with great difficulty obtained his father's consent to his enterprise, and sailed for England in May, 1216, from Calais. He landed at Sandwich, where he was joyfully received, and was conducted to London and proclaimed King of England in right of his wife, Blanche of Castile, who was a granddaughter of Henry II. John retreated to the northern counties, and lost ground so rapidly that the enterprise of Louis seemed on the point of being crowned with entire success. The sudden death of John, on the 19th of October, 1216, instantly changed the whole state of affairs. England was freed from her tyrant, and the heir to the crown was an innocent child. The barons deserted Louis with remarkable rapidity, and ranged themselves on the side of the young Henry III. Thus deserted by his partisans, the situation of Louis became critical. The pope excommunicated him and his followers, and his father declined to come to his assistance. He was beaten at sea and on land in several engagements, and shut up in London. Driven to capitulation, he renounced all right to the English crown and was permitted to withdraw into France.

In 1216 Raymond of Toulouse and his chivalric son set up their standard for the recovery of their rights. They were joyfully welcomed by their people, and in the fall of the next year entered their capital of Toulouse in triumph. Simon de Montfort at once besieged Toulouse, but was killed in June, 1218. All Languedoc immediately renewed its allegiance to the Count of Toulouse, and drove out the son and heir of de Montfort. Pope Honorius III. proclaimed another crusade, and invited Philip Augustus to possess himself of the territories of Count Raymond. Philip put an army in the field under his son, Prince Louis, but after an inglorious failure the prince abandoned the crusade. Count Raymond died in 1222, and was succeeded in his estates by his son, Raymond VII. The next year Philip Augustus died, after a reign of nearly forty-three years. He was the first king of the national monarchy of France, for under him France first assumed the character of a united nation, and he was by far one of the ablest and best sovereigns that ever ruled in France. He was prudent, energetic, firm and persevering, and however selfish his policy may have been towards others, he ruled his people with wisdom and with justice. Few if any of his successors excelled him in these qualities. He was a generous friend to the city of Paris. He enlarged and re-fortified it, and adorned it with noble edifices. Better than all, he liberally encouraged its rising schools, and sought to make it the intellectual centre of Europe. In the kingdom at large he did much to establish a regular administration of justice, and to put into operation a proper fiscal system.

At the death of Philip the crown passed to his eldest son, Louis VIII., who opened his reign with a war with Henry III. of England. After two campaigns a truce of five years was concluded, and Louis was able to give his attention to the more important struggle in Languedoc. The Council of Bourges, in 1225, had excommunicated Count Raymond VII. of Toulouse, and had transferred his possessions to Louis of France. In the summer of 1226 Louis advanced into Languedoc with a large army, and by the middle of the autumn was master of all the important towns except Toulouse, where Raymond still held out. At the close of the campaign Louis died at Montpensier, in Auvergne, on the 8th of November, 1226, leaving his crown

to his young son, Louis IX., then twelve years of age.

During the minority of Louis IX. the kingdom was ruled by his mother, Blanche of Castile, as regent. She was a woman of strong good sense and firm will, and governed wisely and well. Immediately after the death of her husband a coalition of some of the principal nobles of the kingdom was formed for her overthrow, but she successfully maintained her authority, and after a struggle of five years compelled the insurgent barons to submit, A. D. 1231. During her regency the Albigensian war was brought to a close, to the advantage of the French crown. A treaty was signed at Paris in 1229 between the king (Louis IX., who had been crowned in the meantime), the papal legate and Raymond of Toulouse. A small portion of his former territories was granted to Raymond in fief during his life. At his death this territory was to pass to Alphonso, Count of Poitiers, the brother of the King of France, who was to wed Jeanne, the only daughter of Raymond. The remainder of Languedoc was definitely united with the French crown. The marriage between Alphonso and Jeanne took place in 1241. In order to consolidate the conquest the Inquisition was established at Toulouse in 1229, and for long years the people of southern France groaned under the tortures of this infamous tribunal.

In 1234, Louis, being nineteen years old, married Marguerite, daughter of Raymond Beranger IV., Count of Provence, aged thirteen, a bride selected for him by his mother. Queen Blanche had carefully educated her son, and though she had inclined him too much towards superstition, she had successfully laid the foundations of the noble character which was in after years to render this good king deservedly illustrious.

In 1241, upon the marriage of his brother Alphonso with Jeanne of Toulouse, Louis invested him with the government of Poitou and Auvergne, according to the provisions of their father's will. This act brought to a crisis an extensive conspiracy among the barons of Poitou against the sovereign claims of Louis IX. and his family, based on the ancient connection of Poitou with the royal house of England. The conspiracy was headed by the Count de la Marche, on whom Queen Isabella had conferred her hand within a few months after the death

King John, and who wished to recover for her son, Henry III., the former possessions of the English crown. Louis took the field in support of his brother, and Henry III. crossed over from England to the assistance of his friends; but in the battle of Saintes, fought July 22d, 1242, the English and their allies were beaten. The insurgent barons returned to their allegiance, and Henry III. was obliged to accept a truce of five years, which was signed in March, 1243. By this treaty all of Aquitaine as far as the Gironde passed to the French crown. Another important result of the war was the loss of independence by the feudal nobility and the firm establishment of the supremacy of the crown over its vassals. From this time feudalism began to decline, and the monarchy to grow stronger. The royal house of France received another accession of strength in 1246 by the marriage of Charles, Count of Anjou and Maine, the king's brother, to the heiress of Provence.

• In August, 1248, Louis sailed for Palestine to engage in the holy war, leaving the government in the hands of his mother during his absence. He was unsuccessful, and was defeated and captured by the Sultan of Egypt, who released him upon the payment of a heavy ransom and the conclusion of a ten years' truce. The death of his mother in 1253 recalled the king to France. He reached Paris in September, 1254.

For the next sixteen years France enjoyed the blessings of the presence and the wise government of her excellent king. Throughout the kingdom justice was scrupulously administered, and so perfect was the confidence reposed in the king by all classes that his decisions were accepted without question. He was accessible to all his subjects, and patiently investigated and redressed all complaints laid before him. His rule was marked by moderation, but also by firmness, and the power of the crown advanced steadily. In 1259, feeling

that Philip Augustus had unjustly acquired some of the possessions of the English crown, he voluntarily restored to Henry III. the districts of Limousin, Périgord, Mercy and Saintonge. Henry, on his part, surrendered his claims to Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine and Poitou. The English king and his barons subsequently paid Louis the highest tribute in their power by agreeing after years of sanguinary strife to submit their quarrel to his arbitration. When Pope Urban IV. offered him the crown of Sicily in 1262, Louis refused it, as he would not accept anything which was not rightly his, nor would he allow his son Robert to accept it. Charles of Anjou was less conscientious, and readily accepted the pope's offer. Louis would not discour-



PALACE OF JUSTICE, PARIS.

age him, but at the same time granted him no active aid. He was no doubt glad to have him removed from France. The history of Charles' conquest of Sicily has been related.

Since the close of the last crusade Louis had been determined to undertake another effort for the Christian cause, and although discouraged by the pope himself, held to his purpose. The successes and cruelties of the Sultan Bibars, who rapidly overran the Christian possessions in Asia, determined the king to lose no time. In 1270 he sailed from France, and strangely proceeded to attack Tunis, in Africa. Before he could accomplish anything he died on the 25th of August, 1270, at the age of fifty-six, and

after a reign of forty-four years. He was not a great king, judged by ordinary standards, but he was "an ever memorable instance of the inherent power of high moral and religious principle, when faithfully and consistently carried out through a whole life." Though he was neither a very learned man nor a great commander, and though he frequently forbore through his extreme moderation and conscientiousness to seize advantages which were justly his, he exercised more than any sovereign of his day a wide-spread and commanding influence upon Europe, and no king ever had the good fortune of more effectually promoting the advancement and the happiness of his people. Voltaire has summed up his character in the terse but just remark: "It is not given to man to carry virtue to a higher point." The merits of Louis were rewarded by the church. In August, 1297, he was canonized by Pope Boniface VIII.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE DEATH OF LOUIS IX. TO THE DEATH OF CHARLES V.

Cession of Toulouse to the French Crown—France also Gains Navarre—War of the Houses of Aragon and Anjou in Sicily—The Sicilian Vespers—Philip Invades Aragon—His Death—Philip the Fair—Results of his Reign—Brings the War with Aragon to a Close—War with Edward I. of England—Flanders Annexed to the French Crown—Revolt of the Flemings—Battle of Courtrai—Peace with Flanders—Philip's Quarrel with the Pope—Seizure of the Pontiff—Death of Pope Boniface VIII.—Philip Procures the Election of Clement V.—The Infamous Compact—Destruction of the Templars—Martyrdom of Jacques du Molay—Death of Clement and Philip—Character of the King—Louis X.—Philip V.—The Salic Law—Charles IV.—Troubles in England—Queen Isabella—Philip VI.—Navarre and France Separated—Expedition of Philip to Flanders—Quarrel with Edward III. of England—Robert of Artois—War Between France and England—The Flemings Embrace the English Cause—The English Defeat the French Fleet off Helvoetsluys—Truce Between France and England—Disputed Succession in Brittany—The Countess de Montfort—Murder of the Barons of Brittany—Edward Invades France—Battle of Crecy—Siege of Calais—Truce with England—Death of Philip—Dauphiné Annexed to France—The Dauphin—John the Good—Arrests Charles the Bad of Normandy—War Breaks Out in Aquitaine—Battle of Poitiers—Surrender of King John—His Captivity—The Dauphin Charles Becomes Regent—Insurrection in Paris under Etienne Marcel—Meeting of the States General—Insurrection of the Jacquerie—The Peace of Breteigny—Release of King John—The Second Duchy of Burgundy Founded—Charles V.—War with Pedro the Cruel of Castile—The War with England Renewed—Successes

of the French—Death of the Black Prince—Annexation of Brittany—Revolt of the Britons—Death of Du Guesclin and Charles V.

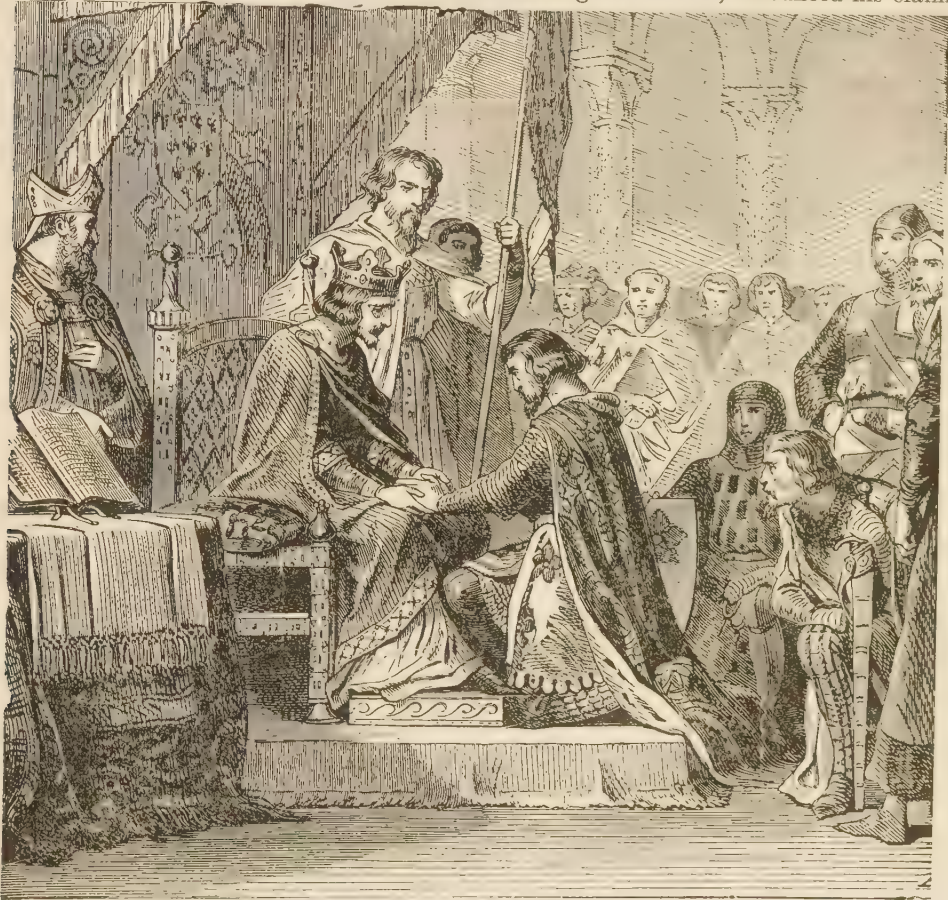
PHILIP III., surnamed "the Bold," the eldest son and successor of Louis IX., made a mournful entry into his capital on the 21st of May, 1271. He brought with him the dead bodies of his father, his wife Isabella, his sister Isabella, Queen of Navarre, and his uncle Alphonso, Count of Poitou and Toulouse, and his wife Jeanne. His character was in marked contrast with that of his father. His education had been neglected, and his character was feeble, superstitious, and without an element of greatness. The death of Alphonso and Jeanne without heirs brought the whole of their extensive possessions to the king. Of these the pope now received a part in virtue of an agreement with Raymond of Toulouse. This consisted of the city of Avignon and the surrounding country, known as the county of Venaissin. It remained in the possession of the Holy See until the French Revolution of 1789. The possessions of the crown were also increased by the death of the king's brothers, Jean Tristan and Pierre, without heirs, by which the crown gained Valois and Alençon. In 1274 Henry, King of Navarre, died, and his widow, a French princess, fled to the court of Philip for protection. Philip received her kindly, and when her daughter became of a marriageable age wedded her to his son and heir, thus uniting the crowns of France and Navarre. Champagne also belonged to the crown of Navarre, and thus passed into the hands of the son of Philip. In 1284 Philip went to war with Aragon in support of his uncle Charles of Anjou, King of Sicily. The massacre known as the Sicilian Vespers had made this a popular measure in France, and the king did not lack the hearty support of his people. He invaded Aragon in the spring of 1285, and captured Gerona after a siege of nearly three months; but his other operations were unsuccessful, and he was compelled to retreat into France. On reaching Perpignan he died on the 5th of October, 1285, at the age of forty. On the 11th of November of the same year, his antagonist, Pedro II. of Aragon, died, of the same malignant fever that ended the life of Philip.

Philip IV., surnamed "the Fair," succeeded to his father's crown. His reign of twenty-nine years is one of the most impor-

tant in French history. He increased the royal power to such an extent that in his hands it became a despotism. The independence of the great vassals was totally destroyed, and they were reduced to complete submission to the crown. The king persistently advanced the bourgeoisie or middle classes, and while he protected them against the nobility, skilfully made them the subservient instruments of accomplishing his plan of absolute rule. In his reign

the people. Philip the Fair also struck the first successful blow at the vast fabric of the papal power which had overshadowed every state of Europe, and shattered it so completely that it ceased to be formidable.

Philip began his reign by bringing to a close the war with Aragon, which had proved fatal to his father. Charles of Valois, upon whom the pope had bestowed the Aragonese crown, renounced his claims



EDWARD III. OF ENGLAND DOES HOMAGE TO PHILIP VI. OF FRANCE.

the forms of feudalism began to be replaced by civil institutions. Throughout the kingdom justice was administered in the name of the king, and the Parliament of Paris became the recognized organ of the supreme central administration. The states general, or the great legislative body of the nation, appears in this reign in its modern constitutional form, consisting of the three distinct and equal orders of nobles, clergy, and tiers etat, or representatives of

to it, and the King of Aragon agreed that his brother James should restore Sicily to the house of Anjou. It was not possible to accomplish this, and Sicily continued independent of the French kingdom at Naples. This settlement was brought about through the mediation of Philip's kinsman, Edward I. of England. In spite of this service, Philip took advantage of Edward's difficulties with Scotland to attempt to seize his duchy of Guienne or Aquitaine.

The pretext was a quarrel between some English and Norman sailors in the port of Bayonne, which brought on a fierce war between the merchant seamen of the two nations, unsanctioned by either government. In 1293 the English gained such advantages that Philip interfered and summoned Edward as Duke of Aquitaine to appear before him in January, 1294, and answer for the conduct of his subjects. Edward appeared by his representative, who was his brother Edmund, Earl of Lancaster. Philip demanded that Aquitaine or Guienne should, as a mere matter of form, be placed in his hands until the matter could be adjusted; but when he had gotten possession of the principal towns of that duchy, he threw off the mask, declared Edward contumacious by reason of his failure to appear in person, and pronounced all his fiefs forfeit to the French crown. Edward at once took the field to maintain his rights, and was supported by the Duke of Brittany, the Count of Flanders, and Adolph of Nassau, King of the Romans. The war began in Gascony in 1294, and was continued for two years with the general advantage on the side of the French. The war of Edward with Scotland prevented him from making a determined effort, and frequent insurrections of the Welsh also hampered him. Pope Boniface VIII. attempted to bring about a peace, but without success, and drew upon himself the bitter enmity of Philip. In 1297 Philip invaded Flanders with a strong force, and reduced that country to submission. The pope now tendered his mediation a second time; it was accepted by all parties, and a treaty of peace was signed between England and France in June, 1299. In accordance with its terms Edward I. married Marguerite, the eldest sister of Philip, and his son Edward, Prince of Wales, was affianced to Philip's daughter Isabella, then six years old. Edward abandoned by this arrangement the cause of his ally, the Count of Flanders, and Philip left his Scotch allies to the vengeance of Edward.

The peace with England left Flanders at the mercy of Philip the Fair, and the year 1300 saw a strong French army, commanded by Charles of Valois, over the border. Donai, Bethune and Damme surrendered without a blow. The Count of Flanders threw himself into Ghent, and prepared for a desperate resistance; but seeing the hopelessness of his position,

yielded to the representations of Charles of Valois, who assured him that the French king was kindly disposed toward him, and surrendered the city, together with himself, his two sons, and his principal nobles. Charles at once sent his prisoners to Paris, where they were treated with the harshness which their knowledge of Philip's unscrupulous character might have led them to expect. Count Guy and his sons were confined in the gloomy fortress of the Châtelet, and the Flemish barons in the various fortresses near Paris. Philip declared Flanders forfeited, and annexed it to the French crown. A few months later he visited that country with his queen, Jeanne of Navarre, and was joyfully received by the Flemings, with whom Count Guy had never been popular. A richer prize had never fallen to the lot of the French king, and Philip went back to Paris in high glee, leaving as his viceroy in Flanders Jacques de Châtillon, a man well suited to represent the most unscrupulous of kings.

It was not long before the Flemings discovered that in accepting the French king as their lord they had placed themselves in the hands of a stern tyrant, who regarded their ancient privileges with contempt. The exactions of the king soon began to cripple their commerce, and the insolent viceroy trod their liberties beneath his feet. At length a resolute blow was struck for their freedom. One night in March, 1302, the tocsin sounded at midnight in Bruges, and the citizens springing to arms put all the French to death, to the number of three thousand. Châtillon fled to Paris, and Philip at once sent an army, under Robert of Artois, into Flanders to chastise the burghers into submission. This splendid force was defeated by the Flemings at Courtrai on the 11th of July, 1302. So great was the slaughter of knights and higher officers that their gilt spurs were collected by the bushel after the battle. Among the slain were the Count of Artois, the commander of the French army, and Châtillon, the viceroy.

Philip met this disaster with characteristic firmness, and at once set to work to repair it. A truce for a year was arranged with the Flemings, and by the end of this time the vigorous measures of the king enabled him to take the field at the head of an army of 70,000 well-equipped troops, while he assailed the northern coast of Flanders with a fleet of Genoese galleys, which he had

taken into his pay. The Flemings were defeated in a naval battle by this fleet, and Philip gained an important victory over their army eighteen days after the campaign opened, August 18th, 1304. The Flemings were made of stouter material than the king had supposed, and rallying from their reverse within three weeks' time, again confronted him with an army of 60,000 men. Their resolute patriotism extorted the admiration of the French king, and he offered them an honorable peace. By the terms of the treaty, which was signed on the 5th of June, 1305, Philip invested the eldest son of the late Count Guy de Dampierre with the county of Flanders in fief, and engaged to respect the ancient liberties and privileges of the people. The Flemings on their part paid the king a large indemnity for the expenses of the war, and as a guarantee of the payment of this sum, placed four of their principal towns and all French Flanders in his hands. Thus closed the first of the struggles by which the valiant burghers of Flanders preserved the liberties of their country.

Philip had conducted the war with the Flemings in the midst of a bitter quarrel with the pope. This quarrel had begun towards the close of the last century, but it did not gather full strength until the fourteenth century had opened. In order to raise the means necessary to carry on his government, the king included the clergy in the tax levied upon the nation. The reigning pontiff, Boniface VIII., was a man of haughty, overbearing temper, and dreamed of bringing back to the papacy the power it had enjoyed during the days of Gregory VII. and Innocent III. Philip had a truer understanding of the age in which he lived, and knew that such an effort on the part of the pope was hopeless, and he did not hesitate to advance the royal power at the expense of that of the church. It seemed but right to the king and the nation that the clergy, who owned a very large proportion of the wealth of the kingdom, should bear their share of the burdens of the state. The pope had long been watching for an opportunity to humble the French king, and seizing this occasion he issued in 1296 a bull forbidding the clergy to pay any tax or subsidy to any secular prince without the consent of the Holy See, and forbade any such prince to demand or accept such payment on pain of excommunication. Philip met this step with a decree for-

bidding the exportation from the kingdom, without the royal consent, of any gold or silver, coined or uncoined, plate, jewels, arms, horses, or military stores. Though the pope was not named in this edict it was directed at him, as the measure rendered it impossible for him to receive the large income which was paid him annually by the French clergy. The pontiff, alarmed by the prospect of losing his revenues, receded somewhat from his position, and a reconciliation was seemingly effected between Boniface and the French king.

The jubilee of 1300, in which Boniface beheld Rome crowded with devout pilgrims from all parts of Christendom, led him to form a wrong estimate of the moral strength of the papacy in Europe, and so elated him with pride that he renewed all his pretensions, and most unwisely proceeded to take measures by which he hoped to compel the submission of Philip. He had to deal, however, with a king who scrupled at nothing to accomplish his ends, who feared not the spiritual weapons of the pope, and who was wise enough to know that the day had gone by when they could be used against the master of a compact and powerful kingdom. Philip had demanded the homage of the Vicomte of Narbonne and the Bishop of Mauguellonne, who held their fiefs of the church. The pope forbade them to obey, and sent to France as his legate to arrange the matter with the king the Bishop of Pamiers, who was personally obnoxious to Philip, who suspected him of treasonable designs. The legate treated the king with such insolence that Philip arrested him, and placed him in the custody of the Archbishop of Narbonne. The pope thereupon issued a bull, couched in language the most insulting to Philip, summoning the French bishops to meet in council at Rome, and there arrange a plan for the settlement of the disorders with which he considered that France was afflicted. Philip caused the bull to be publicly burned in Paris, and for the first time summoned the states general, which body met in April, 1302, and enthusiastically pledged him the support of the kingdom in his contest with the pope. A few months later Boniface issued the famous bull "Unam Sanctam," in which he asserted the claims of the papacy with more audacity than ever. "There are two swords," he declared: "the spiritual and the temporal. . . . Both are in the power of the church: the one, the spiritual, to be

used by the church, the other, the material, for the church; the former that of the priests, the latter that of kings and soldiers, to be wielded at the command and by the sufferance of the priest. One sword must be under the other, the temporal under the spiritual. . . . The spiritual instituted the temporal power, and judges whether that power is well exercised. . . . If the temporal power errs it is judged by the spiritual.

. . . . We therefore assert, define, and pronounce that it is necessary to salvation to believe that every human being is subject to the Pontiff of Rome." On the 13th of April, 1303, the pope excommunicated Philip. The king retaliated by charging Boniface with a series of scandalous crimes, and demanding that he should be tried by a general council of the church.

Philip now resolved to get the pope into his power by seizing his person. Whether he meant to punish him, or merely to prevent him from committing further acts of hostility, is uncertain; but that he intended to seize him is clear. Boniface made it known that on the 8th of September he would publish a bull deposing the French king and forbidding his subjects to render him any further allegiance. Two partisans of Philip—William de Nogaret, a distinguished lawyer, whose ancestors had been persecuted by the Inquisition at Toulouse; and Sciarra Colonna, a younger son of the noble Roman family of that name—resolved to lose no time in carrying out the known wishes of the king, though it would seem that they had no orders from him to that effect. The pope was residing at his native city of Anagni. De Nogaret and Colonna hastened to Italy, and at the head of a few hundred armed men stormed the palace of the pope, compelled his defenders to surrender, and forced their way into the presence of the aged pontiff, who received them seated on his throne, crowned with the tiara, arrayed in the stole of St. Peter, and grasping the keys in his hand. Though deserted by all his friends, the intrepid old man did not quail in the presence of his enemies. Nogaret overwhelmed him with furious reproaches, and it is said that Colonna struck him with his iron gauntlet, and was with difficulty prevented from killing him on the spot. The pope was then placed on a vicious horse, with his face towards its tail, and led through the town to prison. Two days later the people of Anagni rose against the soldiers, drove

them and their leaders from the town, and released the pope, who hastened to Rome to take vengeance on his enemies. The shock of the outrage, and his own ungovernable temper, added to the infirmities of age, were more than the pontiff could endure. He was seized with a fever which resulted in frenzy and death, according to some accounts. Other, and perhaps more trustworthy writers, describe him "as sadly but quietly breathing his last, surrounded by eight cardinals, having confessed the faith and received the consoling offices of the church." He died on the 11th of October, 1303.

Philip, though relieved from the violence of Boniface, pursued his memory with unrelenting hostility. He demanded of the new pope, Benedict XI., the formal condemnation by a council of Boniface for heresy and other crimes. Benedict refused to pursue the memory of his predecessor, and pronounced a sentence of excommunication upon the persons concerned in the arrest of Pope Boniface, and all others who might in any way have aided or encouraged their acts, among whom it was evident that he included the King of France himself. A month later the pope died suddenly, and it was believed that he was carried off by poison administered by the agents of the French king.

Philip was now determined that the next pope should be a Frenchman, and one who would consent to be his dependant and his tool. By bribing the cardinals he succeeded in obtaining their promises to ratify his nomination. He then summoned to his presence Bertrand de Goth, Archbishop of Bordeaux—a man as unscrupulous as himself—and offered to make him pope if he would swear to comply with six conditions. Five of these were named to him on the spot. They were to remove all the ecclesiastical censures pronounced upon Philip and his followers; to grant him a tenth of the revenues of the church in France for five years; to condemn the memory of Boniface VIII.; to restore the Colonna family to their honors; and to confirm as cardinals several persons nominated by Philip. The sixth and last condition Philip reserved to be named at a subsequent time and place, but the archbishop swore a solemn oath to grant it when demanded of him. The infamous bargain being closed, Philip caused the archbishop to be elected pope, and he took the name of Clement V., June, 1305.

He was crowned at Lyons, and fixed his residence at Avignon instead of Rome, as has been related. By this change he placed himself in the power of Philip, and it was not long before he found him a relentless master. Clement promptly fulfilled the five conditions Philip had named to him, and awaited with no slight anxiety the announcement of the sixth.

The order of the Knights of the Temple, since their expulsion from Palestine, had continued to exist as one of the richest and most powerful institutions in Europe. They formed a body of 15,000 veteran knights, exempt from the royal jurisdiction, and governed by their own peculiar laws and officers, and were established in every country of Europe. Their enormous wealth, their pride and avarice, and their insolent treatment of the people rendered them unpopular wherever they were established. They had aroused the hostility of Philip by their resistance of some of his tyrannical measures, and he resolved to destroy them. The prospect of confiscating all their vast wealth in France made him all the more determined to proceed against them. To accomplish the destruction of an order so largely ecclesiastical and under the immediate protection of the pope, it was necessary to secure the aid of the church. When, therefore, Clement V. was fairly seated upon the papal throne, Philip named to him his sixth condition which he had sworn to grant, and which was the destruction of the Templars. The pope at first shrank from the measure in horror, but he was helpless in Philip's hands, and was obliged to do his master's will. Jacques du Molay, the Grand Master of the Templars, and the leading officers of the order, were invited into France on the pretext of taking measures with the pope for a new crusade. They were received with distinction at first by Philip, and were then seized and thrown into prison on the 13th of October, 1307. The property of the order throughout France was seized by the officers of the crown, and all the knights in the kingdom were arrested and imprisoned. The Templars were accused by the king of idolatry, atheism, Mohammedanism, and a number of infamous practices. With all their faults, they were doubtless innocent of the charges brought against them by Philip. Numbers of them were compelled by torture to confess the crimes of which they were accused, and the confessions thus ob-

tained were used to establish the guilt of the order. Others bravely endured their sufferings and protested their innocence to the last. Nevertheless, with the evidence he had collected, Philip procured the condemnation of the order by the states general in May, 1308, and compelled the pope to consent to the sacrifice of the Templars. Many of the knights were burned at the stake, where they died with the unshaken courage which had rendered their order invincible in battle. In March, 1312, the pope, in the Council of Vienne, solemnly abolished the order of the Templars throughout Europe, and bestowed their landed estates and all their privileges upon the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. Two-thirds of the movable property of the Templars was given to the King of France to compensate him for the expenses of the prosecution. This amounted to a very considerable sum. The last victims of Philip were Jacques du Molay, the Grand Master, and the Preceptor of Normandy, who, after being kept in prison for seven years, were burned at the stake at Paris in March, 1314. They protested their innocence to the last, and died with a fortitude which drew tears from the spectators.

A few weeks later Clement V. died—April 20th—and on the 29th of November, 1314, Philip himself followed the pope to the grave. He was one of the most unscrupulous of the French sovereigns, and he was one of the most successful. He failed in nothing that he undertook. He humbled the church in his treatment of Boniface and Clement, and by crushing the Templars struck the hardest blow that had yet been delivered to the feudal nobility. He restored the supremacy of the civil law, and protected the common people against the aggressions of the nobles, though he did not respect their rights himself. His great talents and the success of his measures justly entitle him to be classed among the great kings of France. Yet with all his talents he was so unscrupulous, rapacious, vindictive, and cruel that he won no permanent good for his country, and left a character which is noted chiefly for its dishonesty.

Philip was succeeded by Louis, the eldest of his three sons, all of whom subsequently became kings of France. Louis X., surnamed "le Hutin," reigned two years, and during this time a violent reaction set in from all classes—the nobles, clergy, and

commons—against the despotism established by Philip. Each won back some portion of its lost rights, and had there been a wise and disinterested leader to guide the movement, it might have resulted in the permanent establishment of a free constitution in France. As it was, the nobles managed to exalt themselves at the expense of the commons. Louis died in June, 1316, leaving no heir. About four months later his queen, Jeanne of Navarre, gave birth to a son, who died in six days, and is not usually reckoned among the Kings of France.

Philip, the brother of Louis X., had been appointed regent at the death of that king, and upon the death of his infant nephew he caused himself to be solemnly crowned king at Rheims on the 9th of January, 1317. The Duke of Burgundy claimed the kingdom for his niece, the Princess Jeanne, the daughter of Louis X. by his first wife, but the states general being summoned by Philip, enacted a law declaring females incapable of inheriting the crown of France. This measure is known as the "Salic Law," from its being based upon an obscure article from the old Salian code, which forbade the transmission of the allodial property of the tribe to women. It has since then remained an essential feature of French constitutional law. It at once silenced the opposition to the new king, and confirmed him in his usurpation, and in succeeding ages it proved of the greatest benefit to France by excluding foreign princes from the throne, and retaining the sovereignty in the hands of a race of native-born kings. Whatever were the faults of future sovereigns, it could never be said of them that they were not natives of the soil, and possessed of as deep an interest in the country as any of their subjects.

Philip V., surnamed "the Long," reigned six years. He was a mild, generous prince, and was the author of many useful laws, one of which declared the royal domain inalienable. He died in 1322.

Charles IV., surnamed "le Bel," or "the Fair," the third and youngest son of Philip IV., succeeded his brother Philip, who left no son. He took advantage of the struggle between Edward II. of England and his subjects to attempt to get possession of the duchy of Guienne, and succeeded in capturing La Rochelle. Queen Isabella, the wife of Edward and the sister of Charles the Fair, was sent to Paris by her husband,

in May, 1325, to negotiate a peace; but she set to work immediately upon her arrival in France to plot against her husband, and was aided by her brother with men and money. She returned to England in September, 1326, and brought on the struggle which resulted in the overthrow and murder of Edward II. Upon the accession of Edward III., the French king restored to him the duchy of Guienne upon payment of an indemnity of 50,000 marks sterling. Charles died on the 31st of January, 1328, leaving no male heir. Two months later, his queen gave birth to a princess. By the death of Charles the direct line of the house of Capet, which had held the throne in unbroken succession of father and son for more than three centuries, was ended. In the popular sentiment this failure of heirs was a judgment sent by God for the punishment of the crimes of Philip IV.

The nobles of the kingdom, upon the birth of the princess, conferred the crown upon Philip, Count of Valois, grandson of King Philip III. He was the first cousin and nearest relative on the male side of Charles the Fair, and it was judged that under the Salic law the crown belonged of right to him. He was crowned at Rheims on the 29th of May, 1328, and is known as Philip VI. Philip was thirty-five years old, and was possessed of many good qualities. He was brave, generous and affable, and fond of pomp and display. He established a magnificent court, at which the great nobles, and the Kings of Bohemia, Navarre and Majorca, with their splendid retinues, habitually resided. In the midst of this magnificence the king was able silently to increase the power of the crown until the sovereign became as strong and as despotic as in the days of Philip the Fair.

Philip VI. began his reign by establishing the Count and Countess of Evreux on the throne of Navarre. The countess was the daughter of King Louis X., and but for the Salic law would have inherited the French crown at her father's death. In return the count and countess renounced their pretensions to the French crown. The Flemings having revolted against the Count of Flanders, that prince sought the aid of Philip, who promptly marched to his assistance, defeated the Flemings in the battle of Cassel, and re-established the count's authority. He now thought himself strong enough to summon Edward III. of England to appear at his court and do feudal homage



SURRENDER OF KING JOHN OF FRANCE TO THE BLACK PRINCE.

for his duchy of Guienne. Edward, who was not prepared to go to war, deemed it more prudent to obey, and did homage to Philip at Amiens in 1329. He made a secret reservation, in concert with his council of state, however, not to surrender his rights as an independent prince, but to vindicate them at the first propitious moment. He suffered six years to pass by, and during this time Philip succeeded in winning the enmity of Robert, Count of Artois, who had been one of his most devoted and useful friends, and who was his brother-in-law. Robert endeavored by a base imposture, and, as it was believed, by causing two of his relatives to be poisoned, to obtain a restoration of the county of Artois, of which he had been deprived in a previous reign. His fraud was detected, he was sentenced to perpetual banishment and his property was confiscated. He had fled the kingdom before this sentence was pronounced, and at once began to plot against Philip, whom he hated for not shielding him from the consequences of his crimes. Philip, fearful of his enmity, pursued him from country to country, and caused the different princes with whom he sought refuge to refuse him shelter. At length Robert fled to England, and was received with distinguished favor by Edward III., Philip's jealous and ever watchful rival, A. D. 1333.

The restless plotting at the English court of the Count of Artois induced Philip to bring matters to a definite issue. In the early part of the year 1336 he proclaimed Robert of Artois a traitor and an enemy of the state, and forbade all his vassals, of whatever rank, whether within or beyond the French territory, to receive or assist him on pain of confiscation of their fiefs. Edward accepted the insult as addressed to him, and regarding it also as a declaration of war on the part of the French king, began with energy to prepare for the struggle. The Flemings, under their leader, James Van Artevelde, the famous brewer of Ghent, now embraced his cause, and at the advice of Van Artevelde, Edward in 1337 formally assumed the title of King of France, which he claimed in virtue of his descent from Philip the Fair, who was his mother's father. The Flemings at once acknowledged him as their feudal lord, and in 1339 he crossed over to Flanders and invaded France from that direction. The first campaign was indecisive, and therefore unfavorable to the English, who retired into Hainault.

In the spring of 1340 Edward returned to Flanders with a powerful fleet and a strong body of troops. In the meantime a French army had been sent into Hainault, and the French fleet, consisting of 400 well-manned and equipped ships, was sent into the Flemish waters to prevent the landing of the English king. The French took position near the mouth of the Scheldt at Helvoetsluys. The English fleet came in sight in the afternoon of the 23d of June, and the next morning Edward attacked the French. The battle lasted until late in the afternoon. The French were overwhelmingly defeated with a loss of 30,000 men, and the capture of almost their entire fleet. The French navy was annihilated, and the maritime supremacy of England was established beyond all prospect of failure. The English loss was slight compared with that of the French. Edward himself was slightly wounded. A few weeks later he marched into France at the head of a large army, in which were 60,000 Flemings under Van Artevelde, and laid siege to Tournay. As in the previous campaign, however, he gained no advantage, and a truce was concluded, which was observed by both parties beyond the period named, until the middle of the summer of 1342. It might have grown into a permanent peace, had not a new source of trouble reopened the quarrel between the two kingdoms.

The succession to the duchy of Brittany was disputed between Charles of Blois, and John, Count of Montfort. The French king sustained the claim of Charles, who was his nephew, while Edward embraced the cause of Montfort, whom he created Earl of Richmond in addition to his Breton title. In August, 1341, Charles captured the town of Nantes, which was held by Montfort, took his rival prisoner, and sent him to Paris. The Countess of Montfort now took up the cause of her husband, and defended it with ability and gallantry. She threw herself into the town of Hennebon, and held it against her enemy until the arrival of a large reinforcement, sent by Edward to her assistance, compelled the French to raise the siege, 1342. Edward himself came over, but nothing definite was accomplished, and on the 19th of January, 1343, a three years' peace was signed between the two sovereigns, and included their allies and partisans on both sides. Neither party had any idea of observing the treaty, but Philip was the first to break it. Before the year was out he invited fifteen of the most pow-

erful barons of Brittany to a tournament at Paris, and then treacherously arrested them on an unsupported charge of intriguing with the English. On the 29th of November, 1343, they were beheaded without trial, by order of the king, and early in 1344 three Norman barons were seized and executed in like manner.



QUEEN PHILIPPA PLEADING FOR THE CITIZENS OF CALAIS.

The murder of these nobles—for it was nothing else—excited a feeling of universal indignation against Philip. Edward, proclaiming that the treaty had been broken by the King of France, declared war against Philip in 1345, and the next year invaded France at the head of about 30,000 infantry. He landed at Cape La Hogue in Normandy on the 12th of June, 1346, and marched almost to Paris, ravaging the country with

fire and sword. He then retreated to Flanders, followed by Philip with an army of 100,000 men. The French king endeavored to force his enemy to an engagement, in which he hoped his great preponderance of numbers would give him the victory. Edward skilfully eluded him till he had passed the Somme, and secured his retreat into Flanders. Then taking position on the edge of the forest of Crecy, about twelve miles from Abbeville, he awaited the approach of the French. Philip having failed to prevent the passage of the Somme by the English, crossed that river at Abbeville, and marched rapidly towards the English position, arriving before it on the 26th of August, 1346. He intended to defer the attack until the next day, but his advanced troops engaged without orders, and so brought on the battle. The French were decisively defeated, with a loss of 1,200 knights, 80 bannerets, 30,000 men-at-arms, and a large number of princes, counts, and superior officers. Among the slain were the Counts of Alençon and Flanders, and the veteran knight-errant, King John of Bohemia, now old and nearly blind. The English gave no quarter, and Philip, who had borne himself gallantly in the battle, seeing that the day was lost, fled from the field and took refuge in Amiens. The victory was due to the gallantry of the Prince of

Wales, who commanded the first division of his father's army, and the steadiness and skill of the English archers, before whose fatal volleys the undisciplined French were unable to stand.

From Crecy Edward marched to Calais and laid siege to the town, while his fleet blockaded it from the sea. It resisted him for eleven months, and was finally starved into submission. The town was surrendered

on the 4th of August, 1347. Edward at first intended to hang the principal citizens, but was induced by the entreaties of Queen Philippa to spare them. Edward established a large English colony in Calais, and for more than two centuries that town continued one of the most valuable possessions of the English crown. On the 28th of September of the same year, a ten months' truce was arranged between the two kings, and Edward went back to England. At the expiration of the truce hostilities were not resumed. During the years 1348 and 1349 the terrible plague known as the Black Death, of which we have already spoken, raged in France and England, and swept off thousands. Fifty thousand persons died in Paris alone, and among these were the Queens of France and Navarre. Philip himself died of a lingering sickness on the 22d of August, 1350, having reigned twenty-two years.

During the reign of Philip VI. two events of importance occurred. The king imposed a tax on salt, called the *Gabelle*, and thus originated the government monopoly of salt, which in after years became so profitable to the treasury, and so odious to the people. In the last year of the king's life, Humbert II., the Dauphin of Vienne, so called from the Dolphin or Dauphin which he bore as his device, retired into a monastery. Being without children, he ceded to Philip for the king's grandson, Prince Charles, his hereditary estates, in consideration of the sum of two hundred thousand florins paid to him by the king. One of the conditions of the cession stipulated that the province of Dauphiné should never be united to the crown of France. In consequence of this provision, and to mark the importance of the acquisition, when the young Prince Charles became King of France as Charles V., he ordered that the title of Dauphin should from that time be borne by the eldest son and heir of the reigning King of France.

John, surnamed "le Bon," or "the Good," ascended the throne at the death of Philip. He was in his thirty-second year, and resembled his father in character, being, like him, proud, obstinate, presumptuous, cruel, fond of pomp and luxury, display and pleasure. He was also brave and could be generous when he chose, and sincerely desired to be a true knight.

At the outset of his reign John seized and put to death the Constable of France,

Raoul de Nesle, without trial, and bestowed the office of constable upon his chosen comrade, Charles de la Cerda, and also gave him the county of Angoulême, which had been ceded to the crown by Charles the Bad, the new King of Navarre, upon the promise of other territories in exchange. John withheld these territories, and thus won the bitter enmity of Charles, who was destined to bring many afflictions upon France during this reign. He vowed vengeance against the Constable de la Cerda, and made good his words by causing him to be assassinated in his bed in January, 1354. King John at once prepared to invade Charles' territories of Navarre and Evreux, but as Charles was a most formidable antagonist, he consented to a reconciliation, which was arranged by their relatives. The reconciliation was a hollow pretence. The King of Navarre instigated the Dauphin Charles to place himself at the head of a party opposed to his father. John was rendered furious by this conduct. Upon learning it he proceeded at once to Rouen, where the dauphin, as Duke of Normandy, held his court, and arrested Charles the Bad with his own hands, and would have put him to death, had not the dauphin induced him to change his purpose. The King of Navarre was sent to Paris, and imprisoned in the Chatelet, where he was treated with great severity, April, 1356.

The quarrel of the King of Navarre was taken up by his brother Philip in the summer of the same year, and he with a number of the discontented French lords joined the Duke of Lancaster, and levied war upon the French king in Normandy. John took the field against them and drove them back, and laid siege to Breteuil, a fortress belonging to the King of Navarre. While thus engaged, he learned that the Prince of Wales, better known as the Black Prince, had marched out of his duchy of Guienne with an army of 8,000 men, and had advanced as far into the French territories as Bourges. John at once raised the siege of Breteuil, and hastened into Poitou by forced marches for the purpose of cutting the communications of the Black Prince and intercepting his retreat into Guienne. He succeeded in throwing his army of 60,000 men across the route of Edward, who, seeing that he must either fight or surrender, took up a strong position at Poitiers, where, undismayed by the immense superiority of the French, he

awaited their attack. On the morning of the 19th of September, 1356, King John made a gallant attack upon the English army, but was defeated. The French were thrown into confusion by the deadly volleys of the English archers, and broke and fled before the decisive charge of the Black Prince's line. Only one division, commanded by King John in person, attempted to stay the English advance, but this was beaten, and John himself was made prisoner. The French lost 2,500 nobles and knights, and between 7,000 and 8,000 common soldiers. The prisoners numbered more than two or three times the total force of the English army. Edward treated the captive king with the most respectful consideration, and generously endeavored to make him forget the loss of his freedom. He was taken to Bordeaux, and in the spring of 1357 was sent to England, where he was courteously received by King Edward, and assigned the old palace of the Savoy as a residence. Efforts were made, without success, to bring the war to a close; but a truce was arranged for two years from Easter, 1357.

The Dauphin Charles, who escaped from the fatal field of Poitiers, reached Paris ten days after the battle, and assumed the government as lieutenant-general of the kingdom. The capture of the king had thrown the whole kingdom into confusion. Charles summoned the states general at once, and it was evident that the commons intended to take advantage of the occasion to regain some of their lost rights. They were led by Etienne Marcel the head of the municipality, or mayor, of Paris, and Robert Lecoq, Bishop of Laon, men of great abilities and of sincere patriotism. Charles was obliged to yield to the demands of the commons, which were just and moderate, but at the same time secretly procured from his father an order to disregard all his promises as well as the acts of the states general. This brought on an insurrection of the people, who released Charles the Bad, and urged him to assert his claim to the crown, which would have been indisputable had it not been drawn from the female branch of the royal family. The insurgents murdered two of the most trusted advisers of the dauphin before his eyes and compelled him to sanction their measures. Charles was now a prisoner in the hands of Marcel, who could have used his power to compel the dauphin to grant

some permanent measure of constitutional freedom to the country, but instead of doing this, he allowed Charles to leave Paris and retire to Compiègne, where he was speedily joined by the nobility. The states general met and sustained him, and a strong reaction in favor of the royal cause set in. A civil war ensued, which lasted about five months, and resulted in the triumph of the dauphin. An episode of the war was the frightful insurrection of the Jacquerie, or peasantry—"a general rising of the enslaved peasants of the provinces against the nobles, prompted not so much by the love of liberty as by the desperation of utter and hopeless misery and a ferocious thirst of vengeance upon their tyrants." One battle sufficed to quell the revolt. No quarter was shown on either side, and the insurrection, though brief, was one of the most terrible known in history. The triumph of the dauphin over Marcel and his party was the extinction for a long period of any hope of imposing a constitutional check upon the arbitrary and irresponsible power of the French monarchs.

Charles of Navarre continued his war upon the kingdom for some time longer, and in August, 1359, the dauphin, in order to obtain peace, signed a treaty favorable to the Navarrese king. At the same time it became known that the captive King John had concluded a treaty with Edward III. of England, ceding to him, in absolute sovereignty, Aquitaine, Normandy, Touraine, Poitou, Saintonge, and the Limousin—about one-half of the kingdom of France. The indignant dauphin summoned the states general, and the treaty was repudiated, with a patriotic declaration of the willingness of the French people to suffer any hardships rather than consent to such a shameful dismemberment of the kingdom. Edward, furious at the rejection of the treaty, invaded France in October, 1359, and though he gained no victory over Charles, compelled him to consent to a treaty known as the peace of Bretigny, in May, 1360. The terms of this treaty were almost as hard as those of the one that had been rejected. Aquitaine, Poitou, Angoumois, Limousin, and Saintonge, were ceded to Edward in full sovereignty; that is, independently of all homage to the French crown. Edward, on his part, renounced for himself and the Prince of Wales all claims to the crown of France, and all pretensions to Normandy and the other ancient

possessions of the Plantagenets north of the Loire. King John's ransom was fixed at three millions of crowns, to be paid in six annual instalments. The king was to be set free upon the payment of the first half million crowns, and was to place a number of the first lords of France in Edward's hands as hostages for the payment of the rest. Charles, with great difficulty, raised the necessary sum, and King John was set free. He was received with joy by his people, the exhausted condition of the country making peace at any price seem sweet to them.

In 1361 the reigning Duke of Burgundy died, and with him ended the direct line of this ancient house. King John, in the absence of direct heirs, claimed the duchy as the nearest male relative of the late duke, and disregarding the claim of Charles the Bad of Navarre, which was equal if not superior to his own, took possession of Burgundy, and added it to the royal domain. One of the hostages delivered by King John to Edward of England for the fulfilment of the treaty of Bretigny, was Louis of Anjou, John's second son. The young prince broke his parole, effected his escape from Calais, and hastened to Paris. John, who was a faithful knight, was deeply mortified by his son's breach of faith, and resolved to atone for it by returning to England and surrendering himself as a prisoner once more. Before leaving France he created his youngest and favorite son Philip, Duke of Burgundy. The young prince had fought like a hero at his father's side at Poitiers, and the king expressly stated in the grant that it was to reward him for his courage and devotion. This grant, though creditable to the king as a father, was an act of short-sighted and mistaken policy. Philip the Bold, as the new duke came to be called, became the founder of the later ducal house of Burgundy, which in the next century proved a formidable rival to the royal family of France. John returned to England in January, 1364, and was received with courtesy and distinction. A short time after his arrival he was seized with a fatal illness, and died on the 8th of April, at the age of forty-five.

Upon the death of his father, Charles V., called "*le Sage*," or "*the Wise*," came to the throne. Unlike his father, he was quiet and studious in his habits, was a well-learned man for the times, and was by nature cautious and prudent. His body was too weak to permit him to engage in the

rough life of a soldier, but he possessed the happy faculty so necessary in the head of a great state, of promptly recognizing and readily using the men best suited for carrying out his plans. It was this quality that led him to choose and to sustain with unwavering firmness as the principal leader of his armies the great soldier, Bertrand du Guesclin, who by the opening of this reign had given evidence of his remarkable military genius.

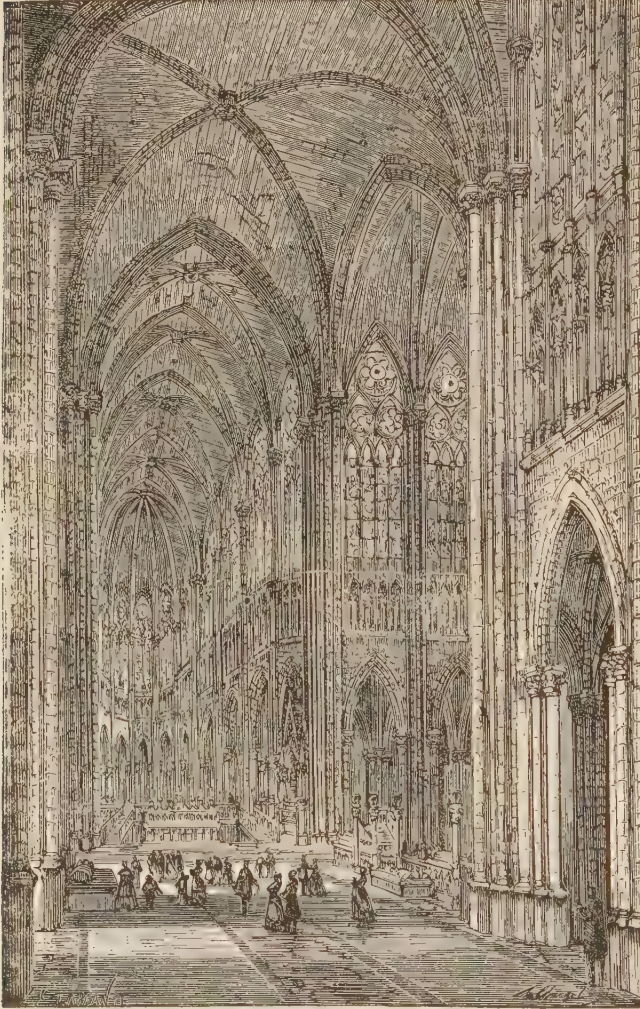
At the time of Charles' accession a civil war was raging in the Spanish kingdom of Castile between Pedro the Cruel and his natural brother, Henry of Trastamara. Henry, being driven into France, begged assistance from Charles, who in 1365 sent an army into Spain under Du Guesclin. The Castilians at once rose against Pedro, who was forced to fly, and Henry gained the throne without striking a blow. Pedro fled to the court of the Black Prince at Bordeaux, and succeeded in inducing him to enter Spain to his assistance at the head of 10,000 troops. On the 3d of April, 1367, a battle was fought at Navarrete between the army of Pedro, commanded by the Black Prince, and that of Henry, commanded by Du Guesclin. The latter was routed with fearful slaughter, and Du Guesclin was captured. Henry escaped, and took shelter with the pope at Avignon. This war led to results the most important to the French kingdom. Pedro of Castile failed to furnish the funds to pay the troops of the Black Prince, whose army was composed of the mercenary soldiers known as the Free Companies, and Prince Edward was unable to raise the money for this purpose upon his return from Spain. The army broke up into numerous bands, and, discontented and indignant, began to commit such outrages in Edward's dominions that he was forced to demand their withdrawal. They then passed into France, and indulged in such excesses that the people of the suffering districts were furious against the Black Prince. In order to raise the funds to pay these troops, the Black Prince levied a heavy tax upon his subjects. The nobles remonstrated, and refused to pay the tax, and three of the most powerful in 1368 appealed to the King of France, as lord paramount, to protect them against the exactions of their prince. Charles had secretly encouraged this disaffection, and he had chosen his time well. The Black Prince was slowly dying of an incurable

disease, and Edward III. was old and infirm. The French people were very sore over the sacrifices made by the treaty of Bretigny, and the provinces ceded to England were anxious for a reunion with France. As a first step in the plan on which he had resolved, Charles secured the services of the free companies, and sent

now threw off the mask, and disavowing the treaty of Bretigny, summoned the Black Prince to answer before him the complaints of his vassals.

War now broke out simultaneously in the north and south of France. The cautious policy of Charles was successful, and the failure of the health of the Black Prince,

who became so ill that he was obliged to relinquish the direction of the war and return to England (A. D. 1370), gave the French a great advantage. By the close of the year 1372 Du Guesclin, who had been made Constable of France, had regained the whole district between the Gironde and the Loire. In 1373 Brittany was overrun, and the majority of the Breton fortresses fell into the hands of the king. Edward III. now despatched a powerful army to France under John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. The duke landed in France in July, 1373. Charles adopted the Fabian policy, and his generals steadily retired before the English commander, refusing to fight a decisive battle. "Let the storm rage," he said to his commanders; "retire before it; it will soon exhaust itself." The result vindicated his wisdom. By the time the Duke of Lancaster reached Bordeaux he had lost at least a third of his army by sickness, fatigue, capture, or death in the numerous petty attacks with which the French harassed them on their march; and out of 30,000 horses, 24,000 had died. The privations and sufferings of the win-



INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH OF ST. DENIS.

ter to Spain under Du Guesclin to restore Henry of Trastamara to the throne of Castile. The effort was successful. Pedro was defeated and captured, and soon after slain, and Henry, with whom Charles had concluded an alliance offensive and defensive, was acknowledged King of Castile. Charles

completed the work, and the English army was ruined without having been able to fight a single battle. The towns and castles of Gascony now rapidly deserted to the French side, and by the close of the year 1374 the only important places in France held by the English were

Calais, Bordeaux, and Bayonne. In June, 1375, a truce for two years was arranged by the pope. The next year the Black Prince died, and was followed by his father, Edward III. in 1377, and France was thus relieved of her two most inveterate enemies.

Immediately after the death of King Edward the combined fleets of France and Castile made a descent upon the English coast and ravaged the shores of the Isle of Wight and the neighboring counties. The possessions of the English in Guienne and the duchy of Brittany were entirely subdued and annexed to the crown, and the King of Navarre, being detected in another attempt against Charles V., was compelled to purchase peace by the surrender of several of the strongest castles of his kingdom. The annexation of Brittany took place in 1379. The measure gave great offence to the Bretons, who were unwilling to surrender their independence. They promptly rebelled against Charles, recalled their exiled duke, who landed at St. Malo in August, 1379, and was received with enthusiasm. All the Breton generals in the French service threw up their commands and joined their countrymen, and even the noble-hearted Du Guesclin, who was devotedly attached to Charles, resigned his office and retired from court. Charles begged the constable to resume his post, and Du Guesclin consented, but steadily refused to draw his sword against his countrymen. With an obstinacy singular in so excellent a sovereign, Charles persisted in his designs against Brittany, and hopelessly alienated the Bretons from the crown. Troubles now broke out in Languedoc, in consequence of the misgovernment of the Duke of Anjou. The English seized the occasion to possess themselves of several towns and castles along the frontier of Languedoc, and Charles sent Du Guesclin to expel them. Du Guesclin was seized with his last illness and died while besieging Châteauneuf de Randau, and the governor of that place, who had sworn to surrender to none but Du Guesclin himself, brought the keys of the fortress to the tent of the constable and silently laid them on the breast of the dead hero. Du Guesclin was mourned throughout all France, and by none more deeply than by Charles V. The king caused his body to be brought to Paris, and buried him with almost royal honors in the Abbey of St. Denis, among

the Kings of France. Two months later Charles V. died, September 16th, 1380. In him France lost one of her best kings; for though his rule was despotic, he sincerely desired and constantly sought the good of his people, and his success in winning back the provinces held by the English was in itself enough to stamp him as one of the most illustrious of French sovereigns. He was the author of many wise and useful laws in his kingdom. Being a learned man himself, he was a liberal friend of learning. He founded the Royal Library at Paris, and gave great encouragement to the arts, especially to architecture. He built the vast and famous Hotel de St. Pol, at Paris, which became his favorite residence, and also began the fortress of the Bastille.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES VI. TO THE DEATH OF LOUIS XII.

Charles VI.—The Regency—Philip, Duke of Burgundy—Preparations for the Invasion of England—Charles Assumes the Government—His Illness and Insanity—The Duke of Burgundy the Ruler of France—Peace with England—Hostility Between the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans—Murder of the Duke of Orleans—The Armagnacs—Civil War—Henry V. of England Invades France—Battle of Agincourt—Alliance Between the Queen and the Duke of Burgundy—Massacre of the Armagnacs—Murder of the Duke of Burgundy—His Son Joins the English—Treaty of Troyes—Marriage of Henry V. with the Princess Catherine—Death of Henry V. and Charles VI.—The Duke of Bedford Regent for Henry VI.—Charles VII.—Jacqueline, Countess of Holland—Coolness Between the Dukes of Bedford and Burgundy—Siege of Orleans—Jeanne Darc, the Maid of Orleans—Her Success—Charles VII. Crowned at Rheims—Capture and Death of Jeanne Darc—Reverses of the English in France—Reconciliation of the Duke of Burgundy with the French King—The English Driven out of Paris—The States General at Orleans—A Standing Army Formed—Treasonable Conduct of the Dauphin—Death of Charles VII.—Louis XI. Becomes King—His Character—Revokes the Pragmatic Sanction—Increases the Royal Territories—League of the Public Good—Treaty of Conflans—Louis Regains Normandy—Charles the Bold Becomes Duke of Burgundy—Enmity Between Louis and Charles—Visit of Louis to Peronne—Hard Terms Imposed Upon the King—He Evades them—Intervenes in the Affairs of England—Death of the Duke of Guienne—War Between France and Burgundy—Defeat of Charles the Bold by the Swiss—Death of Charles—Louis Seizes Burgundy and Picardy—War with Maximilian—Death of Louis—Charles VIII.—The Regency—Anne of Brittany—Marries Charles—Peace of Senlis—Expedition of Charles to Italy—Louis XII. Marries Queen Anne—Renews the Italian War—Failure of the War—Death of Louis XII.

CHARLES VI., surnamed "the Well Beloved," was not twelve years old at the time of his father's death. His four uncles at once began to quarrel over the regency, and at length agreed upon a compromise. The Duke of Anjou was proclaimed regent; the custody of the king's person was committed to the Dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon; and the Duke of Berry was made Governor of Languedoc and Aquitaine. By the dying command of Charles V., Olivier de Clisson, the trusted lieutenant of Du Guesclin, was made constable. The Duke of Anjou, a man of notorious avarice, soon brought on a violent commotion in the kingdom by his attempts to raise money by unpopular taxes. The troubles lasted nearly two years, and were with difficulty quieted. Peace being restored, the king, attended by his uncles, returned to Paris in May, 1382. Immediately afterwards the Duke of Anjou, who had been adopted as her heir by his cousin Joanna, Queen of Naples, set out for that kingdom. He died there in 1384, and the direction of the kingdom passed into the hands of Philip, Duke of Burgundy, the ablest of Charles's uncles. By the advice of the duke Charles entered Flanders with a large army, defeated the Flemings under Philip Van Artevelde, at Rosebecque, and restored the Count of Flanders to his throne, November, 1382. Elated by his easy victory over the champions of civil liberty in Flanders, Charles returned to Paris, and entering the city at the head of his army, proceeded to crush the popular party there and place the city under the most absolute despotism. The chiefs of the popular party were put to death, all the unpopular taxes were reimposed, and the king levied a fine of 960,000 francs upon the citizens, after which he graciously consented to pardon them for their share in the late disturbances. Rheims, Troyes, Châlons, Orleans, and the principal cities of northern France were punished in a similar manner. The civil wars which marked the latter part of Charles' reign were the direct result of this deliberate destruction of the rights and liberties of the people.

In January, 1384, the Count of Flanders died, leaving no male heir. Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, who had married the only daughter of the Flemish count, succeeded to his dominions, which consisted of Flanders, Artois, the counties of Rhetel

and Nevers, and other territories in Champagne. He soon added the duchy of Brabant to his other possessions, and thus became one of the most powerful sovereigns of Europe. He promptly settled the troubles which had long existed between the Counts of Flanders and the people of Ghent, and peaceably extended his authority over the whole province. Philip had connected himself with one of the most powerful houses of Germany by marrying his eldest son to the daughter of Duke Albert of Bavaria, and he now brought about a marriage between his nephew, the King of France, and Isabella, the daughter of Duke Stephen of Bavaria—a union destined to be fruitful of trouble to France—A. D. 1385.

In 1386 a powerful army and a numerous fleet were collected for the invasion of England, but the expedition failed through losses by tempest and the quarrels of the leaders; and what the storms left of the fleet was captured or destroyed by the English fleet in the harbor of Sluys. An attempt to renew the expedition the next year also failed through the enmity of the Duke of Brittany toward the Constable De Clisson.

In 1388 Charles, being twenty-one years of age, was induced by the entreaties of his people and the advice of the Cardinal-Bishop of Laon to put an end to the regency and assume the control of the government. He accordingly relieved his uncles, the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry, from their duties, and these, not daring to resist, left the court. On the day of their departure the Bishop of Laon, who had advised their dismissal, was found dead, with evident marks of having been poisoned. The king, who had no taste for the duties of his station, left the government in the hands of his ministers, the most influential of whom was De Clisson, the constable. They concluded a three years' truce with England, and introduced many useful reforms into the government, so that these three years were passed in comparative tranquillity. The king's uncles now sought to destroy De Clisson, whom they hated. The constable was attacked and left for dead in the street one night in June, 1392, by a band of bravos led by a nobleman named De Craon, who had been instigated to the deed by the royal dukes. De Craon fled to the Duke of Brittany. The king enraged at this attack upon one of the high-

est officers of the state, swore that he would signally avenge it. He demanded the surrender of De Craon, and upon the reply of the Duke of Brittany that he knew nothing of either De Craon or his offence, Charles took the field against his uncle to punish him for his complicity in the affair and his falsehood. On the march he was seized with a dangerous illness, which resulted in insanity. Though he recovered his reason to a certain extent soon after, he was never afterwards capable of sustained effort or close application. During the remainder of his life he was a hopeless imbecile, often breaking out into fits of violent mania, and sometimes, but rarely, enjoying lucid rational intervals. The king being incapable of administering the government, the Duke of Burgundy was placed at the head of affairs, and one of his first measures was to deprive De Clisson of his office and drive him into exile. During one of the lucid intervals of Charles a definite treaty of peace was concluded with England, and the Princess Isabella, a child of six years, was married to Richard II. of England, 1396.

The first eight years of the fifteenth century were passed in quarrels between the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy for the possession of the regency of the kingdom. Philip the Bold died in April, 1404, but his son and successor, John the Fearless, continued all his father's pretensions and carried the quarrel with his rival to a still greater extent. On the 23d of November, 1407, the Duke of Burgundy caused the Duke of Orleans to be assassinated, and by destroying his enemy made himself the real master of the kingdom. In 1410 a league was formed by the young Duke Charles of Orleans and his brother, children of the murdered duke, the Dukes of Berry, Bourbon, and Brittany, Count Bernard d'Armagnac, and the Constable D'Albret, for the overthrow of the Duke of Burgundy. The head of this league was the Count d'Armagnac, whose daughter was married to the young Duke of Orleans, and the partisans of the house of Orleans were henceforth known by his name. He gathered a large army in southern and western France, and ravaged the country up to the gates of Paris. The next year, 1411, the Armagnacs got possession of Paris, but were driven out by the Duke of Burgundy and forced to retreat to Orleans. The duke then put to death large numbers of the adherents of the Armagnacs in Paris, and the streets of

the city flowed with the blood of the defeated party.

The position of the Armagnacs was now desperate. Outlawed by the king and pursued with brutal fury by the Duke of Burgundy, they had but one resource—to appeal to England for aid. Accordingly, in May, 1412, they entered into a treaty with Henry IV. of England, by which they agreed to assist the English to regain their former possessions in the south of France. Henry engaged to aid them with a force of 4,000 picked troops. These negotiations were discovered by the French king, and war ensued. The result of the struggle was that the Duke of Burgundy was driven from power and forbidden to come to Paris without the king's permission, and the Armagnacs remained complete masters of the government. The king being imbecile, the real ruler of the kingdom was the dauphin. The war closed in 1414, and reduced France to a very low condition.

Taking advantage of this weakness, Henry V. of England revived his claim to the French crown and demanded the hand of the Princess Catharine in marriage, together with the restitution of all the provinces ceded by England in the treaty of Bretigny, and of Normandy also. War was the alternative. The dauphin, knowing the weakened condition of the kingdom, did not resent the insult offered by England, but tendered Henry the hand of the princess, with a large dowry in money, and all of Aquitaine and Limousin. Henry at once rejected this proposition, and on the 14th of August, 1415, landed at the mouth of the Seine with a large army, and laid siege to Harfleur, which surrendered a month later. Being greatly weakened by disease in his army, Henry resolved to delay active operations until the next year, and marched northward towards Calais, intending to winter there. On his march he was attacked at Agincourt, on the 19th of October, by the French army, which sought to intercept his retreat. He inflicted a terrible defeat upon the French, who lost eight thousand knights of noble blood out of a total loss of ten thousand men. Among the slain were the Dukes of Alençon and Brabant and the Constable d'Albret, the commander of the French army. The Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon were captured. Henry, unable, from the weakened condition of his army, to follow up his victory, continued his withdrawal to Calais.

The Count d'Armagnac was now made Constable of France. The dauphin died in December, 1415, and was succeeded by his brother John, Duke of Touraine, who died in a little more than a year later. It was believed that he was poisoned by the constable. The king's third son, Charles, a boy of fourteen, now became dauphin. He was thoroughly devoted to the Orleanist faction, among whom he had been educated, and was entirely under the influence of the Constable d'Armagnac, who, in order to remove the queen from power, induced Charles to take measures to punish her for her scandalous life. Her paramour was seized, tortured, and drowned in the Seine, and the queen herself sent into an honorable but strict captivity in the Castle of Tours.

From this time Queen Isabella never ceased to regard her son with a furious and vindictive hatred. The Duke of Burgundy had maintained a sullen neutrality throughout the whole struggle with the English, and he and the queen had hitherto been declared enemies. They now had a bond of sympathy and union—their hatred of the Armagnacs. Before she had been long in confinement Isabella managed to open negotiations with the duke, who marched to Tours with a sufficient force, and released her. The queen now declared herself regent of the kingdom, and the civil war broke out anew and with increased fury. The English taking advantage of it, captured Caen, Bayeux and some other towns in Normandy. In May, 1418, the Burgundians were admitted into Paris by a citizen who had become angry with the constable, and a terrible massacre of the Orleanist faction ensued. The Constable d'Armagnac, several bishops, and a large number of nobles were cruelly put to death. For three days the streets of Paris were a general scene of massacre, the work of the Burgundians being taken up by a band of Parisian cut-throats called Cabochiens, led by a butcher named Capeluche. One of the leaders of the Orleanist party succeeded in securing the escape of the dauphin to Melun at the beginning of the massacre. A few weeks later, the queen and the Duke of Burgundy entered Paris, and were joyfully received. The Cabochiens began their bloody work again, and were with difficulty restrained by the Duke of Burgundy, who was obliged to hang Capeluche.

Early in 1419 Henry V. captured Rouen

and made himself master of all Normandy. Both of the parties which divided France sought to open negotiations with him, but he haughtily declined to treat with either, and marched to Pontoise, from which he threatened Paris. The danger of the conquest of the whole country by the English now caused the parties to the civil war to become friends for the time, but only for the time. Tauneguy Duchâtel, one of the Armagnac chiefs, and the one who had effected the escape of the dauphin from Paris, knowing that no dependence was to be placed upon the professions of the Duke of Burgundy, resolved to put an end to his life. Accordingly while the duke was engaged in a conference with the dauphin on the bridge of Montereau, he was set upon and killed by Tauneguy Duchâtel and other chiefs of the Armagnacs, September 10th, 1419.

This murder was productive of the most serious consequences. Philip, the son and successor of the murdered duke, at once went over to the English, sinking all considerations of patriotism in his desire to avenge his father. He was supported by the queen, who wished to punish her son, the dauphin. The Parisians also, who were warmly attached to the Duke of Burgundy, embraced the English cause. Negotiations were at once begun with the English by the queen's party, and in April, 1420, the idiot king, Charles VI., at the dictation of Queen Isabella and the Duke of Burgundy, signed the most shameful treaty ever subscribed by a French sovereign. It was agreed that Henry should marry the Princess Catharine; that he should be declared regent of the kingdom, and heir to the crown at the death of Charles VI.; that the crowns of France and England should henceforth forever remain united in one and the same person; and the parties to the treaty bound themselves to enter into no engagement or transaction whatever with Charles, "calling himself Dauphin of Vienne," except by the mutual and unanimous consent of all parties to the treaty. Thus was the afflicted Charles VI. compelled to betray his country and repudiate his own son. To such a low state had the civil war reduced the courage and patriotism of the French that this treaty—the most shameful transaction in their history—was received with joy throughout the northern part of the kingdom. The terms being settled, Henry V. and the Princess

Catharine were married with great pomp at Troyes, on the 2d of June, 1420.

Meanwhile the Dauphin Charles and his followers retired beyond the Loire. The provinces south of that river were favorable to the dauphin, who, notwithstanding his despicable character and his lack of military skill, was the last champion of the independence of the nation against foreign dominion. The death of Henry V., which occurred on the 31st of August, 1422, was a great advantage to the national party, as it removed their greatest antagonist. His son and heir was only nine months old. On the 21st of October of the same year, Charles VI. died at Paris. The infant Henry VI. was proclaimed his successor at Paris; and at the same time Charles VII., the rightful King of France, was proclaimed at Melun. John, Duke of Bedford, uncle of Henry VI., was made regent of the kingdom. His chief strength lay in his alliance with Philip of Burgundy. The national party made repeated efforts to detach Philip from his league with the English, but without effect, and in 1423 the union was made still stronger by the marriage of the regent to one of Philip's sisters.

Charles VII., surnamed "the Victorious," caused himself to be crowned king at Poitiers and established his government at Bourges, from which fact he was contemptuously styled by the English, "King of Bourges." His party, however, was by no means contemptible, as he was supported by nearly the whole of France south of the Loire, by the house of Anjou, and the Counts of Alençon and Clermont. Besides this, he had a large force of troops furnished by the Duke of Milan and the King of Scotland. The Scots were commanded by the Earl of Douglas, whom Charles created Duke of Touraine. The Scotch Earl of Buchan was made Constable of France. In 1423 and 1424 Charles was unable to gain any advantage, and was defeated in two pitched battles by the Regent Bedford.

A singular cause now prevented the English and Burgundians from acting together with the vigor necessary to follow up their successes. Jacqueline, Countess of Hainault and Holland, had contracted a distasteful marriage with the Duke of Brabant, the cousin of the Duke of Burgundy, who was his nearest relative and heir. Unable to endure her husband, the countess fled in 1421 from Hainault, and, obtaining

from the deposed Pope Benedict XIII. (Pedro de Luna) a dispensation dissolving her marriage, soon after bestowed her hand upon Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, a younger brother of the Regent Bedford. Philip of Burgundy, whose right of succession to Jacqueline's territories was endangered by this union, now interfered, encouraged the Duke of Brabant to resist, defied the Duke of Gloucester to mortal combat, and captured Jacqueline and placed her in confinement at Ghent, until the case could be decided by the legitimate Pope Martin V. A breach was thus opened between the English and the Burgundians, and Bedford lost faith in Duke Philip, whose defection from the cause he regarded as only a matter of time. The breach was still further widened by the decision of Pope Martin V., who dissolved the marriage of Jacqueline and Humphrey. Jacqueline escaped from the custody of Philip, and a sharp struggle ensued between the duke and herself, in which the countess was defeated. Humphrey submitted to the pope's decision and went back to England, and Jacqueline was compelled to recognize Philip as the heir to her dominions and to promise not to marry again without his consent. These matters caused a suspension for several years of the hostilities between the English and the French. Charles, however, failed to take advantage of this respite, and the jealousies and plots of his followers, together with the weakness of his own character, made his situation more embarrassing and critical with the lapse of time.

At length the Regent Bedford resolved to attempt a decisive campaign, and in October, 1428, laid siege to Orleans, the key to the whole region south of the Loire, which was defended by Dunois, one of the bravest of the French knights. It was understood on both sides that the failure of Charles to hold Orleans would be decisive of the fate of his kingdom. Dunois being severely wounded in a sally early in 1429, and the Count of Clermont having withdrawn from the city with 2,000 men, the people of Orleans were left alone to hold their city against the English. Reduced to extremities, and without hope of succor, they offered to surrender the city to the Duke of Burgundy, if the regent would consent to raise the siege. Philip agreed to the proposal, but Bedford, whose distrust of the Duke of Burgundy had steadily in-



creased, refused to entertain it. Philip retired to Flanders in anger, and ordered all his vassals to withdraw from the English army.

At this juncture the French received an unexpected reinforcement in the person of Jeanne Darc, a young peasant girl from the village of Domremy, in Lorraine. She believed herself commissioned by Heaven to free her country, and succeeded in inspiring both the king and the people with her enthusiasm. Placing herself at the head of a force for the relief of Orleans, she defeated the English before that city, and compelled them to raise the siege, May, 1429. She succeeded in inducing the king to advance towards Rheims, and gained two victories over the English on the march, one at Jargeau on the 10th of June, and the other at Patay on the 18th of that month. Troyes was captured a little later by her energy and determination, and on the 17th of July the king entered Rheims and was recrowned with solemn pomp in the cathedral of that city.

Bedford, now thoroughly alarmed, renewed his alliance with the Duke of Burgundy, who came to Paris, and raised a considerable force for the defence of the capital. By his double-faced policy Philip succeeded in delaying Charles, and thus much precious time was lost by the king. The Maid of Orleans, as Jeanne Darc was now called, endeavored to infuse her own energy into the indolent Charles, but her efforts were thwarted by the mean jealousy of the confidants of the king. At last she induced the king to advance to St. Denis, in August, 1429, but her attack on Paris was brought to failure by the jealousy with which the French leaders regarded her, and the singular apathy and irresolution of the king. There was nothing now but for the royal army to retire beyond the Loire for the winter.

In the spring of 1430, Jeanne took the field again, leaving Charles sunk in indolence at the chateau of Sully. On the 23d of May she was captured by the Burgundians in a battle near Compiègne, and sold to the English. The Duke of Bedford refused to treat her as a prisoner of war, and had her burned as a sorceress or witch in the market-place of Rouen, May 30th, 1431. Charles VII., who owed her his crown, made no effort to save her, and she died a martyr for her country's freedom.

Bedford had expected that the death of Jeanne would turn the tide of fortune in his favor. He caused the young Henry VI. to be crowned king at Notre Dame, but the ceremony aroused no enthusiasm, and the conduct of the Parisians was so openly hostile that Henry soon withdrew to Normandy. Reverses came thick and fast upon the English. Chartres surrendered to the royal forces under Dunois, and Bedford himself was beaten in a pitched battle at Lagny. In November, 1432, the Duchess of Bedford, the sister of Philip of Burgundy, died, and the tie which bound the two dukes being thus severed, a coolness sprang up between them which was soon increased by the remarriage of Bedford without consulting or communicating with Philip. Disgusted with the English alliance, Philip broke openly with the regent, and entered into negotiations with King Charles. A reconciliation was arranged in 1435, and Bedford having died, Philip openly embraced the cause of his sovereign against the English. He made Charles pay liberally for this reconciliation. The king rendered ample satisfaction to the duke for the murder of his father, pleading his extreme youth at the time in extenuation of his share in the crime. He ceded to Philip the counties of Macon and Auxerre, and some other territories on the Somme and in Ponthieu. He also released him from all homage to the French crown, and recognized him as an independent sovereign. Thus, after twenty-nine years of civil war, France was united again. Isabella of Bavaria, the mother of Charles VII., who had brought so many woes upon the country by her reckless intrigues, died at Paris, three days after the treaty between Charles and Philip was signed. Universally despised, her funeral was performed at St. Denis with haste, and without any of the honors due to her rank.

The Duke of Burgundy now united his arms with those of the King of France, and in the spring of 1436 their combined forces drove the English out of Paris. A general amnesty was proclaimed by Charles, who was joyfully acknowledged king by the Parisians. The reign of violence had prevailed so long that brigandage had succeeded the war upon such a large scale that great efforts were necessary to put a stop to it. Many of the royalist soldiers formed themselves into predatory bands and spread

terror through the country. They were exterminated with a stern hand by the *Constable de Richemont*.

Charles, now secure in the possession of his crown, displayed an amount of energy and nobility for which no one had given him credit. In October, 1439, he summoned the states general at Orleans, and published in this assembly a measure of the highest importance. The old feudal levies of the nobles were abolished, and it was made high treason for the nobles to enroll troops without the royal permission. A regular military force was established for the defence of the kingdom, to be paid from the public treasury. The officers were to be appointed by the king. Thus was formed the standing army of France. It was the death-blow of feudalism in the kingdom. The measure was opposed by the Dukes of Bourbon and Alençon, and by some of the other nobles. The Dauphin Louis was persuaded to join the movement, but it failed to receive the popular support, and was sternly discountenanced by the Duke of Burgundy. The king soon put down the rebellion, and compelled the rebels to submit.

In 1444 a truce of twenty-two months was obtained by the English, who had sustained some sharp reverses in Gascony and Normandy, and a marriage was negotiated between Henry VI. of England and Marguerite of Anjou, niece of the Queen of France. The marriage took place at Nancy in the spring of 1445. In 1449 the war with the English was renewed. They were steadily driven from the soil of France, and at the close of 1453 they had lost all their conquests but the towns of Calais and Guines, with the narrow strip of adjacent territory.

The last years of the reign of Charles, which should have been his best, as he had freed the kingdom from his enemies and restored peace to France, were the most unhappy of his life. He gave himself up to his mistresses and favorites, and neglected the affairs of state. He quarrelled with the Dauphin Louis, who held his court in Dauphiné. Louis became the centre of every intrigue against his father, and married a princess of the house of Savoy in opposition to his father's wishes. He maintained a close intimacy with the Duke of Burgundy, the hereditary rival of the French monarchy, and finally took refuge at the Flemish court at Brussels. In his

last years, Charles was tormented with the idea that Louis was constantly plotting against his life, and sank into a state of insanity which he had inherited from his father. He finally refused to take any food for fear of being poisoned, and died miserably in July, 1461, having reigned thirty-nine years.

Louis XI. was in Flanders at the time of his father's death. He at once returned to France, and stopping at Rheims to celebrate his coronation, hastened to Paris, and took charge of the government. The new king was one of the most remarkable men that ever ruled France. He was thirty-nine years old, and was therefore in the full vigor of manhood and of matured experience. He had for some years ruled his province of Dauphiné as an independent prince in defiance of his father's will, and had there learned the difficult and delicate business of statecraft, and had become a proficient in the art of judging men. He was by nature a man of cool, clear understanding, profound sagacity, and strong will, and he had learned to sacrifice every personal feeling and interest to the success of his plans. He came to the throne with the determination to destroy the last vestiges of feudalism, and to erect upon the ruins of that system an absolute monarchy. Throughout his reign his constant policy was to reduce the great nobles to a position of insignificance, and to concentrate every power of the state in the hands of the sovereign. "No man was ever better qualified to succeed in such an enterprise. Government was with him a science; he had studied it profoundly, and had learned how to profit to the utmost by the weaknesses, the vices, and the passions of mankind. A consummate master of the arts of dissimulation and duplicity, he made it the main business of his life to overreach and circumvent others, and accounted successful fraud the most conspicuous proof of talent. Where his predecessors would have employed violence, Louis trusted to cajolery, corruption and perfidy. He understood to perfection how to play off one class of interest against another; how to scatter the seeds of division and estrangement so as to profit afterward by the discord he had fomented. The victims whom his cunning had entrapped were treated, when he saw fit, with a tyrannical cruelty which has seldom been exceeded, and which shows that his heart was callous to the most ordinary feelings of our nature. Such a char-

acter in such a station could not but produce important results, not only in France, but on the general policy and social condition of Europe. At the same time his history is full of strange contrasts and anomalies. Louis realized his objects as a sovereign by sacrificing without scruple all his obligations as a man; and the consequence is that he will be estimated very differently, according as we regard him in his public or in his private capacity. Few princes have done more to extend the power and exalt the dignity of France; few have left upon the page of history a personal portrait of darker or more odious coloring."

Louis began his reign by revoking the Pragmatic Sanction, the famous enactment of his father's reign, by which the liberties of the Gallican Church were guarded against the encroachments of Rome. This action was promptly resented by the nobility and clergy, and opened a source of trouble which continued unsettled throughout the reign. Louis, though anxious to oblige the pope, sided first with him and then with his own subjects, as his policy required, and skilfully contrived to avoid an open quarrel with either.

In 1462 John II. of Aragon, being in need of money for the prosecution of a war against the revolted Catalans, borrowed a considerable sum from the King of France, and placed in Louis' hands as security the territories of Rousillon and Cerdagne. A little later Louis increased his dominions by concluding an arrangement with the Duke of Burgundy by which he redeemed for the sum of 400,000 crowns the towns of Amiens, Abbeville, and St. Quentin, which his father had ceded to Duke Philip by the treaty of Arras. Charles, Count of Charolais, afterwards Charles the Bold of Burgundy, the son and heir of Philip, believing that Louis had committed an act of spoliation of his father in this transaction, became as bitter an enemy as he had formerly been a devoted friend of the French king.

In the meantime the tyranny and wanton oppression of Louis had aroused a feeling of deep hostility to him, which pervaded all classes of his subjects. The Duke of Brittany and the Count of Charolais made an alliance against the king, who had endeavored for his own purposes to bring about a war between them, and in 1464 this league was joined by the disaffected French nobles, chief among whom were the

Dukes of Bourbon, Lorraine, Alençon, Nemours, and Berry. The coalition assumed the name of the "League of the Public Good." A civil war ensued, and a bloody but indecisive battle was fought at Mont l'Héri, July 16th, 1465, between the king and the Count of Charolais. Louis, though he failed to secure the victory, made himself master of Paris, and won over the citizens by his promises and flattery. He then opened negotiations with the members of the league, and the princes who had been so anxious for the "public good" lost their zeal under the temptation of the advantages which the king offered them as the price of peace. A treaty was signed at Conflans, a little later. The important line of the Somme was again relinquished to the Duke of Burgundy; the Duke of Berry was made Duke of Normandy; the Duke of Brittany was given the counties of Etampes and Montfort; and the Count de St. Pol was made Constable of France. Each of the others reaped some advantage from the treaty. The league was then dissolved.

These were humiliating conditions, and Louis was resolved from the first not to execute them. He accomplished by the treaty his purpose, which was to gain time and divide the confederates. Then he set to work to deprive them of their possessions, and bring them to his feet. Parliament refused to ratify the grant of Normandy to the Duke of Berry, on the ground that the king had no right to alienate the possessions of the crown, and Louis in a little while put an end to the duke's authority in that province. He then provoked a quarrel between the Dukes of Berry and Brittany, and won over the latter to consent to his seizure of Normandy. He incited the citizens of Liege to revolt against the authority of Philip of Burgundy, and thus tied the hands of the Count of Charolais, who was engaged in suppressing this revolt, and was unable to interfere with the king's efforts to regain Normandy, which were brought to a successful close in January, 1466, when Louis, having captured Rouen without a blow, formally resumed the government of the duchy.

In June, 1467, Philip of Burgundy died at Bruges, and was succeeded by his son Charles, surnamed the Bold. In 1468 Louis invaded lower Normandy and Brittany with two powerful armies, and compelled the Dukes of Berry and Brittany to sign a peace by which they agreed to abandon the

alliance of the Duke of Burgundy, and to pledge themselves to support the king against him. Charles the Bold was already at Peronne, where he was assembling an army with which he intended to march to the assistance of the dukes. In the midst of his preparations he was informed of the success of the king's measures against the French dukes, and at once demanded of Louis the execution in good faith of the treaty of Conflans, threatening instant war in case of his refusal. Had Louis answered his threat by marching against him at once, he might have defeated him; but such a straightforward course did not suit the tortuous policy of the king, and, in opposition to the earnest entreaties of his most trusted counsellors, he yielded to the advice of Cardinal de Balue, who was secretly in league with the Duke of Burgundy, and adopted the extraordinary resolution of seeking a personal interview with Charles. Having procured a written safe-conduct from the duke, Louis set out for Peronne with a small escort in October, 1468. He was received by the duke with great courtesy and was lodged in the Castle of Peronne. Negotiations were begun between the king and the duke, and were continued for several days, when news was received of a fresh and more formidable outbreak of the people of Liege, which it was charged had been brought about by the intrigues of the French king. Charles burst into a storm of fury, and ordered the gates of the castle to be closed and guarded. In his rage he determined to put Louis to death and make the Duke of Berry, Louis' younger brother, King of France in his place. He was dissuaded from this desperate measure chiefly by Philip de Comines, and was induced to grant the king his liberty on terms the most humiliating to Louis. Louis bound himself by a solemn oath on a relic which he regarded with the most superstitious veneration, to execute the treaty of Conflans in good faith, and to bestow the provinces of Champagne and Brie upon the Duke of Berry in place of Normandy. Charles also compelled him to accompany him in his march against the people of Liege, and witness the merciless punishment which the duke inflicted upon that city for a rebellion incited and supported by the king himself. Louis was then released, and, unwilling to return to Paris, went to Tours to lay his plans for avenging his humiliation.

He determined not to bestow Champagne

and Brie upon his brother, the Duke of Berry, as the possession of those territories would make the duke the neighbor as well as the ally of Charles the Bold, and he resolved to substitute the more distant Guienne or Aquitaine for them. His plan was betrayed to the Duke of Burgundy by Cardinal de Balue. His letters falling into the hands of the king, the cardinal was arrested and confined in an iron cage in the Castle of Loches. Louis then succeeded in inducing the Duke of Berry to accept the duchy of Aquitaine, and that prince broke off his alliance with Charles the Bold, and affronted him by refusing the hand of Mary, the daughter and heiress of Charles, 1469.

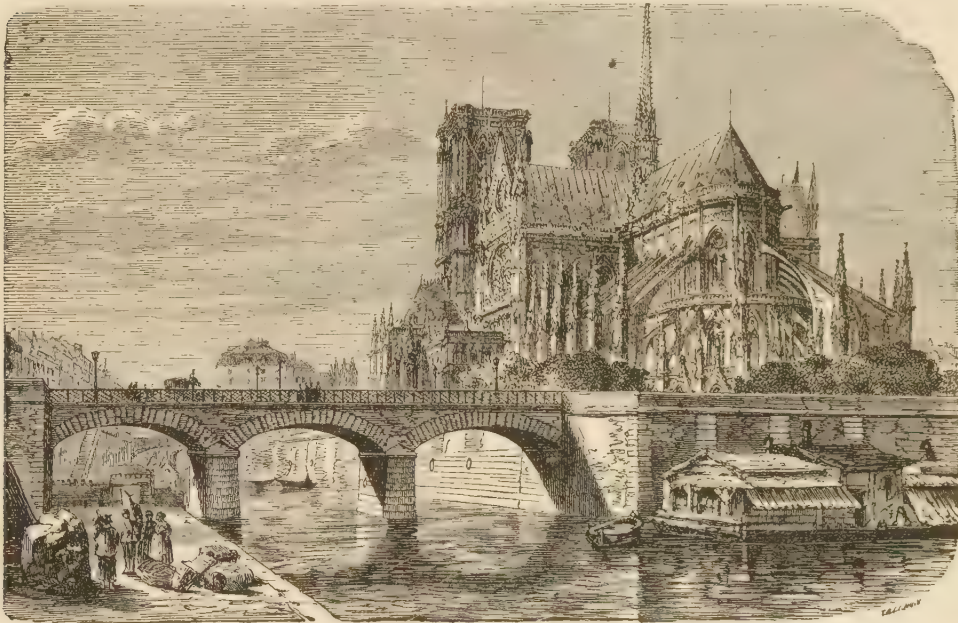
Both Louis and Charles now took part in the quarrels between the houses of York and Lancaster, which divided England. Louis supported the latter and Charles the former. The failure of the efforts to restore Henry VI. to the English throne greatly encouraged the Burgundians, and depressed Louis to a corresponding degree. The Duke of Guienne renewed his former alliance with Charles the Bold, and the Duke of Brittany took up arms to assist them. Louis sought to avert the danger with which this combination threatened him, by offering the most abject concessions to the confederates, but the sudden death of the Duke of Guienne, which was regarded as the king's work, removed the danger for the time.

Undismayed by the loss of his most important ally, Charles the Bold invaded France in June, 1472, and took and barbarously sacked the town of Nesle in Picardy. He was defeated in his efforts to capture Beauvais, towards the last of July, and was compelled to agree to an armistice of five months, which was subsequently prolonged for more than two years. Louis took advantage of this peace to avenge himself on the feudal nobles who had refused to submit to his will. The Duke of Alençon was stripped of his estates and imprisoned for life; the Count of Armagnac was slain in the presence of his wife; and the Duke of Lorraine died suddenly, poisoned, it was believed, by the agents of the French king.

In 1475 the Duke of Burgundy made an alliance with Edward IV. of England, and the Duke of Brittany, by which Edward agreed to revive the claims of his predecessors to the French crown. In the summer of that year King Edward landed

at Calais with a splendid army of 30,000 men, but Charles, who had lost half his army in a foolish invasion of the territory of Cologne, was unable to take the field to assist him, and the other confederates proving lukewarm, the expedition failed. Louis at once opened negotiations with Edward, and a treaty was arranged for seven years. Louis agreed to pay the expenses incurred by the English king in the war, and betrothed his son, the Dauphin Charles, to Edward's eldest daughter, engaging to celebrate the marriage as soon as the parties attained the proper age. In accordance with the terms of this treaty, the Constable

price for his abandonment of the Constable St. Pol. This ambitious prince, already one of the richest and most powerful sovereigns of Europe, was not satisfied with his possessions, but had conceived the idea of restoring the old kingdom of Lotharingia by becoming master of the territory between France and Germany, between the North and the Mediterranean Seas. In pursuance of this design, he proceeded to take possession of the Duchy of Lorraine, driving out the young Duke René. As the price of the surrender of St. Pol, Louis permitted Charles to seize Lorraine without opposition from him, but at the same time



NOTRE DAME—FROM THE ARCHBISHOP'S BRIDGE.

St. Pol, who had been concerned in the war against his sovereign, was surrendered to Louis. His treason was so evident that he was promptly condemned by the Parliament of Paris, and was executed on the Place de Grève, on the 10th of December, 1475. This execution was the boldest blow Louis had yet struck at the great feudal aristocracy. The constable, apart from his vast possessions and great personal influence, was a member of the imperial family of Luxemburg, had married a sister of the Queen of France, and was connected with several of the royal houses of Europe.

Charles the Bold had exacted a large

price for his abandonment of the duke with such insolence that after becoming master of Lorraine Charles turned his arms against them. Louis was well convinced that an encounter with these hardy mountaineers would prove the ruin of his rival, and he was not surprised to hear that Charles had sustained a terrible defeat at the hands of the Swiss in the battle of Granson, fought on the 2d of March, 1476. Three months later, the Swiss were again victorious over the Burgundians at Morat, near the Lake of Bienne. The flower of the Burgundian army fell upon this fatal field, and the subjects of Charles broke into open

disaffection, and reproached him bitterly for his rashness and ambition. Lorraine instantly rose against him, and the young Duke René re-entered Nancy in triumph. Charles, with the recklessness of despair, collected what was left of his army, and laid siege to Nancy. Duke René, with the aid of funds furnished by Louis of France, collected an army of 20,000 Swiss and Alsatians, and advanced to the relief of his capital. A decisive battle was fought before Nancy in January, 1477, and Charles was defeated and slain.

The death of the Duke of Burgundy without male heirs was a golden opportunity for Louis. He at once seized the Burgundian territories, and claiming the duchy of Burgundy as a lapsed fief, annexed it to the crown of France, from which it was not afterwards separated. He proclaimed himself the guardian of Mary of Burgundy, the daughter of Charles, who was his kinswoman, and pledged himself to watch faithfully over her interests. In spite of these professions, Louis incited the Flemings to rebel against the princess, and made such embarrassments for her, that after vainly appealing to him to carry out his promises to her in good faith, Mary, with the full approval of her subjects, secured to herself a powerful protector in the person of the Archduke Maximilian of Austria, on whom she bestowed her hand. The marriage was solemnized at Ghent on the 18th of August, 1477, much to the chagrin of Louis, who had hoped to marry the dauphin to the princess, or at least to cheat her out of her territories. This marriage laid the foundation of the future greatness of the house of Austria, and also began the jealous enmity between that power and France which caused so many wars in Europe in the next two centuries. Louis vented his rage on the Duke of Nemours, who had been concerned in the "League of the Public Good," and had been watched with a jealous eye ever since by the king. The duke had been arrested in August, 1476. After a cruel imprisonment of a year he was executed in August, 1477.

The death of the Duchess Mary of Burgundy, in 1482, enabled Louis to conclude a definite peace with her subjects, who since her death no longer regarded Maximilian as their sovereign. Louis kept the duchy of Burgundy and the county of Picardy. Marguerite, the daughter of Mary and Maximilian, was affianced to the

Dauphin Charles, and was sent to France to be educated. It was agreed that she should receive as a dowry the free county of Burgundy and the counties of Artois, Macon, and Auxerre, which, in the event of the failure of issue of the marriage, or the non-performance of the marriage, were to revert to her brother Philip, the son of Mary. Louis renounced his claims to French Flanders, and agreed never again to encourage insurrection among the Flemings. It will be remembered that by the treaty of Pequigny the dauphin had been betrothed to the Princess Elizabeth, the daughter of Edward IV. of England. Edward was furious at the insult to him conveyed by the treaty of Arras, and began preparations for the invasion of France. His sudden death in April, 1483, relieved Louis from this danger.

Louis was now at the height of his power, and had greatly enlarged the kingdom by means generally more or less discreditable. Besides the territories wrested from the house of Burgundy at the death of Charles the Bold, he about this time obtained possession of the duchy of Anjou by the bequest of René, the last duke; and of the counties of Maine and Provence, a year later, by the same bequest. The duchy of Guienne and the counties of Alençon and Perche were also annexed to the possessions of the crown by less honorable means. The districts of Rousillon and Cerdagne, pawned by the King of Aragon, also became the property of the crown. Of the great feudal fiefs only Brittany remained. The boldness with which the king had struck at the nobles had awed them into submission, and his acknowledged skill and success in the management of diplomatic affairs had made Louis one of the most influential and powerful sovereigns of Europe.

In the midst of this prosperity the king was seized, in March, 1480, with a stroke of apoplexy. It was conquered, but was followed by a second attack in 1481. Quailing at the thought of death, Louis retired to the strong Castle of Plessis-les-Tours, and shut himself up there, with orders to the garrison to fire at every living thing that approached the walls. His only companions were his "gossip" Tristan l'Hermite, who had been the unscrupulous instrument of his cruelties and crimes, and his physician Jacques Coittier, a brutal wretch, who employed his power over the king to wring from him large sums of

money. Louis piled the altars of the churches with costly offerings to the Virgin and the saints; but in vain. He died on the 30th of August, 1483, in the sixty-first year of his age.

Charles VIII., the eldest son of Louis, was a child of thirteen and of feeble health. The regency was disputed by the Duke of Orleans, the brother of Louis, and the Princess Anne, Louis' daughter, who subsequently became Duchess of Bourbon by the death of her husband's elder brother. The Duke of Orleans took up arms in 1488 to drive his niece from power, but was defeated and made prisoner, and the Duchess

self to his guardianship. These demands being refused, a French army was sent into Brittany, and Brest and other important towns were captured. This invasion aroused the alarm of England, Germany, and Spain, who regarded the growth of France with undisguised jealousy, and a league was formed between them for the preservation of the independence of Brittany. In the spring of 1489 an English and Spanish force landed in Brittany, but no decisive action took place. The English soon withdrew, and the young duchess was persuaded to contract a marriage by proxy, in the summer of 1490, with Max-



CHURCH OF SAINT EUSTACHE, PARIS.

of Bourbon remained supreme in the kingdom.

In September, 1488, the Duke of Brittany, who had been the soul of the conspiracy of the Duke of Orleans, died, leaving his estates to his elder daughter, Anne of Brittany, a child of thirteen. The Duchess of Bourbon, resolving to seize the opportunity of adding Brittany to the French crown, induced her brother Charles to require that Anne should not assume her title until the question of succession had been judicially decided between herself and the king, and that she should submit her-

self to his guardianship. These demands being refused, a French army was sent into Brittany, and Brest and other important towns were captured. This invasion aroused the alarm of England, Germany, and Spain, who regarded the growth of France with undisguised jealousy, and a league was formed between them for the preservation of the independence of Brittany. In the spring of 1489 an English and Spanish force landed in Brittany, but no decisive action took place. The English soon withdrew, and the young duchess was persuaded to contract a marriage by proxy, in the summer of 1490, with Max-

been the chief adviser of the Duchess of Brittany. Dunois had advised the alliance with Maximilian, and he now induced the Duchess of Brittany to end her difficulties by marrying the King of France. Reduced to despair, and left alone by Maximilian, she consented to this arrangement, and in December, 1491, the marriage was solemnized at the Chateau of Langeais in Touraine. In order to make the union of Brittany with France permanent, it was stipulated in the marriage contract that in the event of the death of Charles without issue, the queen should marry his successor, or if he were married, should wed the next heir of the crown. This marriage was a double affront to Maximilian. It deprived him of his bride, and his daughter Anne, who had been betrothed to Charles VIII. in her childhood, of a husband. That princess, and the counties of Artois, Franche Comté (free county of Burgundy), and Charolais, which had been ceded as her dowry, were restored to Maximilian. Maximilian was unable to avenge the insult by reason of the war with Hungary and troubles in Flanders, which tied his hands. He submitted with as good a grace as possible, and on the restoration of the Burgundian territories just named, made peace with France. The treaty was signed at Senlis in May, 1493. Peace was made with England soon after by payment of a large sum to Henry VII. to indemnify him for the expenses of the war in Brittany, and Spain was reconciled by the surrender by the French king of the territories of Rousillon and Cerdagne, which had been pawned to Louis XI. by John II. Charles restored them without asking the return of this loan.

Charles had sacrificed a great deal to procure peace, but he hoped to be more than repaid by a new expedition in which he wished to engage. Ludovico Sforza, who had dispossessed his nephew of the duchy of Milan, fearing that the King of Naples would seek to restore the deposed duke, who was his son-in-law, had invited Charles, who had inherited a shadowy claim to the Neapolitan throne from the house of Anjou, to attempt the conquest of that kingdom, and had promised to aid him with all his resources. Charles had accepted the invitation, and had purchased peace with England, Germany, and Spain at such a high price in order to be free to make the attempt. He pictured to him-

self a great career—the conquest of Italy, the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, and the rescue of Jerusalem from their hands—for in spite of his lack of bodily vigor, he was full of romantic and chivalrous ideas and aspirations. The Duchess of Bourbon and his most devoted and experienced ministers urged him to imitate the reserve of his father and avoid the dangerous mazes of Italian politics; but he held to his purpose, and collecting a splendid army at Lyons, entered Italy in September, 1494. The events of the Italian campaign have already been related, and need not be repeated here. We have seen the success which attended Charles's first efforts, and the natural reaction which drove him from Italy and forced him to return to his own country. After his failure in Italy Charles relapsed into his usual habits of intemperance and immorality, and neglected the government. In 1497 he made a feeble effort against the Duke of Milan and an attempt to capture Genoa. Both movements were unsuccessful, and were followed by a truce with the emperor and the other parties to the League of Venice. The king, now in feeble health, suddenly surprised and gratified his friends by abandoning his evil habits and applying himself with great diligence to the government of his kingdom, in which he produced many salutary reforms. He died of apoplexy in the midst of his labors, on the 7th of April, 1498.

Charles was succeeded by the Duke of Orleans, who ascended the throne as Louis XII. He was the grandson of the duke who had been assassinated by the Duke of Burgundy in 1407, and the great-grandson of King Charles V. He was in the prime of life, and soon rendered himself popular by his remarkable moderation and good judgment. His former rival, the Duchess of Bourbon, was distinguished by special marks of favor and regard, and those who had taken part against the Duke of Orleans in the struggle for the regency, during the minority of Charles VII., were assured that they need have no fear of losing their positions, as the King of France had forgotten the injuries of the Duke of Orleans.

The widowed Queen Anne had retired to Nantes soon after the death of Charles VIII., and had resumed the government of the duchy of Brittany. Louis XII. was already married to a wife whom Louis XI. had compelled him to espouse, and who,

though deformed in person, was a princess of blameless reputation and great merit. In order to carry out the treaty for the union of Brittany with the crown, it was necessary for Louis to divorce his wife and marry Queen Anne, as he had no children. A dispensation was obtained for this purpose from Pope Alexander VI., who got in return for his part in the iniquitous transaction the title of Duke of Valentinois, in Dauphiné, and a handsome pension for his son Cæsar Borgia. Louis was then married to Anne of Brittany. The queen, always jealous of her rights as Duchess of Brittany, retained the administration of the duchy in her own hands, and it was stipulated that in case of the failure of children by this marriage the duchy should revert to the descendants of its ancient house of princes, and that if two sons were born to Louis and Anne the second should be Duke of Brittany.

Louis now prepared to renew the war in Italy, which he imagined was bequeathed to him by his predecessor. He claimed not only the crown of Naples, but that of Milan also as the representative of his grandmother Valentine Visconti, daughter of the last duke of that family. He purchased the concurrence of the pope, and secured by skilful negotiations the neutrality of Germany, Spain, Venice, Florence, and Savoy. The French army entered Italy in August, 1499, the Duke of Milan fled to the Tyrol, and on the 14th of September the city of Milan was occupied by the French. So far not a shot had been fired.

The loss of the duchy of Milan and its reconquest by Louis XII., and the efforts of the French king to make himself master of Naples, the subsequent expulsion of the French by the Spaniards and the transfer of the Neapolitan kingdom to Ferdinand of Spain, which opened the sixteenth century, have been related. The loss of Naples was so acutely felt by Louis that it threw him into a dangerous illness, in which his life was despaired of. He subsequently became reconciled to Ferdinand, and in 1508 joined the League of Cambray against Venice. As Duke of Milan it was his true policy to sustain that republic as a barrier against the encroachments of Austria, but his eager desire to increase his Italian possessions at the cost of Venice blinded him to his real interests. The events of the war which began in 1509 have been related. Then followed the formation of the Holy

League, the story of which has been told. The death of Gaston de Foix, at Ravenna, sealed the fate of the French in Italy. They were soon driven from the peninsula, and Maximilian Sforza was made Duke of Milan. Genoa recovered her independence, and the Holy League was completely successful. Not even these reverses could cure Louis of his obstinate desire to obtain northern Italy, and in 1513, in alliance with the Venetians, he made another attempt to get possession of Milan. Maximilian was driven out of that city, which was occupied by the French. The French army was defeated by the Swiss, however, in the attempt to capture Novara, and was driven across the Alps with heavy loss, and Lombardy was once more lost to Louis.

The reverses of the French in Italy encouraged the enemies of Louis to attack him in his own kingdom. Ferdinand, always treacherous, began to threaten his southern frontier from Aragon; Henry VIII. landed at Calais with 20,000 men; and the Swiss invaded Franche Comté. In August, 1513, the English army laid siege to Terouenne. It was in this siege that the Emperor Maximilian I. served as a volunteer in the English army for one hundred crowns a day. Louis despatched a force to the relief of Terouenne, but it was defeated. Among the prisoners taken by the English was the famous Chevalier Bayard, one of the commanders of the army. This engagement is known as the "Battle of the Spurs," because the French cavalry, after a slight resistance, became panic-stricken and fled from the field at full speed. Terouenne soon surrendered, and its fall was followed by that of Tournay, but Henry VIII. quickly grew weary of the war, and returning to England, put an end to the campaign. In the same summer the English defeated and slew Louis' most constant ally, James IV. of Scotland, at Flodden. In 1514, Anne of Brittany, the wife of Louis, to whom he was deeply attached, died, and the king, now anxious for peace, concluded a treaty with all his enemies except the Swiss, who refused to treat with him. By the terms of this treaty he married the Princess Mary, the sister of Henry VIII. of England, on the 7th of August, 1514. He did not long survive this marriage, and died on the 1st of January, 1515. He was sincerely mourned by his people, for notwithstanding his costly and useless foreign wars, he was one of the best of French kings.

His government of his kingdom exhibited a wise commingling of justice, clemency, a careful economy, and a liberal and generous patronage of the arts and sciences. Agriculture and commerce experienced a marked improvement under him, "and the general increase of the wealth of the nation became apparent in the superior elegance and luxury of domestic architecture, furniture, and dress."

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF FRANCIS I. TO THE DEATH OF LOUIS XIII.

Francis I. Becomes King—Invades the Duchy of Milan—Battle of Marignano—Treaty with the Swiss—Francis Declines an Alliance with Venice—His Error—Charles VI. Becomes King of Spain—Treaty of Noyon—Charles Chosen Emperor—Alliance of Charles with Henry VIII. of England—The Field of the Cloth of Gold—War Between France and Spain—The French Driven from Milan—Revolt of the Duke of Bourbon—He Defeats the French in Italy—Battle of Pavia—Francis Taken Prisoner—His Captivity—Treaty of Madrid—Francis Evades the Treaty—Renewal of the War—Reverses of the French in Italy—The Peace of Cambrai—Francis Persecutes the French Protestants—War Breaks Out Between France and Spain—Charles Invades Provence, but is Forced to Retreat—Death of the Dauphin—Peace with the Emperor—Charles in France—Francis Becomes the Ally of the Sultan—Progress of the War—Treaty of Crespy—Persecutions of the French Protestants—Death of Francis—Henry II.—Influence of the Guises—The Scotch Alliance—Marriage of the Dauphin to Mary of Scotland—War Between France and Spain—Capture of Calais by the French—The Peace of Catteau Cambresis—Death of Henry—The Reformation in France—Reign of Francis II.—Conspiracy of Amboise—Charles IX.—Catharine de' Medici Regent—Struggle Between the Catholics and the Huguenots—The Civil War—Treaty of St. Germain—Marriage of Henry of Navarre to Marguerite of Valois—Massacre of St. Bartholomew—The Civil War Renewed—Siege of Rochelle—Death of Charles IX.—Henry III.—Successes of the Huguenots—The Catholic League—The Duke of Anjou in the Netherlands—His Death—Alliance Between Spain and the Duke of Guise—Wars Against the League—Murder of the Duke of Guise—Insurrection Against the King—His Reconciliation with Henry of Navarre—They Besiege Paris—Assassination of Henry III.—Henry IV. Succeeds to the French Crown—His Early Difficulties—Battle of Ivry—Its Results—Recantation of Henry—He is Acknowledged Throughout the Kingdom—His Wise Policy—The Edict of Nantes—France under Henry IV.—His Plan for the Readjustment of Europe—He is Assassinated—Louis XIII.—Marie de' Medici Regent—Retirement of Sully—Meeting of the States General—Marriage of the King—Rise of Richelieu—Death of Marshal D'Ancre and his Wife—Richelieu Reconciles the King with his Mother—Death of De Luynes—Richelieu Made a Cardinal—Becomes Prime Minister—His Vigorous Policy—Takes La Rochelle—War in Italy—Treaty of Cherasco—The "Day of

Dupes"—Richelieu Foils the Conspiracies Against France—The Thirty Years' War—Richelieu Aids the German Protestants—Conspiracy of Cinq Mars—Death of Richelieu—Death of Louis XIII.

AS Louis XII. left no son, the crown passed to Francis of Angoulême, Duke of Valois, the husband of the Princess Claude, the eldest daughter of Louis XII. and Anne of Brittany. Francis I. was a young man of brilliant accomplishments. He was of noble stature, brave, full of spirits, a proficient in all the exercises of arms, and fond of pleasure and military glory. He was a favorite with all classes, and his accession was hailed with delight by all. Although arrived at man's estate, he was still thoroughly in subjection to his mother, Louise of Savoy, a woman of ability, but of immoral character and ungovernable temper. The king immediately created her Duchess of Angoulême, and she dictated the first appointments of the new sovereign, one of which was the bestowal of the constable's sword upon Charles, Duke of Bourbon.

Francis I. began his reign with the determination to win back the Italian lands that had been lost by Louis XII. An army of 60,000 men under the Constable de Bourbon, the immortal Bayard, and other able commanders, was assembled, together with an immense train of artillery. The Swiss held the passes of Mont Cenis and Mont Genève, but Trivulzio and Lautrec, two of the French generals, with the assistance of the engineer Navarro, made a route over the Col d'Argentière, and this large army, with all its guns and baggage-train, was transported across the Alps by paths which had never been attempted save by the chamois hunters. By this brilliant movement, the French army turned the enemy's position, and entered Italy before it was believed that their march had begun. The Swiss fell back upon Novara, and the French advanced to Turin, and thence towards Milan. The Swiss having been reinforced by a body of 20,000 of their countrymen, attacked the French camp at Marignano, ten miles from Milan. The battle began at four o'clock in the afternoon, and raged with great fury until midnight. Both sides slept on their arms, and the conflict was renewed at daybreak. The result this time was decisive. The Swiss were badly beaten and forced to retreat with a loss of 10,000 men. The victors lost 6,000

men, among whom were some of the noblest of their kingdom. Francis, who had displayed the greatest gallantry in the battle, received knighthood on the field from the hands of its most illustrious ornament, the Chevalier Bayard. The victory settled the fate of the Milanese duchy, which passed into the hands of the French. The Swiss, deeply impressed with the vigor of Francis, responded readily to the efforts he made to secure their alliance. A treaty of peace and friendship and alliance was signed between the Swiss republic and the French king, and remained unbroken until the revolution of 1789.

Master of northern Italy, Francis might easily have added the kingdom of Naples to his conquests, but he conceived the foolish notion that the merchants and manufacturers of Venice were not fit to be the allies of a great king, and breaking with them, made a close alliance with the Medici of Florence and the pope, who succeeded in stripping him of all his advantages. At the solicitation of the pontiff, Francis consented to defer his attack upon Naples until the death of Ferdinand of Spain. Leaving the Constable de Bourbon to govern Milan, Francis then returned to France.

In January, 1516, Ferdinand of Spain died, and was succeeded by his grandson Charles of Austria. Charles' position at this time was both delicate and dangerous, and appreciating the importance of securing the good-will of the French king, he made a treaty of peace and alliance with him at Noyon in August of the same year. For more than two years the two sovereigns continued good friends, and profound peace reigned throughout western Europe. In 1519 the Emperor Maximilian died, and Francis and Charles became rivals for the imperial crown. The election resulted in favor of the latter, who became the Emperor Charles V. Charles soon won another triumph over Francis. Both sovereigns courted the friendship and alliance of Henry VIII. of England. Charles crossed over to Dover in 1520, without invitation, and in a series of confidential interviews succeeded

in inclining Henry favorably towards himself, and by artfully flattering the hopes of Henry's great minister, Cardinal Wolsey, who aspired to the papacy, completely won him over to his side. From this conference Henry and Wolsey proceeded to France to meet Francis by appointment. The interview between the French and English sovereigns is known as the "Field of the Cloth of Gold," from the magnificence of the display made by Francis in honor of his guest. The entertainment lasted for eighteen days, at the end of which time Henry returned home rather piqued than pleased at the splendors of Francis, which far surpassed his own. Before returning to England he had a second interview with the emperor at Gravelines, who sought to remove any fav-



THE LOUVRE GALLERY.

orable impression his rival might have made. He succeeded in winning from Henry a promise to conclude no engagement hostile to the imperial interests. The warm friendship of Francis and Charles had grown weak since the election of the latter to the imperial dignity. Francis resented the good fortune of his rival, and was reasonably jealous of the concentration of so much power in the hands of his enterprising neighbor. Both he and Charles were convinced that their interests would soon array them against each other.

The open rupture came about in 1521. In that year a French army was sent across the Pyrenees to aid Henry d'Albert to recover the kingdom of Navarre, which had been wrested from him by Ferdinand of Spain. In the same year a secret treaty was negotiated between the pope and the

emperor for the expulsion of the French from Italy. In October, 1521, their combined forces took the field, and by the spring of the next year the French were once more expelled from the Milanese duchy. Influenced by Wolsey, Henry VIII. of England now openly embraced the cause of the emperor, and declared war against France in May, 1522.

Francis prepared to recover his lost ground in Italy, but as he was about to set out for that country an event occurred which was more injurious to him in its consequences than all the attacks of his enemies. The Constable de Bourbon, the most powerful subject of the crown, had gained his wealth by his marriage with Susanna, the heiress of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon. On the death of his wife, Louise of Savoy, the mother of the king, attracted by his great reputation and brilliant qualities, offered him her hand in marriage. Bourbon refused it with insolent disdain, and the duchess, furious at the insult, resolved to destroy him. She was the daughter of the sister of the last Duke of Bourbon, and as such claimed to be his nearest heir, and demanded of the constable the surrender of the estates brought him by his wife. She succeeded in drawing the king into the scheme, and a royal decree was issued, depriving the constable of his possessions and bringing him to the verge of ruin. In this extremity Bourbon suddenly executed a scheme he had meditated for a long time in secret. He renounced his allegiance to Francis, abandoned his service, and went over to the Emperor Charles. An arrangement was effected by which Bourbon was given the command of an army destined to invade France from the German frontier, while at the same moment another army was to enter that kingdom from Spain. The King of England agreed to make a descent upon Normandy and Picardy, and the emperor promised to Bourbon the hand of his sister Eleanora, and the independent sovereignty of a kingdom to be erected out of Dauphiné and Provence. The danger which thus threatened his kingdom made it necessary for Francis to remain in France, but unwilling to lose the opportunity of invading Italy, he sent an army over the Alps under the Admiral Bonnivet, an incompetent favorite, whose failure has been related.

In the summer of 1524 Bourbon invaded Provence with a strong army, and after

taking Toulon, Frejus, and Aix, laid siege to Marseilles. The city was stubbornly defended, and the approach of the king with a large force compelled the duke to raise the siege and retreat into Italy. Francis, instead of following the enemy along the coast, crossed the Alps by forced marches, entered Lombardy, and seized Milan. Instead of following up his advantages, he turned aside to besiege Pavia, and was delayed before that city for three months. This gave Bourbon time to raise a new army in Germany and join the Spanish commanders De Lannoy and Pescara, at Lodi. On the 24th of February, 1525, the imperial army, thus strengthened, attacked the French at Pavia, inflicting upon them a total defeat and a loss of 8,000 men, in which were included all their best generals. Francis was made prisoner, and was conveyed to the Castle of Pizzighittone, near Milan, from which he sent news of his captivity to his mother.

The news of the defeat at Pavia and the captivity of the king created a feeling of dismay in France. Louise of Savoy was regent, and acted in this emergency with resolution and promptness. She at once opened negotiations with the pope, the King of England, the Venetians, the Florentines, and even with the Turkish sultan. The great power and undisguised ambition of Charles had alarmed all the European states, and Louise had no difficulty in concluding a treaty of neutrality and defensive alliance with Henry of England, in August, 1525. Henry stipulated among other things that the freedom of the King of France should never be purchased by the cession of any of his territory, and bound himself to use every effort to secure the release of that monarch. A little later a secret league was formed between the pope, England, Venice, and Francesco Sforza, for the expulsion of the Spaniards from Italy.

In the meantime Francis was conveyed to Madrid, and imprisoned in the gloomy tower of the Alcazar. The emperor refused to see him, and the king fell ill. At length, in January, 1526, worn out with his confinement, Francis signed, under a secret protest, which permitted him to violate it at pleasure, the treaty of Madrid. By this instrument he agreed to cede Burgundy, Flanders, and Artois to the emperor, renounced all claim to Naples and Milan, restored to the Duke of Bourbon all his for-

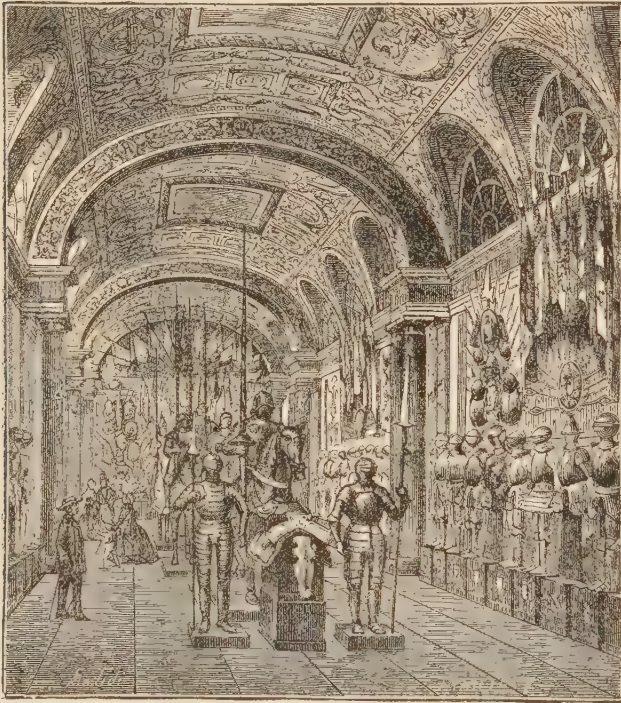


DEATH OF THE CHEVALIER BAYARD.

feited domains, and promised to attend the emperor with a fleet and army when he went to be crowned at Rome, or marched against the Turks. The two sons of Francis were delivered to Charles as hostages for the fulfilment of this treaty, and Francis bound himself to return to his captivity in case of his failure to deliver up Burgundy within four months.

Immediately upon his return home, Francis set to work to evade the execution of these humiliating conditions, which he declared were not binding upon him because of being wrung from him while a

demanded that Francis should return to his captivity, but the king paid no heed to this demand, and was soon absolved by the pope from his engagements with the emperor. Francis then gave himself energetically to advancing the affairs of the Holy League. The fate of this combination, and the capture and plunder of Rome by the Spanish army under the Duke of Bourbon, have been related. In 1528 Francis despatched an army to conquer Naples, but, as has been stated, he deprived himself of the alliance of the Genoese by his treatment of them. They went over to the side of the



MUSEUM OF ARTILLERY, PARIS.

prisoner. When the Viceroy Lannoy urged him to fulfil his engagement respecting Burgundy, he summoned at Cognac a meeting of deputies from that duchy, who, in the presence of the Spanish envoys, declared that the king had no right to alienate the duchy from the crown of France, as his coronation oath forbade him to do so, and that they would never consent to such a step. The king declared his readiness to execute the other stipulations of the treaty, and in place of Burgundy offered the emperor an indemnity of two millions of crowns. Charles, finding himself duped,

and the French army, unsuccessful in its operations, and decimated by a terrible epidemic, was obliged to abandon the siege of Naples, and retreat to Aversa, where the remnant soon surrendered to the imperial forces. Out of 30,000 men who had marched into the Neapolitan kingdom, scarcely 5,000 remained to take part in this surrender. Genoa also revolted against the French, under the leadership of Doria, and remained independent of France until the wars of the Great Revolution. Both sides were now tired of the war. Francis, disheartened by his losses and the heavy cost of the struggle, was willing to abandon his pretensions to Italy, which he saw he could not maintain, and Charles, uneasy at the rapid growth of Lutheranism in Germany, desired peace with France in order to give his attention to that danger. A treaty of

peace was arranged and signed at Cambray in July, 1529. All the conditions of the treaty of Madrid, save the cession of Burgundy, were embraced within it. In lieu of that duchy the emperor accepted an indemnity of two millions of crowns offered by Francis, who also bound himself not to engage in any enterprise in Italy or elsewhere hostile to the emperor, and to assist him when called upon with a fleet and a subsidy of 200,000 crowns. The king also agreed to marry Eleanor, queen dowager of Portugal, the sister of Charles. This marriage took place in July, 1530, and the

sons of Francis, who had been detained as hostages at Madrid, were released. The peace of Cambray was a severe humiliation to Francis. He not only put an end by it to all hope of French dominion in Italy, but meanly sacrificed his allies to the necessity of obtaining peace.

During the interval of peace which followed this treaty, Francis inflicted another indelible stain upon his character by persecuting those of his subjects who had embraced the opinions of the reformers. They had grown very strong in France, and the king's sister Marguerite, afterwards Queen of Navarre, and some of the noblest persons in the kingdom, were among their number. Francis was naturally inclined to toleration, but his chief minister, Cardinal Duprat, led him to adopt a course opposed to his inclination. A severe persecution was begun, and a number of victims were cruelly burned to death in the capital and in the provinces. In a little while, however, Francis, wishing to strengthen himself against the emperor by cultivating the friendship of the Lutheran princes of Germany, discontinued the persecution, and made overtures of amity towards them. The savage cruelties which had marked his persecution of the reformed filled the German brethren with horror, and the Lutheran princes turned a deaf ear to the persuasions of the French king and made their peace with the emperor. Francis endeavored still, by showing them increased attention and restoring to liberty those who had been imprisoned for holding the reformed opinions, to win them over to his side, but they had no faith in him, and thus his short-sighted cruelty accomplished its legitimate results. In order to conciliate the pope, Francis negotiated a marriage between his second son, Henry, Duke of Orleans, and Catharine de' Medici, daughter of the late Duke of Urbino, a relative of Pope Clement. The marriage was solemnized by the pope in person at Marseilles on the 28th of October, 1533. The next year Clement died, and his successor was friendly to the emperor.

In 1533 Charles deeply offended King Francis by seizing and beheading without trial the confidential agent of the latter at the court of Milan. Francis, watching his opportunity to renew the war, advanced, in 1535, a baseless claim to the duchy of Savoy, and rapidly overran both Savoy and Piedmont with his troops. The emperor at once took the field against him, and invaded

Provence at the head of 50,000 men. Francis retired before him, removing the inhabitants, burning the towns, and laying waste the country. He thus inflicted immense suffering upon his own people, but he defeated the invasion of the emperor without striking a blow. Charles found it impossible to subsist his troops and animals, and though his march was unimpeded, famine and disease swept away his army. He attempted to lay siege to Arles and Marseilles, but was driven off with ease, and hearing of the growing strength of the French army, he retreated into Italy, having lost about half of his forces and gained nothing. During this campaign the dauphin, the eldest son of Francis, died on the 10th of August. The Duke of Orleans succeeded his brother as dauphin and heir to the crown. The war went on without accomplishing anything until the summer of 1538, when a truce of ten years was arranged by the pope, each sovereign being left in possession of what he held at the time. The Milanese duchy remained with the emperor, and Francis kept Savoy and the greater part of Piedmont. This truce was followed by a personal interview of the sovereigns, at which it seemed that their old cordiality had been revived.

Francis now applied himself to the task of conciliating the emperor, and broke off his relations with Henry VIII. and the sultan, and became once more the enemy and persecutor of the Protestants. In 1539 Ghent rebelled against the emperor and appealed to Francis for support, promising in return to restore the sovereignty of France in that city and in the other cities of Flanders. Francis, who was anxious to lay the emperor under an obligation to him, not only refused the proposition, but informed Charles of it and offered him a safe passage through France to the Netherlands. Charles at once accepted the offer, and was magnificently entertained by Francis during his progress through France. The king was urged by several of his confidential advisers to detain the emperor now that he had him in his power, until he consented to comply with all his demands; but Francis refused to break his word, and accompanied his guest to the frontier, where he arrived in February, 1540. Francis had demanded of him the investiture of Milan, and Charles had delayed his answer. Upon reaching Flanders, he denied having given Francis any encouragement to hope for a favorable

answer, and a few months later made his son Philip Duke of Milan. Francis, angry at this refusal, renewed his negotiations with the Lutherans, and made an alliance with the Sultan Solymán, whose fleet joined that of France at Marseilles in May, 1543. The allies then proceeded to Nice, which was sacked and burned. The French army under the Count D'Enghien defeated the imperialists at Cerisoles in Savoy, on the 14th of April, 1544.

Francis was in no condition to profit by these advantages, however, for Charles had succeeded in drawing Henry VIII. into an alliance with him. A treaty was signed by the emperor and Henry in February, 1543, by which they agreed to attempt the conquest of France, and if successful to divide the kingdom between them. In July, 1544, Henry landed at Calais with 30,000 men; and laid siege to Bologne and Montreuil; and Charles advanced into Champagne and laid siege to St. Dizier-sur-Marne, which detained him in front of it for six weeks by its gallant resistance, and gave Francis time to collect a large army, with which he covered the approaches to Paris. The emperor deeming it imprudent to risk a battle with this force halted at Compiègne, and opened negotiations with the French king, and a treaty of peace was arranged between them on the 18th of September of that year. Each surrendered the territory he had taken since the truce of Nice. Francis again renounced his claims to Naples and Flanders, and agreed to surrender Savoy on condition of the investiture of his third son, the Duke of Orleans, with the duchy of Milan, and his marriage to a daughter of the emperor or of the Archduke Ferdinand. The death of the duke within a year prevented the execution of the articles concerning Savoy and Milan. Henry VIII. refused to take part in this treaty, and the war between England and France went on in a desultory manner until June, 1546, when peace was signed between them.

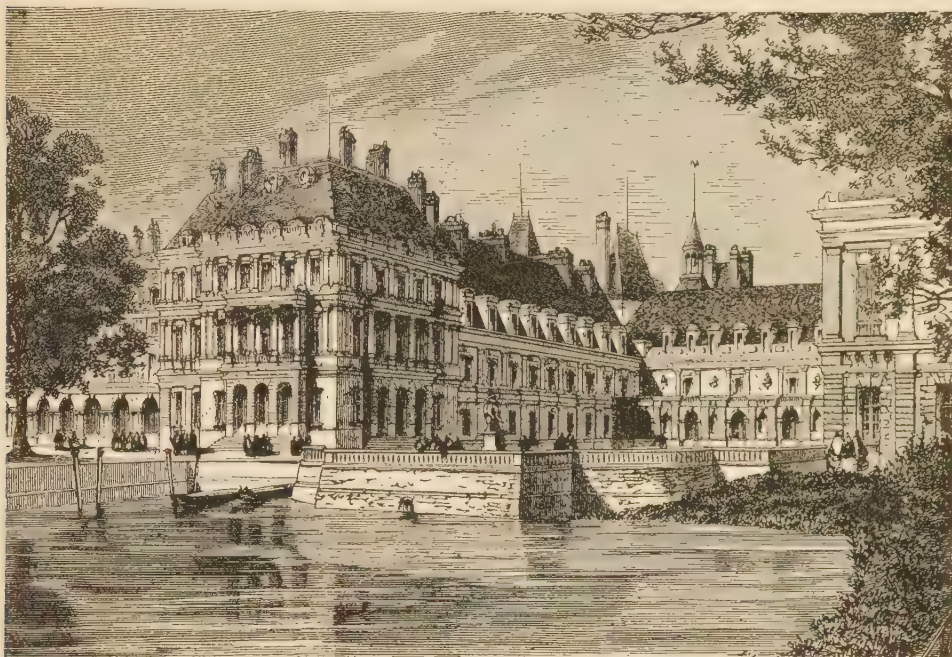
In the following year, March 31, Francis died. He had made a figure in his day. With the greatest and most powerful ruler since the days of Charlemagne, he had fought a life-long duel. Frequently worsted, he contrived in a marvellous manner not only to preserve the integrity of France, but even to extend her boundaries. On the slightest provocation on the part of his powerful antagonist, he was ready again to buckle on his armor; and after each fresh

encounter, the Emperor Charles was as willing as himself to arrive at some terms of agreement. A patron of literature and of art he founded the Royal College of Paris, and furnished Fontainebleau with a magnificent library; and with many noble structures and with many pictures and statues of enduring value his name is lastingly associated. Of chivalrous disposition, gay, even voluptuous, he gave too much of his time to licentious amours, and was a victim to questionable feminine influence. Possessed of many qualities which gave him popularity in his time, and which have secured for him a place in the higher rank of French rulers, he was wanting in sincerity of character, and in many of the higher elements which constitute true greatness. In religious matters his conduct was as contemptible as it was unprincipled; and his cruel persecution of the unfortunate Vaudois has left a dark stain upon his character.

Francis was succeeded by his son Henry, who reigned as Henry II. The new king was in his twenty-ninth year, having been born in 1518. He had been married since 1533 to Catharine de Medicis, daughter of Lorenzo de Medicis, Duke of Urbino, and niece of Pope Clement VII. France had never been so united and powerful as it was when Henry ascended the throne. But he was a lover of pleasure, and although not without ambition, wanting in high moral purpose;—one of those men, in fact, of whom not a few have occupied thrones, who allow themselves and their affairs to be managed by others. It was during this reign that the family of Guise sprang to the first place in France, and by their daring and energy distanced all the native nobility. The founder of the family, and first Duke of Guise was Claude, fifth son of René II., Duke of Lorraine. Having quarreled with his elder brother, Claude left Lorraine and entered the service of Francis I., accompanied him to Italy, received twenty-two wounds at the battle of Marignano, and some eight years afterwards drove the Germans from Champagne. His valor and talent won him the favor of the king. He married Antoinette de Bourbon, who bore him twelve children, of whom eight were sons. One of his daughters, Mary, married James V. of Scotland, and became the mother of the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots. Francis I. had already discovered the ambitious tendencies of Guise and his

family; and in his last hours, it is said, he warned his son against them, as well as against the Constable Montmorency, whom he had some time before dismissed from his councils. The advice was not followed. Montmorency was recalled to court; and the highest honors were bestowed upon the Guises. The principal persons at court were the elder Guise, Duke Claude, his eldest son, Francis, and his next son, the Cardinal of Lorraine, the confessor of the king, the Constable Montmorency, the Marshal de St. André, and the king's favorite mistress, Diana of Poitiers, recently created Duchess of Valentinois.

queen by fair means or foul, Henry resumed hostilities against the little kingdom. Mary was removed to a place of safety. France was as eager to have her as England. So far as France was concerned, it was in every way a desirable alliance. After Elizabeth, at least, Mary was the nearest heir to the English crown. It was an alliance much to be desired also by the family of Guise. They had made a point for themselves in giving a queen to Scotland. They would make a greater point by giving a queen to France. Mary was grand-daughter of Duke Claude, and of course, niece of Francis and of the cardinal. In this case, the interest of the



PALACE OF FONTAINEBLEAU—THE FOUNTAIN COURT.

The first event of public importance after the advent of Henry to power was the arrival in France of Mary, the infant Queen of Scots. Mary had come to France as the betrothed of the Dauphin, Francis II. Few princesses have been so eagerly courted as Mary Stuart. Although only in her sixth year, her hand had already been demanded by Henry VIII. of England for his only son, the Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward VI. But the Scottish people would not have it. Henry had made a mistake. They might have been led: they would not be driven. Resolved to have the custody of the person of the young

Guises and the interest of France happened to coincide; and the state of feeling which Henry had produced in Scotland was turned to good account by Cardinal Beaton and by the queen mother in Scotland. In July of the following year, 1548, Mary, under the protection of a French fleet, was conveyed to France, and affianced to the dauphin. Mary, by and by, is to become an important factor in French affairs.

It was somewhat of a misfortune for Henry II. that he inherited warlike relations with his two most powerful rivals on the continent; and it was characteristic of the reckless character of the period that he al-

lowed himself to be dragged into a war with England. In a previous part of this work, reference has been made to his alliance with Duke Maurice of Saxony, when that prince turned against the Emperor Charles V., and wrung from him the Peace of Passau. On that occasion Henry took the field in person, at the head of thirty-eight thousand men, and seized Metz, Toul, and Verdun. The subsequent attempts made by Charles to recover these places completely failed; and the successful resistance of Francis Duke of Guise offered to the emperor, during the three months' siege of Metz, increased his own influence, and gave fresh renown to the house to which he belonged. Henry was less fortunate in his struggle with Spain. After the abdication of Charles, and before Philip had time properly to arrange his affairs, he resolved to make two simultaneous attacks on the Spanish power—the one in Italy, and the other in the Netherlands. The Italian expedition came to nothing, the plans of Guise having been completely thwarted by the superior strategy of the Duke of Alva. The Netherlands expedition experienced even greater sorrow; for on French soil, and under the walls of St. Quentin, the French sustained a humiliating and disastrous defeat at the hands of a joint Spanish and English army, under the command of the Duke of Savoy. In this terrible encounter, the flower of French chivalry was either slain or made captive. Among the prisoners was the commander-in-chief, the Constable Montmorency himself. Guise, meanwhile, had hurried back from Italy, and collected a fresh army at Compiègne. After a series of successful movements, he surprised and captured Calais, which was practically unprotected, and thus wrested from England the last remnant of the conquests of the Plantagenets. Calais was captured on January 8th, 1558. In the same year, on April 8th, Mary Stuart was married to the dauphin. The triumph of the Guises was complete. They were now without rivals among the nobility of France. In April of the following year was signed the Peace of Cateau Cambrésis, France retaining Calais, Guines, Metz, Toul and Verdun, but surrendering all of Savoy and Piedmont, with the exception of Turin and four other fortresses, and abandoning also all her conquests in Italy and the Low Countries. By this treaty France surrendered some one hundred and eighty-nine towns and fortresses in various parts of Eu-

rope. It was a most humiliating treaty for France; but humiliating as it was, it did not prevent certain public demonstrations of joy in connection with the peace. In the course of these rejoicings Henry took part in a tournament, when a splinter from the spear of Count Montgomery, the captain of his Scotch guards, penetrated one of his eyes, inflicting a fatal wound. He died on the 10th of July, 1559.

We have now approached a most important period of French history. Hitherto we have not had much to say regarding the Protestant Reformation in that connection. It would be a mistake, however, to imagine that the reform movement which had already created so much commotion in Germany and elsewhere, had failed to produce even a ripple on the surface of affairs in France. It was far otherwise. In spite of the ill-concealed opposition of Francis I. and of his son Henry II., and even of the active persecution which was a feature of both reigns, the cause of Protestantism made real, and in the latter reign, particularly, both rapid and substantial progress. It had already become a great living fact—a real power in France. In the year 1558, it was estimated that there were two thousand places of worship, scattered over the kingdom, connected with the Reformation, and that the people in regular attendance at these places of worship numbered over four hundred thousand. They were organized after the Geneva pattern, rather than after that of Augsburg. They were, therefore, Presbyterian in government and worship, and Calvinistic in doctrine. In 1559, the year in which Henry died, they made bold enough to hold a general synod in Paris. At this synod they agreed upon a confession of faith, and decided upon the form of their ecclesiastical organization. Protestantism in France was thus no longer represented by a number of unconnected and independent congregations, but by a compact, united body, agreed as to doctrine, worship and government.

The Protestants of France had been known at different times by different names. It was about this time that they began to be called "Huguenots," a name which has won an honored and undying place in history. The origin of the name has always been involved in some doubt. Some would derive it from the German *Eidgenossen*, "confederates," a name given in former years to the Swiss patriots. The French

form of the word is *Eidgenots*. Another theory connects the name with Hugh Capet. At Tours there was a superstitious belief that the ghost of Hugh Capet roamed the streets at night; and as the Protestants held their meetings at night and under cover of the darkness, they were mockingly called Huguenots, as if they were the troop of King Hugh. This last is the explanation given by Beza. It derives encouragement from the circumstance that the name became common after the discovery at Tours of the famous conspiracy of Amboise; and Pasquier strengthens the argument in favor of this origin by the statement that he had heard the Protestants called Hu-

extirpate heresy in their respective dominions. A special tribunal, modelled somewhat after the Inquisition, was established in France for the trial of all offences against religion. When, therefore, Francis II., a youth of sixteen, came to the throne, the persecution of the Protestants was the order of the day. It was a line of policy which accorded with the tastes and wishes of the queen mother, who was ambitious of power, who had been ignored in her husband's lifetime, and who, believing that her son was under age, had begun to show her hand. Catharine, however, had miscalculated; for Francis was pronounced of age. Mary Stuart was, therefore, a more important



PALACE OF THE TUILERIES.

guenots, by some of his friends at Tours, eight or nine years before the tumult of Amboise. Whichever be the correct theory as to the origin of the word, certain it is that it was not until 1560 that the name came into general use. When we first make the acquaintance of the Huguenots, they have already become a great political party. Nor were their adherents drawn only from the lower or even middle ranks of society. On the contrary, they could claim as their own some of the noblest houses, and some of the most illustrious personages in France.

The death of Henry gave a new turn to French affairs. In the treaty of Cateau Cambrésis, there was a secret clause which bound the kings of Spain and France to

personage at the Court of Francis II. than Catharine de Medicis. But Mary was under the control of her uncle, the Guises, Duke Henry, and the Cardinal of Lorraine. Unfortunately for the Protestants, the policy of persecution was as agreeable to the Guises and to Mary Stuart as it was to the queen mother.

It was in these circumstances that the Huguenots sprang into political importance. Among the illustrious families who had accepted the new doctrines and identified themselves with the persecuted Calvinists were those of Bourbon and Chatillon. The representatives of these families were naturally enough looked up to as leaders. They were—of the House of Bourbon, Anthony,

King of Navarre by his marriage with Jeanne d'Albret, and, after the sons of Henry II., the next in succession to the throne, and his two brothers, Charles, the Cardinal of Rouen, and Louis, Prince of Condé; and of the House of Chatillon, Odet, Cardinal of Chatillon, Admiral Coligny, and Dandelot, Colonel of the Cisalpine infantry. The natural head of the party was Anthony of Navarre; but he was a man of little purpose or energy. Of the three brothers, Condé alone was a man with any force of character. The Chatillon brothers were men of a nobler stamp; and Coligny was one of the noblest men of his time. Persecution was raging. The Protestant leaders at last became impatient. It was bad enough to see their brethren in the faith despoiled of their goods, put to torture and to death. It was intolerable to see the control of the kingdom in the hands of the upstart and arrogant family of Guise. It was resolved to capture the obnoxious ministers and to place the young king under the care of more constitutional advisers. Coligny refused to take any part in the conspiracy; and Calvin frowned upon the whole affair. Action was to be taken when the court was at Amboise. The conspiracy failed. The Guises were forewarned and forearmed. A bloody and brutal revenge was taken upon the conspirators; and Condé escaped execution only by the opportune death of the young king. The tumult of Amboise marks a fresh departure in the history of French Protestantism. Henceforward the reformers were known as Huguenots.

Catharine now found her opportunity. Her second son, known as Charles IX., at the early age of ten, ascended the throne. His mother assumed his guardianship, and with it a virtual regency. It was necessary, however, to proceed with caution. Catharine called to her councils the wise and virtuous Chancellor L'Hôpital, who advised her to liberate Condé, and to put a check upon the opposite party. The King of Navarre was made lieutenant-general. The Constable Montmorency was re-entrusted with the direction of military affairs. Not daring, or not desiring to go further, she allowed the Guises to remain at the council board; and Duke Francis retained his post as master of the household. For a time the policy of toleration recommended by L'Hôpital prevailed. The edict of Romartin, 1560, made some unimportant con-

cessions; but Protestant assemblies for worship were still forbidden. A Colloquy, as it was called, was held by appointment at Poissy in September, 1561; and for the first time the Huguenots were allowed to vindicate their religious views in the presence of the king. Beza and Peter Martyr represented the cause of the Protestants; and Catholicism had a powerful advocate in the person of the Cardinal of Lorraine. The result was the "Edict of January," published January 17, 1562. It embodied the first formal recognition of the Protestant religion, and conceded liberty to meet for worship, without arms, in all places, outside of walled towns. The Edict of January, or St. Germain, as it was also named, has been called the Magna Charta of Huguenot rights; and, as we shall see, it was the violation of the principles and concessions of this document which led to a protracted period of civil war.

It now seemed as if a better day had dawned upon the Huguenots and upon France. It was only a brief illusion. The Catholic party, at heart, were utterly opposed to the policy of toleration. It was becoming more and more apparent to careful observers that the smothered feelings on the one side and on the other would sooner or later find forceful expression. Provocation and opportunity only were wanted to bring about a civil war. Neither was long delayed. On the morning of Sunday, March 1, 1562, in the small town of Vassy in Champagne, the Huguenots had assembled as was their wont, in their humble meeting house—a sort of barn or other out-house of a farm. The Duke of Guise who had been to Germany was on his way back to Paris. He was accompanied by several hundred noblemen and soldiers. Passing through the town they heard the sound of bells. "What is it?" said the duke. "It is the church of the Huguenots of Vassy," was the answer. The duke began to gnaw his beard and to show other signs of rage. In a few seconds, his men had invaded the congregation. On riding up to the scene of the disturbance, the duke was hit on the ear with a stone. This naturally enough increased his rage. The soldiers were let loose on the unarmed worshippers. It was a cruel butchery. The news spread like wild-fire. On his arrival in Paris, Guise was received with acclamations. But the Protestants all over the land were filled with grief and indignation. The Religious Peace

had been ruthlessly violated. Under the leadership of Condé they flew to arms. Condé found a wise and powerful associate in Coligny. At the head of the Catholic party were Guise, Montmorency, and St. André. They were known as the Triumvirate. On the same side now was Anthony of Bourbon, King of Navarre, who had abandoned his former associates. France became divided into two hostile camps; and thus began a protracted period of civil war—a war which in many important particulars was not unlike the Thirty Years' War in Germany.

After many minor conflicts, there was a great trial of strength at Dreux. At this battle St. André was killed; and Condé was made prisoner on the one side and Montmorency on the other. The battle at Dreux was followed almost immediately by an event which filled France with consternation and alarm. This was no less than the assassination of the Duke of Guise by a fanatic of the name of Poltrot. The crime was, of course, laid to the charge of the Protestants; and the assassin was declared to be a hireling of Coligny. But the act was condemned by Calvin and by all the Protestant leaders; and Coligny protested against the charge and declared that he had again and again prevented the execution of similar plots. The death of Guise made a deep impression on all ranks and classes of the people. It led to fresh negotiations between the rival parties, the result being the Peace of Amboise, signed March 19, 1563, just one year after the massacre of Vassy. This treaty was a seeming benefit to the great nobles; but it diminished the privileges of the lesser gentry and the towns, and it specially excluded Protestantism from Paris.

There was nothing in the Amboise arrangement to encourage the hope of lasting peace. It satisfied no one; it led to no reconciliation; and it soon became manifest that it was only a measure of temporary convenience to the court party. In 1565, Catharine received a visit from her daughter Elizabeth, the wife of the Spanish monarch Philip II. Elizabeth was accompanied by the Duke of Alva, a man high in his master's confidence, and soon to be known for his infamous cruelty in the Netherlands. Advantage was taken of Alva's visit to hold a conference at Bayonne. Alva exerted himself to the utmost to induce the French court to adopt extreme measures against the Protestants. But neither the young

king nor his mother was in favor of renewing the war. Ignorant of the actual facts in the case, the Protestants dreaded the worst; and Alva's cruelties in the Netherlands following soon afterward, they resolved to anticipate the coming evil. It was part of their plan to obtain possession of the king's person. The court took refuge in Paris. Condé invested the capital, but was compelled to fall back into Lorraine. Reinforced there by some ten thousand Germans under Prince John Cassimir, he returned to Paris, and extorted the Peace of Longjumeau, March 27, 1568, thus re-establishing the terms of the treaty of Amboise.

This treaty was made but to be broken. It was wrung from the king against his will. It was equally a cause of sorrow to the queen mother. The persecutions were not discontinued. The Huguenots, under Condé and Coligny, were again in arms; and the third of the civil wars was fairly entered upon. The rival forces under Condé and the Duke of Anjou, the king's brother, afterwards known as Henry III., met at Jarnac, March 13, 1569. The Huguenots were defeated, and Condé was slain. Coligny assumed the position of military leader, and maintained the struggle. It was at this time that Henry of Navarre cast in his lot with the Huguenots. His father had been killed at the capture of Rouen in 1562. His mother, Jeanne D'Albret, had remained true to the Protestant cause. She had been careful of the interests of her son, who, since his father's death, was the head of the House of Bourbon. At his mother's request, Henry now put himself at the head of the Huguenot movement. Henry's accession was felt to be a moral triumph. It gave character and dignity to the suffering cause. Coligny laid siege to Poitiers. Numbers, however, were still against the Huguenots; and at Montcontour, October 3, of the same year, they suffered a second defeat at the hands of Anjou. The treatment received by the Huguenots had awakened sympathy in all Protestant States. Men and even money now began to pour in from England, from Germany and from Switzerland. The tide of battle turned. Nîmes was wrenched from the royalists before the close of 1569; Rochelle, in which the Queen of Navarre held her court, was relieved; and at Luçons the royalists were whipped by the Huguenot commander Lanoue. Catharine and her son were now glad to come to terms; and the treaty of Germain-en-Laye, signed Au-

gust 8, 1570, brought to an end the third civil war. By this treaty the provisions of the Peace of Amboise were restored, and four fortified towns, of which Rochelle was one, were placed in the hands of the Huguenots as a guarantee of good faith on the part of the government.

Two years of peace followed this arrangement. It seemed as if a better spirit were now about to prevail, and as if persecution, on account of religion, were to cease. The relations with Spain were visibly colder; and an alliance with England against Philip II., whose arrogance and pretension had become unbearable, seemed among the early probabilities of the situation. Marriages suggestive of reconciliation and peace became the order of the day. Elizabeth of England was named first in connection with the Duke of Anjou, the heir of the French crown, and afterwards in connection with his younger brother, the Duke of Alençon. A marriage was consummated between young Condé and a princess of the house of Cleves. Of all these marriage arrangements the most important was that between young Henry of Navarre and Margaret of Valois, Catharine's youngest daughter. The marriage was to be on a scale of unprecedented magnificence. Such a union of conflicting interests seemed, to the more hopeful spirits of the time, to promise peace. In the meantime, several prominent Huguenots had been induced to come to Paris. The Queen of Navarre had come up to the capital to be present at her son's marriage. Coligny also had been persuaded to appear at court. He was graciously received by the queen mother; and his manners, as well as his commanding talents, at once secured for him the confidence of the king.

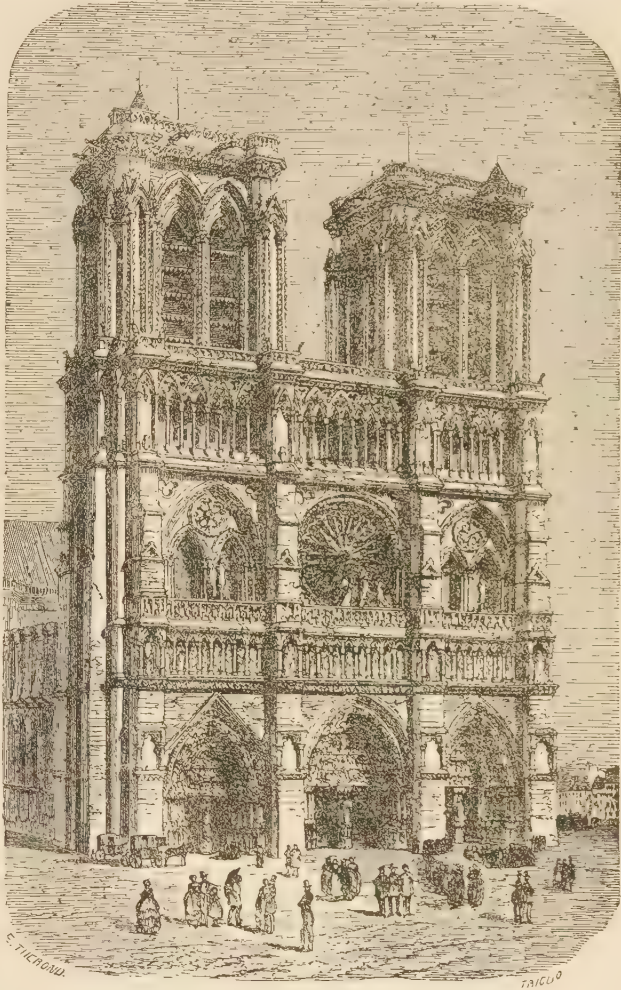
Externally there was a great calm; but it was the calm which preludes the thunder-storm. It was not possible that a man like Coligny should be high in favor and influence at court without giving mortal offence to his rivals. In his life and character he presented a perfect contrast to most of the men of his time. Pure in morals, deeply imbued with religious sentiment, of strong convictions, resolute of purpose, grave and dignified in deportment, broad and generous in his views, and possessed of a keen, clear intellect, Coligny would have been a commanding figure in any age or country; but in his own day, in France, he stood lofty and almost alone. He was

happiest at home, on his estates with his family and dependents. On Sundays he was never absent from his place in the house of God; and it was his custom when the time came round for the observance of the Lord's Supper, to go among his people inculcating a spirit of brotherly love, and endeavoring to heal differences where any existed. It was with reluctance that he entered upon the civil war; but the call of duty he felt to be imperative; and the counsels of his wife, his equal in piety and nobility of soul, left him no choice. On the field of battle he was never cruel for cruelty's sake; nor was he ever ungenerous to a fallen foe. But on the grounds of religion, and because of what he had done, he was an object of dislike—of envy and even hatred to the entire Catholic party. He was especially obnoxious to the Guises, whom he had supplanted in the king's confidence, and who unjustly held him responsible for the murder of the late duke. It was hardly possible that the relations between Coligny and the queen mother could long continue to be agreeable. Between two such souls there is no natural harmony. Catharine soon manifested signs of jealousy of his influence with the king. Coligny was in favor of war with Spain. The situation was favorable for striking a blow at the undying enemy of France, and the mortal enemy of liberty in Europe. Catharine was opposed to such a war. She would not have been unwilling to humble Philip; but a successful war against Spain, she saw clearly enough, would add to the prosperity of the Huguenots, and would confirm the influence of Coligny over the king—a double danger which she was resolved to avoid. In the presence of the king hot words passed between them. Coligny had said that the king might be involved in war even against his will. He referred to the war in the Netherlands, his idea being that if the king did not take advantage of the opportunity and enter willingly into the war, the situation might so shape itself that he would have no choice. His words were misunderstood or misinterpreted. It was claimed afterwards by Catharine that he had thrown out a threat. Coligny was clearly in Catharine's way. There is too good reason to believe that she there and then vowed revenge—resolved to put him out of the way; and it does not argue any very large amount of credulity to believe that in the Guises and their associates and

followers, she found willing accomplices in her diabolical conspiracy. Strange rumors were already in the air—rumors which found encouragement in the sudden and mysterious death of the Queen of Navarre. Suspicion pointed to the queen mother. Coligny was advised by his friends to leave the city; but it was not his habit to flee from danger.

On the 18th of August, 1572, took place the marriage of Henry of Navarre and Margaret of Valois. There were the usual outward demonstrations of joy. Large numbers of people had been attracted to Paris. Among the strangers were many Huguenots, with whom the marriage was popular. It was observed that the Catholics looked sullen. The marriage was the reverse of popular with them. As in all such cases, in those times, the festivities were to be extended over several days. On the night of the 22d of August, the festivities being at their height, Coligny, in passing from the Louvre to his lodgings in the Rue des Forrés St. Germain l'Auxerrois, was fired at from the window of a known adherent of the Guises. His right hand was shattered; and he received a wound in his left arm. On being informed of what had happened, the king hastened to the chamber of the wounded admiral, vowing vengeance against the Guises, upon whom the crime was immediately fastened. The king was speedily joined by the queen mother, and his two brothers Aunjou and Alençon. On the part of Catharine, there was a pretence of sympathy and sorrow. It was suspected that the bullets were poisoned; and Coligny naturally enough dreaded the worst. Calling the king to his side, he spoke to him in whispering accents, tendering what might prove to be his last advice. He cautioned him against the counsels of Catharine and the faction with which she had allied herself. Catharine was watchful of all that

took place. What had Coligny said to the king? She was bound to know; nor was she slow to extort the secret from her weakling son. It was more than she could bear. That night she held a council. What took place at that council is to a certain extent a



CATHEDRAL OF NOTRE DAME—FRONT VIEW.

mystery to this day. We are not permitted to doubt that arrangements were made for carrying out a diabolical work of wholesale butchery, and that the silly king by means of force and misrepresentation was made a partner in the conspiracy. What we do know for certain is that it was speedily followed by one of the bloodiest tragedies that ever stained the page of time. On the night of St. Bartholomew's day, August 24, 1572,

two nights after the first attempt on Coligny's life, and while the marriage festivities were still in progress, certain adherents of the family of Guise forced their way into the sick man's chamber, butchered him, and tossed his bleeding and still breathing body into the street below. It fell at the feet of the Duke of Guise, who, it is said, was base enough to kick his fallen rival in the face. A servant of the Duke of Nevers, who stood by with Guise, severed the head from the body and carried it to the queen mother, the king and the Duke of Anjou. Shortly afterwards, the concerted signal was given, by the tolling of the bell in the tower of the royal palace, and the cry was raised, "Death to the Huguenots!" The massacre now became general; and the systematic manner in which the work was done, told too plainly that it was the result of a well-arranged conspiracy. The retinue of the King of Navarre, lodged in the royal palace, were among the first to suffer. They were butchered in the court-yard of the Louvre. Henry of Navarre himself and his cousin Condé saved themselves by rushing to mass and making a pretence of conversion. All over the city the houses of the Huguenots were ransacked, and their inmates driven to the street and butchered. The miserable king was seen to fire upon the helpless and horror-stricken people from one of the windows of the palace; and from another window the queen mother and her attendants complacently contemplated the brutal spectacle. Nor was the hideous work confined to Paris alone. By royal order, similar scenes were enacted at Orléans, at Bruges, at Lyons, at Rouen, at Toulouse, and wherever the royal authority was supreme, and Huguenots were known to congregate. The number of victims of this massacre has been variously estimated at from fifty thousand to one hundred thousand. The largest estimate is that of Péréfine, at one time Archbishop of Paris. In Paris alone, the murdered persons are set down at from five thousand to seven thousand. The horrors of the situation are not expressed by murder alone. Thousands suffered worse than death in flight and homeless wandering.

Such was the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day—*Bluthochzeit* (blood-wedding) as the Germans call it, certainly one of the bloodiest weddings which the world has ever known. It was natural that it should

have gladdened the heart of such a man as Philip of Spain. France had lost the flower of her army; and the world had been rid of so many heretics. The monster is said to have laughed aloud for the first time in his life when the news was brought to him. It was unfortunate, however, that it should have been the cause of so much unseemly rejoicing in some quarters—so much so, indeed, that one is willing to find an explanation in some misconception of the facts of the case. The mass, the medal and the memorial picture have left unpleasant memories. Everywhere in both Catholic and Protestant countries the atrocious crime provoked horror and denunciation.

The Huguenots, however, were not exterminated; nor was their spirit hopelessly crushed. Under another Prince of Condé, who escaped from court, they were able not only to make a heroic resistance at Rochelle, where many thousands had taken refuge, but in a struggle, which is known as the fourth civil war, to extort honorable terms of peace. The horrors of St. Bartholomew were too much for the weak nerves of Charles IX.; and amid the agonies produced by the daily and nightly visions of the terrible scenes of butchery and blood, in which he had taken a shameful part and for which he was largely responsible, he ended his miserable existence on May 30, 1574. His brother Anjou had meanwhile been elected king of Poland. The death of Charles brought him back to France in the character of Henry III. By his marriage into the family of Lorraine, he greatly augmented the power and pretensions of the Guises, who were already looking to the succession to the throne. Yielding to the same influences as his predecessor, Henry soon involved France in the fifth civil war. Henry of Navarre, at the head of the Huguenots, wrung from him the Edict of Beaulieu, May, 1576—the most advantageous concession yet granted to the Protestants. But the arrangement was disagreeable to the Catholic party. The immediate result was the formation of the Holy Christian League, mainly under the influence of the Duke of Guise, the king putting himself at its head. The sixth civil war was the fruit of the League. Peace was concluded again in 1577; and the Edict of Poitiers, issued in September, restored the terms of the former treaty. In 1580 there was a seventh civil war, but it was comparatively unim-

portant. In 1585, however, the situation again became serious. In the previous year, the king's only brother had died. Known first as Alençon, he took the title of Anjou, on the accession of Henry III. He had won some successes in the Netherlands—successes which were afterwards clouded by defeat; and some little notoriety attached to him as the rejected suitor of Elizabeth of England. As the king was childless, his death made Henry of Bourbon, the Huguenot King of Navarre, heir to the throne of France. It was an event which had long been foreseen; but the prospect of a "heretic king" inflamed the Catholic party, and gave new life to the League. The Guises, with the support of Philip of Spain, now turned upon Henry III., and, the Huguenots remaining neutral, compelled him to proscribe the Protestant religion by the Edict of Nemours, July, 1585.

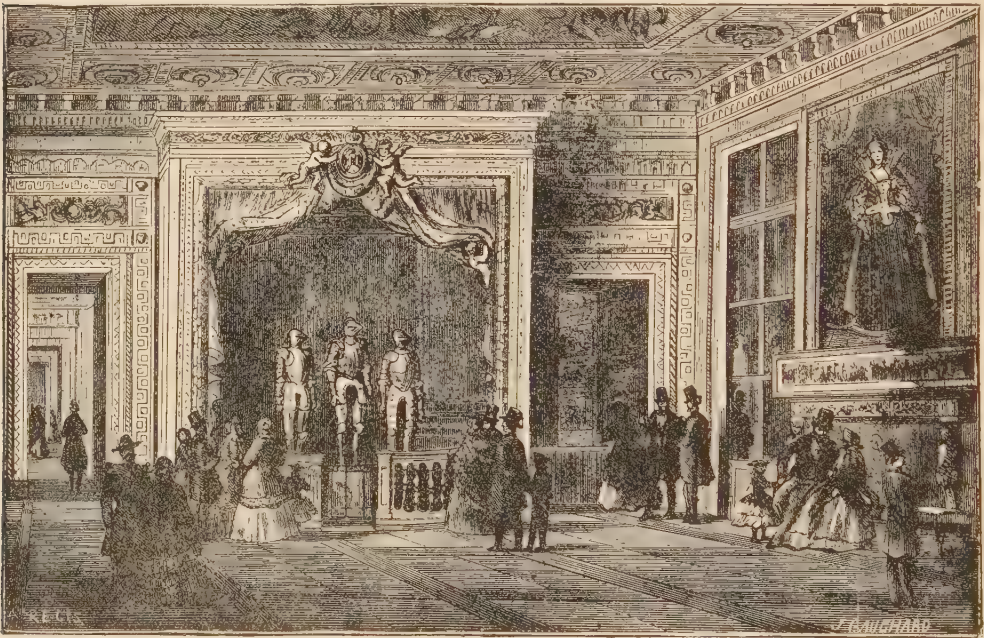
We are thus brought to the period of the eighth civil war. This war is known also as the "war of the three Henrys"—the three principal persons in the struggle being Henry III., Henry of Navarre, and Henry of Guise. It derives importance from a variety of circumstances. On this occasion the war was partly dynastic; but it was mainly a war of religion. It was dynastic, inasmuch as it grew out of the ambition of Guise, who based his claim to the throne of France on his descent from the last of the Carolingian monarchs, but who, not daring to push his own claims, named the Cardinal of Bourbon as the legitimate heir. He was encouraged in this course by a bull of the then Pope, Sixtus V., which denounced both Navarre and Condé as heretics, and declared them to have forfeited their dignities and possessions, as well as all title to the throne of France. It was a religious war, inasmuch as religion lay at the very root of the difficulty, and because the Protestants under Henry of Navarre had taken up arms to resent the indignity of the Edict of Nemours. The forces of the League under the Duke of Joyeuse, and the Huguenots under Navarre came into collision at Contras. The battle resulted in victory for the Huguenots, and Joyeuse was slain. Guise, however, reaped victory out of defeat by routing and driving back into Germany a large force which had come to the assistance of the Protestants. Guise, already the pet of the populace, returned to the capital in triumph, in spite of the express orders of the king. With the help of the people he had no dif-

ficulty in making himself master of Paris. The king was compelled to come to terms with the duke; and by making him lieutenant-general of the kingdom, he virtually placed all power in his hands. Henry had submitted, but had made up his mind for revenge. In December, 1588, the Estates had assembled at Blois. On the 22d, Guise appeared in the royal bed-chamber, at the invitation of the king. He was immediately assassinated by the king's attendants. The Cardinal of Lorraine was at the same time arrested and put to death in prison. Henry told his mother that he was once more King of France, as he had killed the King of Paris. But the Sorbonne, the great ecclesiastical authority, declared against him, threw the parliament into the Bastille, proclaimed the Duke of Aumale, a younger brother of the murdered Guise, commander of Paris, and the Duke of Mayenne, another brother, lieutenant-general of the kingdom. The pope, at the same time, summoned Henry to Rome to answer for his crimes. Happily, as it seemed for the king, Henry of Navarre was still at the head of a powerful army. He flung himself into Henry's arms; and the two kings, with their united forces, laid siege to Paris. Henry III. was now in a fair way to recover his lost power; but the fates were against him. A price had been set on the king's life by the friends of the murdered Guise. A willing tool was found in the person of Jacques Clement, a Dominican monk. Clement found his way into camp and into the king's presence, and stabbed him in the stomach. It was a fatal thrust. The king lingered long enough to proclaim Henry of Navarre his successor, and to cause his assembled nobles to swear allegiance to their new master. On August 2, 1589, at three o'clock in the morning, he breathed his last; and thus passed away the last of thirteen kings of the House of Valois—a house which had ruled over France for a period of two hundred and sixty-one years.

Rightful heir as he was, Henry found it no easy matter to establish himself on the French throne. Since the death of his father, he was chief of the House of Bourbon; and, failing the House of Valois, he was the nearest male heir in direct succession to the throne of St. Louis. The principal difficulty in Henry's way was that he was a Huguenot. As such, he had with his cousin Condé been excommunicated by the pope, and declared to have forfeited all his

rights and titles as a prince of the blood royal. The rival candidates were numerous. Among them were Philip II. through his marriage with the late king's sister; the Duke of Mayenne, who put himself at the head of the Guises, and who claimed to be the representative and heir of the last of the Carlovingian kings; and the Cardinal de Bourbon, uncle of Henry IV. and of the Prince of Condé. The death of Henry III. did not lead to any suspension of hostilities. The new king, Henry IV., with his own forces, and what of the late king's troops which continued to adhere to him, was still in the field against the League. He had now a double cause to fight for.

their interests were not identical. Mayenne, who was in command of the forces of the League, not daring to push his own claims, put forward the Cardinal de Bourbon. Philip of Spain, on the other hand, pressed the claims of his daughter, niece of Henry III., and sought to reconcile the League by proposing to marry her to the son of the late Duke of Guise. This proposal was not agreeable to the Duke of Mayenne, who aspired to unite in his own person all the claims of the House of Guise. Through this want of coherence on the part of his enemies, Henry's cause began to gather strength. He had discontinued the siege of Paris and gone south. There, as



THE CHAMBER OF HENRY IV., PALACE OF THE LOUVRE.

He was fighting for his coreligionists as before. He was also fighting for his crown. Henry was, indeed, in a very difficult position. Under the ban of the church, and confronted by all the strength of Spain and the League, his prospects, for a time, were dark enough. Immediately after the death of his predecessor, he had come under some compromising obligations to the nobles—obligations which did not satisfy the Catholics, and which lost him the sympathy and support of some of the best of the Huguenots. If Spain, the Guises, and the whole Catholic population had united and gone against him, he could not have won. But

he had been taught to expect, he was received with open arms; and in a very short space, Normandy, Brittany, Touraine, Poitou, Saintonge and Gascony had proclaimed for him. In possession of Dieppe, he was in easy communication with England; and he had already received some reinforcements from Elizabeth.

There were many signs that the cause of Henry of Navarre was no longer desperate. He had been recognized by all the Protestant courts of Europe; and it began to be understood that the pope was no longer so much opposed to Henry's claim. His winning manners and his cheerful spirit had

secured to him many friends. His army, too, so terribly reduced when he gave up the siege of Paris, had now assumed goodly proportions. In these circumstances he had come into collision with the forces of the League at Arques; and in several engagements he had inflicted severe punishment on the Duke of Mayenne. These successful encounters had greatly inspired Henry's troops. They were no longer afraid of the superior numbers of the enemy, and were increasingly eager to be led to the attack. On March 14, 1590, the rival forces met at Ivry. This was the greatest battle of the protracted struggle. In this battle, in which the troops of the League were completely defeated, Henry revealed some of the first qualities of a great commander; and the personal valor he displayed had much to do with the winning of the battle. Unfortunately, Henry did not show the same energy in pushing his victory that he had displayed on the battle-field. He marched upon Paris; but the Prince of Parma, one of Philip's most able generals, came to the relief of the city, threw in provisions and compelled Henry to raise the siege. Henry's attempts, at a later stage, to bring on a decisive battle with the Spanish general were unsuccessful, Parma contriving to make a retreat into the Netherlands. France at this juncture was very peculiarly situated. The League, although not so thoroughly united as it had been, was still a mighty force in the kingdom.

Mayenne was still its chief; and from the point of view of the League, the Cardinal de Bourbon, Charles X., as his friends for a time named him, was king. Paris, since the triumph of the late Duke of Guise, had been under the control of the notorious committee of Sixteen—a body which had been selected from their own ranks and held in power by an undisciplined mob. Between the Sixteen and the League, there was no natural affinity. But they had common enemies; and the murdered Guise who was at the head of the League, was, as we have seen, the idol of the Paris populace. For a time, therefore, there was an apparent alliance; the one being useful to the other. The Cardinal de Bourbon, who was now sixty-seven years of age, counted for nothing as an individual force. But he was useful, because he furnished both the League and the Paris mob, with a reason for their existence. Henry had little difficulty in obtaining possession of the person

of his uncle; and although he treated him with the utmost respect, he took good care to have him in such keeping that he could not meet or communicate with his friends. Much as Henry had to fear from the League and from the Paris mob, he had even more to fear from the ambitious schemes and the untiring perseverance of Philip II. We have seen that Philip failed to secure the alliance of the League by promising his daughter to the young Duke of Guise. Philip advised and threatened the Duke of Mayenne, when he was made aware that he himself aspired to the crown. Frowning down the claims of the cardinal, he returned to the plan of a regency. His daughter would be regent; and he would marry her to an Austrian archduke. This last scheme was as absurd as it was dishonest. It revealed the despair of Philip. His real aim was to make France a Spanish province. But the Spanish state was bankrupt, the Spanish fleet had been destroyed, the Spanish army had been decimated; and what Philip could not accomplish by force, he attempted to accomplish by fraud. Philip's despair was a gain to France. Unwillingly he contributed to Henry's success. Fortunately too, for Henry, Mayenne had felt himself compelled to draw the sword against the Paris mob, and to execute some of the leaders. The League and the anarchists of the capital were at variance, and the League itself was divided.

In the meantime, the French nobles of both shades of belief—the Catholics and Protestants alike—showed signs of impatience under the arrogance and pretensions of Philip. If they differed about religion, they were at least Frenchmen. By their cruel and wasteful wars, they were placing themselves at the mercy of a powerful and grasping neighbor. In 1593, the States-General declared against the pretensions of Philip and his daughter, and insisted on the integrity of the Salic law. This was a point gained for Henry. It was evident that there was a desire for peace. But Henry was still a Protestant; and it was still the cry of Catholic France, "We will not have a heretic to rule over us." Henry had often been asked to conform, and had been assured that the barrier of religion alone stood in the way of a perfect reconciliation. But he could not do it. Laterly he had become convinced that it was the only way to secure peace. At the advice of De Rosney, afterwards the Duke of

Sully, a wise counsellor and a true friend, a Protestant, Henry finally yielded; and in July, 1593, in the Church of St. Denis, he made a public recantation of his faith. It did settle difficulties, although it pained some of the leading Protestants. It completely broke the power of the League. The cities, one after the other, surrendered to him. In 1594, he entered the capital in triumph. The Catholic nobles gave in

Treaty of Vervins, Henry had signed the Edict of Nantes—a document which guaranteed to all his subjects liberty and equality as to religious profession and worship. All the towns, about seventy-five in number, that had been obtained by the Huguenots by the treaty of 1577, were permanently secured to them. Among these were La Rochelle, Nismes, Montpellier, Grenoble, and several other important cities. The

Protestants were admitted on equal terms to all the offices and dignities of the State, both civil and military, and special courts were instituted throughout the kingdom for their protection. Liberty was granted to the reformed to hold a general assembly once in three years, to deliberate upon matters concerning their welfare, and to petition the crown for redress of grievances. The Catholic clergy and the more zealous of the laity bitterly resisted and denounced the Edict of Nantes, but it was nevertheless registered by the Parliament of



HENRY IV.

their submission; and even Mayenne and Eprenon were soon conspicuous figures at court. Secure on his throne, Henry proceeded to settle accounts with Philip of Spain. The Treaty of Vervins, signed May, 1589, established peace between the two countries. It made an end also of the civil wars, and gave France continuous peace for the first time in thirty-six years.

A few days before the signing of the

Paris on the 25th of February, 1599, and secured peace and prosperity to France for nearly a century. The house of Bourbon was now peacefully established on the throne, and continued in power until the outbreak of the great revolution, in 1789.

The kingdom being at peace, Henry was now able to devote his energies to the task of arranging its internal affairs upon a se-

sure basis. The finances were in a deplorable state. The public debt was upward of 300,000,000 of francs, a sum equivalent to about \$60,000,000 in our money. The collection of the revenue was let out to officials called Farmers General, who defrauded the government to such an extent that out of 200,000,000 of francs paid annually as taxes by the people, not more than 30,000,000 reached the treasury. In 1598 the king placed Maximilian de Bethune, Baron of Rosny, whom he had created Duke of Sully, in charge of the finances. Sully was one of the ablest statesmen that ever served France, and a man of the sternest integrity. His vigorous measures soon produced a change in financial matters. The frauds from which the government had suffered were sternly checked, useless and expensive offices and titles were abolished, and the levying of arbitrary taxes was stopped. The taxation was reduced to 26,000,000 per annum, and of this sum 20,000,000 were paid into the treasury. The public debt was reduced nearly one-half, and a reserve fund of over 26,000,000 of livres was accumulated. Henry gave a cordial and unswerving support to his great minister, and the kingdom soon began to feel the good effects of the change. Agriculture was encouraged by the king and the minister, as were commerce, manufactures, and all the branches of industry. Commercial treaties were negotiated with England, Holland, Spain, and Turkey, and colonies were founded in America. Marshes were drained, roads, bridges, and canals were constructed, and measures were taken for the preservation of the forests. There was scarcely a subject connected with the welfare of the kingdom that did not receive their personal care and attention.

Although so successful in his public life, Henry was very unfortunate in his private relations. The unmitigated immoralities of his wife, Marguerite de Valois, had caused him to separate from her many years before, and as he had no legitimate heir, he now seriously thought of obtaining a divorce from his wife and marrying his mistress, Gabrielle d'Estrées, who had borne him several children, and whom he had created Duchess of Beaufort. Many of the leading nobles favored this union, but Sully sternly opposed it, and held the king back from it. The duchess unwisely demanded the disgrace of the minister, but Henry answered her bluntly that if it were

necessary to part with either herself or the duke, he would stand by Sully. This decisive blow to her hopes threw her into an illness, of which she died in April, 1599. In December, 1599, the pope, at the request of the king, dissolved his marriage with Marguerite de Valois. Henry now gave a written promise to a new mistress, the beautiful Henriette d'Entragues, whom he made Marchioness of Verneuil. Sully, upon being shown this paper, tore it to pieces, and exerted himself to find a fitting partner for the king. The choice of the monarch fell upon Marie de' Medici, daughter of the late Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the marriage was celebrated in October, 1600. Several children were the fruit of this marriage, the eldest of whom was born on the 27th of September, 1601. He subsequently became Louis XIII.

The treaty of Vervins required the surrender to France by the Duke of Savoy of the Marquisate of Saluces. This was retained by Savoy in spite of the treaty, and in 1600 the duke proceeded to Paris to negotiate with the king concerning it, and took advantage of his visit to organize a conspiracy against the king. He drew into it many of the former members of the league, the principal person being Marshal de Biron, Henry's old companion-in-arms, and whom the king esteemed his most devoted friend. Biron was ambitious, however, and very vain. Satisfied with his work, Charles Emmanuel went back to Savoy, and refused to make the surrender required of him by treaty. He hoped that his plot, which had for its object nothing short of the dismemberment of France into feudal states under the suzerainty of the King of Spain, was in a fair way to succeed, and he was anxious for war. Henry gratified him, and invading Savoy with an army, in which Marshal de Biron held one of the chief commands, rapidly overran the duchy, and on the 21st of August occupied Chambery, the capital. The Duke of Savoy was obliged to ask for peace, and as the price of it was compelled to surrender the district of La Bresse, between Lyons and Geneva, in return for Saluces. Upon his return to France, Henry was informed of the conspiracy, and of Biron's share in it; but upon the avowal of his guilt by his friend, the king frankly forgave him, and sent him on a mission to England. Biron, however, failed to profit by the generosity of the king, and renewed his intrigues with

the enemies of France. His plots being discovered, the king offered him a chance to confess his guilt, intending to pardon him if he showed any sign of remorse; but as the marshal haughtily refused to acknowledge his crime, he was tried, convicted, and executed on the 31st of July, 1632. This was a wise measure as well as a severe one. It effectually put an end to the plots against Henry, and secured the internal tranquillity of France. Three years of unbroken peace followed, and Henry was enabled to devote himself to the improvement of his kingdom.

The king now began seriously to consider the execution of a scheme which he had long meditated for the rearrangement of the European system of states, and the humiliation of the house of Austria. He desired to form a great European confederation of nations, which should embrace within itself upon a footing of perfect equality, the three prevailing forms of Christianity, the Catholic, the Lutheran, and the Reformed. Each member was to be guaranteed the free and full enjoyment of the political institutions it preferred. Six hereditary and six elective monarchies and three republics were to be embraced in the confederacy. The hereditary monarchies were to be France, Spain, Great Britain, Denmark, Sweden, and northern Italy, or Savoy; the elective monarchies, the Empire, Poland, Hungary, Venice, Bohemia, and the Papal States; the republics, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the Italian republics, which last were to embrace Genoa, Lucca, and the other small states. The acceptance of this programme by Europe would have weakened Spain by severing from her the Netherlands, Franche Comté, and Lombardy; and Austria would have been proportionately weakened by the loss of Bohemia, Hungary, and the Tyrol. An equilibrium would thus be established between the great powers, and was to be preserved by a diet or federal council, to which disputes between the states were to be referred, and the decisions of which were to be final. Henry hoped by the enforcement of such a system to weaken Spain, to humble Austria, both of which powers were too strong for the welfare of Europe, to put an end to the religious wars and quarrels, and to establish a system of international law which should be binding upon all Europe. It was a grand design, but it was not to be carried out.

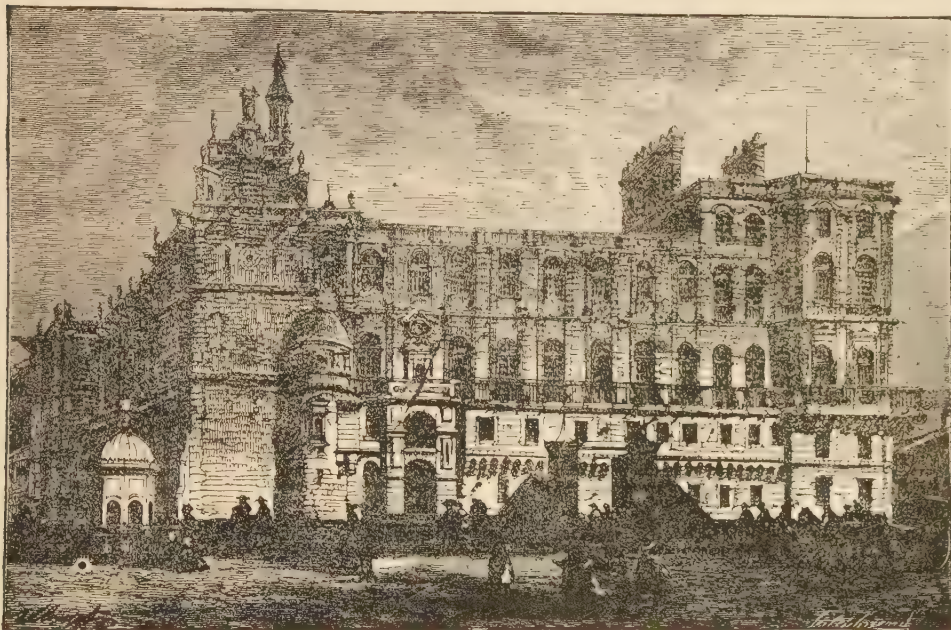
As a first step towards the enforcement of his design Henry devoted himself to the task of weakening the house of Austria. The death without heirs of Duke William of Jülich, Cleve, and Berg, in 1609, has been mentioned in our account of Germany, and we have also spoken of the support which Henry IV. gave to the Elector of Brandenburg and the Count Palatine of Neuburg, who seized the lands of the dead duke. By a treaty signed at Halle in January, 1610, Henry agreed to support them with a force of 10,000 men. He thus distinctly arrayed himself as the enemy of the house of Austria, as the emperor claimed the estates of Duke William as a lapsed fief. Henry began his military preparations on an extensive scale. He assembled a force of 30,000 men, with which he intended to invade Germany in person; a second army, 14,000 strong, was to join the Duke of Savoy and attack Lombardy; while a third, 25,000 strong, was assembled at the foot of the Pyrenees for the invasion of Spain. Henry delayed his departure from Paris in order to celebrate the coronation of Marie de' Medici, as queen, having already appointed her regent during his absence. She was crowned with great splendor at St. Denis on the 13th of May, 1610. The next day, as the king was on his way to visit Sully, who was ill at the arsenal, he was assassinated in his carriage by a man named François Ravallac. Ravallac was put to the torture to draw from him his motives for committing the crime, and the names of his accomplices. He made no revelations, however, and was executed on the 27th of May with the most appalling cruelties, and amidst the curses of the populace. The motives of the assassin remain shrouded in mystery. It was believed by many at the time that the murder was instigated by the Austrian and Spanish courts; by others it was attributed to the Jesuits.

In Henry IV. France lost one of her greatest kings. He was a profound statesman, as well as a brilliant and successful warrior, and had proved himself a wise and vigorous ruler. Under his enlightened and firm sway France was rapidly increasing in strength and in prosperity, and his death was a great misfortune to the country. His brilliant courage, sparkling wit, and warm-hearted generosity have always made him an especial favorite of the French people, and he richly merited the admira-

tion which succeeding generations have bestowed upon him. At the same time his character was marred by vices and follies of a most serious nature, which the faithful historian is obliged to record opposite the story of his many noble and great qualities. He was in his fifty-eighth year at the time of his death.

Louis XIII. was less than nine years old at the time of his father's murder. Sully and Epemon at once took measures to secure the regency to the widowed queen during the minority of her son. This ac-

foster-sister, Leonora Galigai, and her husband, Concino Concini, an obscure Florentine adventurer. Concino's wife was first lady of the bed-chamber to the queen, and he was rapidly promoted from post to post until he was finally created Marquis d'Ancre, and then Marshal of France. Under the guidance of these persons the regent formed a secret council or cabinet, consisting of Concini, the Jesuit Cotton, the pope's nuncio, and the Spanish ambassador, and surrendered her judgment entirely to this clique. Marie de' Medici was induced to



CHATEAU DE SAINT GERMAINS.

tion was not strictly legal, but as the necessity for a peaceful settlement of the government was urgent, all parties acquiesced in it.

Marie de' Medici was a weak woman, of narrow understanding, and was in every way unsuited to the difficult and dangerous position she had assumed. She began her reign by retaining all of the ministers of Henry IV., and confirming to Sully the same influence he had enjoyed during the life of her husband. The troops promised by Henry were sent to the aid of the German Protestants, and the Edict of Nantes was solemnly confirmed and renewed. As time passed on, however, the regent fell under the evil influence of her

establish the most friendly relations with both Austria and Spain, to strengthen which a marriage was contracted between Louis XIII. and the Infanta Anne of Austria, and his eldest sister, the Princess Elizabeth, was betrothed to Philip, Prince of the Asturias. In short, the entire policy of Henry IV. was reversed, and the interests of France were made subservient to those of her most deadly foes. Sully viewed the course of the queen with deep regret, and as he could not sanction such an overthrow of the designs of his great master, remonstrated with her. As she persisted in her course, he resigned his office in disgust in 1611, and retired to his estates. He took no further part in public affairs, though he

was frequently consulted concerning them by Marie during the remainder of his life. He died in 1641, at the age of eighty-two.

On the 28th of September, 1614, Louis XIII., who had attained his majority on the previous day, at the ripe age of thirteen, assumed the nominal charge of the government, the queen mother continuing to exercise the real power of the kingdom. On the 14th of October the states general met at Paris. The three orders were all numerously represented, and among the deputies of the clergy was one who was destined to achieve a world-wide fame as the greatest statesman of France. He was Armand Duplessis de Richelieu, then Bishop of Luçon. At the close of the session he summed up the demands of the nobility and clergy in an eloquent address which attracted universal attention. The session was passed in wrangling, and the dissensions of the various orders enabled the government to put them off with promises which it never meant to fulfil. Their quarrels disgusted the whole nation, and the crown was not sorry to see the national legislature give so complete a spectacle of incapacity for discharging its duties. On the 24th of March, 1615, the states general were suddenly dissolved by the king. They were not again convoked until 1789, one hundred and seventy-four years later, on the eve of the Revolution.

Towards the close of the year 1615 Louis XIII. was married to Anne of Austria. This marriage was bitterly opposed by a party led by the Prince of Condé, who had twice taken up arms to compel the court to cease its intimate relations with Austria and Spain and to renew the alliances of Henry IV. He was supported by the parliament, which refused to register the decrees by which the court sought to destroy him and his party, and the queen mother was obliged to make lavish grants to him to silence his opposition. Condé directed his hostility principally against the favorite, Marshal d'Ancre, and that worthy feeling himself unsafe at court, took refuge in Normandy. It was believed that Condé meditated a forcible removal of the queen mother from power, but at this point he met with a powerful antagonist in Richelieu, who had risen rapidly since the meeting of the states general, and now occupied a seat in the council of state. He supported the interests of the queen mother with vigor, and took the decisive step of advising the

arrest of the Prince of Condé, who in August, 1616, was taken into custody as he was leaving the council chamber, and was imprisoned in the Bastille. The other leaders of his party fled from Paris, but their followers attempted to raise an insurrection in the city, and plundered and destroyed the splendid mansion of Marshal d'Ancre. The riot was soon suppressed, and D'Ancre returned to the capital, where he behaved with such insolence that he became hated by all but the queen mother. Richelieu was rewarded for his services against Condé by being made secretary of state in November, 1616.

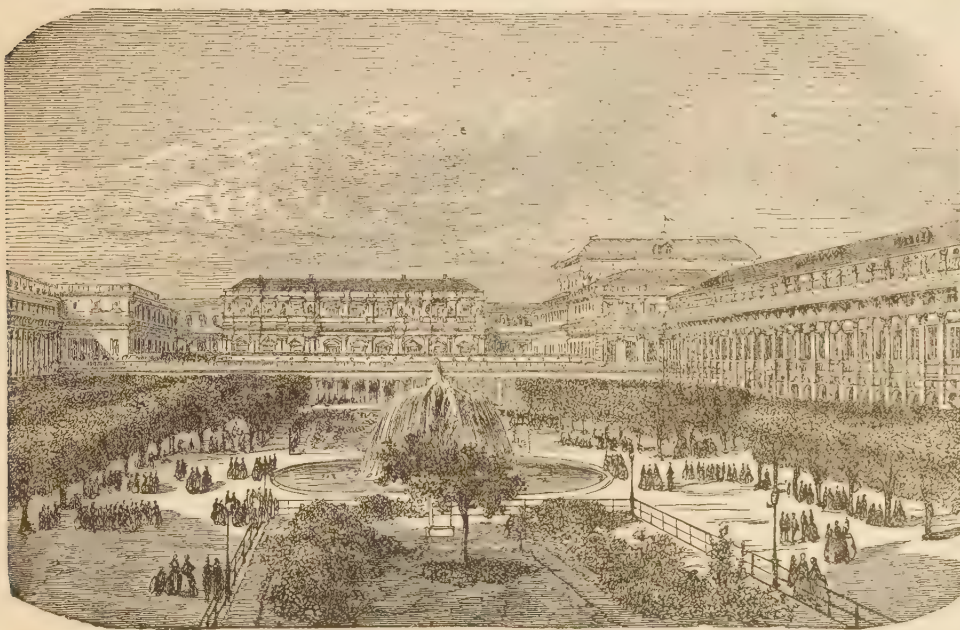
Louis XIII. was now sixteen years old, and was beginning to chafe under the restraints imposed upon him by the queen mother and her favorite, the latter of whom he despised. He had chosen as his confidant the Sieur de Luynes, a young man of pleasing manners, intelligence, and of great ambition. He endeavored to advance his own fortunes by prejudicing Louis against Marshal d'Ancre, and succeeded so well that on the 24th of April the marshal was arrested by order of the king. A slight movement of the marshal being interpreted as an effort at resistance, he was shot down by the royal guard. Louis the next moment appeared at a window of the Louvre and thanked the captain of the guard for the murder, declaring that he was now a king in reality. The fall of the favorite was hailed with delight by the people of Paris, who disinterred his body, dragged it through the streets, and burned it. The wife of D'Ancre was tried on the frivolous charge of sorcery, and was executed on the Place de Grève. The property of the husband and wife was confiscated and bestowed upon De Luynes. On the day of the murder of the marshal, Marie de' Medici was placed under arrest, and was subsequently exiled to Blois, and Richelieu was dismissed to his bishopric of Luçon.

De Luynes was now at the head of affairs. He set to work to enrich himself and his family. He was made a duke and peer of France, and Governor of the Isle de France and Picardy, and obtained the hand of the daughter of the Duke de Montbazoin in marriage. Two of his brothers were also created dukes. His rapacity soon rendered him universally unpopular, and the discontented nobles flocked to the court of the queen mother at Blois, which became the centre of a dangerous and determined op-

position to the king and his favorite. On the 22d of February, 1619, Marie was rescued from the Castle of Blois by the Duke d'Epemon and conducted in safety into Angoulême.

The danger of civil war was great, and Louis and De Luynes were seriously alarmed. The latter, conscious of his inability to meet the approaching storm, appealed to Richelieu, who had remained tranquilly in his retirement, awaiting what he knew must be the result of the attempt of De Luynes at government. He repaired to the court of the queen mother, and succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between herself and her son, and averted the danger

kingdom conferred the constable's sword upon De Luynes. Hostilities began in the spring of 1621. De Luynes was thoroughly incompetent to the task imposed upon him, and after some slight successes in Poitou, laid siege to Montauban, the principal fortress of the Huguenots in Languedoc. Here the constable's incapacity was thoroughly manifested, and in spite of the efforts of the royal army, the king was compelled, by the advance of the Duke de Rohan to the relief of the place, to raise the siege, after having lost 8,000 of his troops. De Luynes did not long survive this humiliation; he died on the 14th of December, 1621, from the effects of a malig-



GARDENS OF THE PALAIS ROYAL, PARIS.

of war. The Prince of Condé was liberated from the Bastile, and attached himself to the party of De Luynes, who hoped he would prove a valuable ally against the queen mother and her party.

The king now proceeded to annex the little Protestant province of Béarn to the crown, and ordered that the Roman Catholic religion should be re-established in it. This brought on an insurrection of the people of the province, whose cause was quickly taken up by the Huguenots throughout the kingdom. The king put an army into the field to reduce the Huguenots to submission, and to the disgust of the whole

nant fever. His loss was regretted by none; not even by the king. The war was continued with vigor after the death of De Luynes, and the next year the Huguenots suffered a severe loss in the defection of Marshal Lesdiguières, one of the first soldiers of his day, who abandoned their cause, embraced the Catholic faith, and was made Constable of France by the king. The revolt was quelled in Languedoc and Guienne, and at last Montpellier was forced to surrender to the royal forces. A treaty was signed at this place on the 19th of October, 1691, by which the Huguenots surrendered all the fortified towns guaran-

teed them by the former treaties, retaining only Montauban and La Rochelle.

The death of De Luynes left the position of confidential minister to the king vacant, and for some time it was warmly contested by the queen mother and the Prince of Condé. Richelieu gave a zealous support to the former and enabled her to triumph over her opponent. His genius had already begun to make itself felt in the royal councils, and his ambition was more than suspected. Men of all parties instinctively felt that, given the opportunity, he would make himself their master, and all united in an effort to exclude him from the council of state. The king personally disliked him, and long refused to admit him to any share of power; but at length, yielding to the solicitations of his mother, he fulfilled the promise he had long ago made to Richelieu, and demanded of the pope a cardinal's hat for him. On the 5th of September, 1622, Richelieu was created by his holiness a cardinal of the Holy Roman Church. This was but the first step to his triumph. The weakness of the royal government was growing more apparent every day, and the ambitious designs of Austria and Spain were causing serious alarm in France. The king changed his ministers repeatedly, but no one was competent to conduct the kingdom safely through the perplexities in which it was involved, and at last Louis was compelled to listen to the urgent solicitations of his mother and summon Richelieu to a place in the council of state. This he did on the 26th of April, 1624. Louis had intended that the cardinal should occupy a subordinate position in the council, but he could not prevent the genius of the great man whom he had so unwillingly summoned to his aid from asserting itself. Before he had been six months in the council Richelieu was the real ruler of France, and his supremacy was acknowledged by the king, the court, and the entire nation. He infused his indomitable energy into every branch of the public service, and the government suddenly acquired a strength which was felt in every part of the kingdom.

The condition of France when Richelieu came into power is thus summed up by the cardinal himself: "I may say with truth that at the time of my entrance upon office the Huguenots divided the power of the state with your majesty; that the great nobles conducted themselves as if they were

not your subjects, and the governors of provinces as if they were independent subjects in their own dominions. Foreign alliances were depreciated and misunderstood; private interests preferred to those of the state; and, in a word, the majesty of the crown was degraded to such a depth of abasement that it was scarcely to be recognized at all." From the moment of his entrance upon office, Richelieu pursued a consistent and undeviating policy, the chief objects of which were the destruction of the Huguenots as a political party, the firm establishment of the royal authority over the nobility, and the reconquest by France of her supremacy in Europe by the systematic humiliation of Austria.

In pursuance of this policy Richelieu sought to weaken the empire and Spain by forming an alliance between France and the Protestant powers of northern Europe. His first step was to negotiate a marriage between Charles, Prince of Wales, the son of James I. of England, and the Princess Henrietta Maria, a sister of Louis XIII. A match which had been previously arranged between Charles and a Spanish infantina was broken off, and the marriage arranged by Richelieu was celebrated in May, 1625. The German Protestants were furnished with funds and were allowed to collect troops in France, and a French army was sent into the Valteline, which was held by the Austrians and Spaniards, and which furnished them a direct communication between northern Italy and the Tyrol. In a campaign of a few weeks the Austrian forces were completely expelled, and all the fortresses were occupied by the French. The pope looked with open disfavor upon these attacks upon the chief Catholic powers of Europe, and protested against the course of the cardinal; but Richelieu told him plainly that while he acknowledged his duties as a prince of the church, his first allegiance was due to France, whose interests and dignity were his first objects under any and all circumstances.

A sudden and unexpected revolt of the Huguenots under the Dukes de Rohan and Soubise, in the summer of 1625, obliged Richelieu to suspend the operation of his plans against Austria. He proceeded with vigor against the insurgents, with the assistance of a fleet furnished by England and Holland, defeated their fleet off Rochelle, and reduced that town to extremities. He now became aware of the existence of a

formidable conspiracy against his administration and his life, and in order to devote himself to its suppression, made peace with the Huguenots upon favorable terms in February, 1626. In March a treaty was signed with Spain, by which it was agreed that France should restore the Valteline to the Grisons, from whom Spain and Austria had taken it. Richelieu was severely censured and ridiculed for his leniency to the Huguenots upon this occasion; but he knew full well that the time for the success of his plans against them had not yet arrived.

The plot to which we have referred had been skilfully organized. The chief actor in it was Gaston, Duke of Anjou, the only brother of the king, and it embraced many of the greatest nobles of France. The young queen was also a party to it. It was the intention of the conspirators to assassinate the cardinal at his country house, and make Gaston his successor in power. The plot was discovered by the cardinal. Gaston betrayed his confederates and threw himself upon the mercy of the king. His treachery was rewarded by his promotion to the duchy of Orleans, with its enormous revenues, but the other conspirators were executed or banished. The young queen was summoned before the council of state and severely reprimanded for her share in the conspiracy, and the coldness which had for some time existed between herself and the king was increased. From this moment the queen and the cardinal became declared and bitter enemies. The result of the conspiracy was to establish the power of the cardinal more firmly than ever. The next year he gave a startling evidence of the vigor with which he meant to bring the nobles to the foot of the throne. A royal ordinance forbade duelling, which had become a serious evil among the gallants of the court. In defiance of it the Counts de Bouteville and Des Chapelles had a desperate encounter in the Place Royale at Paris. They were arrested by order of the cardinal, tried, convicted, and executed with a grim firmness which struck terror to the whole of the turbulent class to which they belonged.

Trouble with the Huguenots of Rochelle again broke out, and this time England took sides with the people of Rochelle against the French king. The Duke of Buckingham had conceived a foolish passion for the Queen of France, which Richelieu had exposed and ridiculed. The duke,

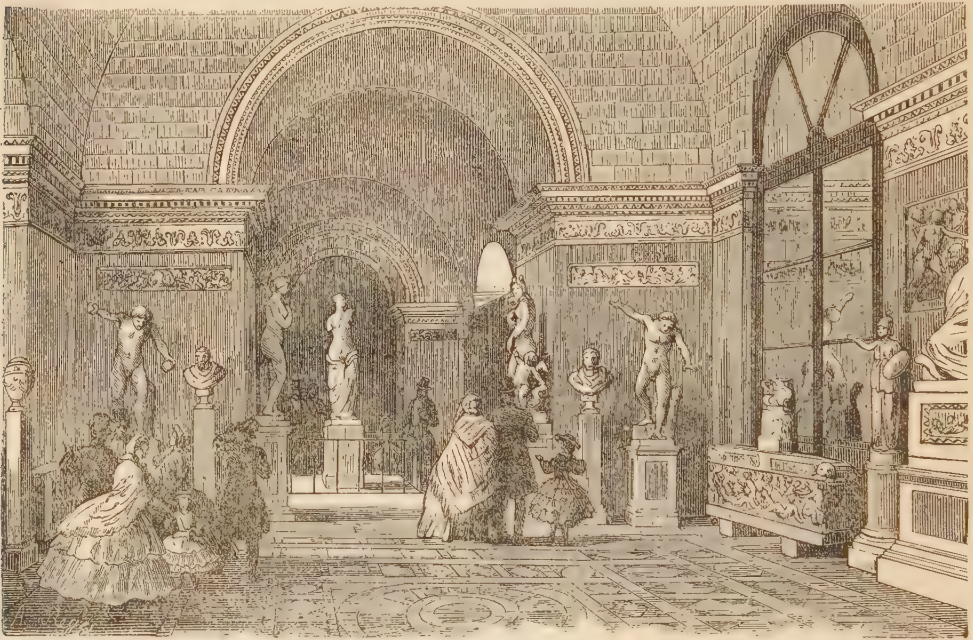
in the hope of being revenged upon the cardinal, induced the King of England to give aid to the Huguenots. The cause was popular in England, and had a more capable leader than Buckingham been chosen, the Huguenots might have derived some solid advantage from the alliance. A fleet of one hundred vessels and a strong force of troops were despatched to the relief of Rochelle under the command of Buckingham, in July, 1627.

In the meantime Richelieu had made extraordinary exertions for the reduction of Rochelle. A powerful and splendidly equipped army laid siege to the place, under the nominal command of the king, but really under the direction of the cardinal, who proved himself an able general as well as a great statesman. The town was defended with heroic valor, and an ineffectual effort was made for its relief by the English fleet, which was defeated with heavy loss. Buckingham then bore away for England, and Rochelle was left to contend single-handed with the royal forces. Richelieu closely invested the town by land and built a mole across the mouth of the harbor, which he fortified, thus cutting off relief for the city from the sea. Two English fleets were sent to relieve the starving town, but were unable to enter the harbor in consequence of the barrier erected by the cardinal, and withdrew. After a siege of fifteen months, during which half the population died from hunger and the garrison was reduced to less than two hundred men, the town surrendered on the 28th of October, 1628. Richelieu used his victory with moderation. He declared that the age of persecution for conscience sake was past, and that the king had made war upon the Rochellois not as Huguenots but as rebels. He confirmed the people of the town in the exercise of their religion, but as a punishment for their rebellion deprived them of their political rights and destroyed the fortifications of the city. In August, 1629, Montauban, the last Protestant stronghold in France, was taken, and the Huguenots as a political party ceased to exist.

Spain took advantage of the war with the Huguenots to endeavor to injure France in Italy by expelling the Duke de Nevers, a Frenchman, from Mantua and Montferrat, to which he had just succeeded. Richelieu, as soon as the siege of Rochelle was concluded, induced the king to cross the Alps in March, 1629, with an army of 36,000

men to the assistance of the Duke of Mantua. The Duke of Savoy, who was hostile to France, was compelled to make a treaty of peace, and the Spaniards were obliged to discontinue their designs upon Mantua and Montferrat. The French had scarcely repassed the Alps when the Spaniards and Austrians again invaded Mantua and occupied the country of the Grisons. The Duke of Savoy made a secret alliance with the enemies of France, and prepared to prevent the French army from passing through his territory into Italy. Richelieu obtained the supreme command of the army, and chose Marshals Bassompierre and Schomberg as his lieutenants. He moved rapidly

France, Richelieu now found himself surrounded by personal enemies, and plots against him began to thicken. On his way to join the army in Italy, the king was seized with a dangerous illness at Lyons, and Marie de' Medici, who, as she could not rule Richelieu, had become his enemy, took advantage of the king's weakness to extort from him a promise that he would dismiss the cardinal. Louis consented on condition that no step should be taken against the cardinal till the close of the war. Recovering his health he began to show his unwillingness to deprive France of the services and himself of the aid of his great minister, but the clamors of his wife



GALLERY OF ANCIENT SCULPTURES, PALACE OF THE LOUVRE, PARIS.

into Savoy, took Pignerol after a siege of three days, and a number of other fortresses. Savoy and the marquisate of Saluces were soon overrun by the French, and the allies were obliged to make peace. Mantua was evacuated by the Austrians, and the Duke de Nevers received the investiture of that duchy from the emperor. Savoy was compelled to cede Pignerol and two other fortresses to France. The war was ended by the treaty of Cherasco in April, 1631. One of the principal negotiators was Giulio Mazarini, then an agent of the pope at the court of Savoy, and afterwards famous as Cardinal Mazarin.

Though successful against the foes of

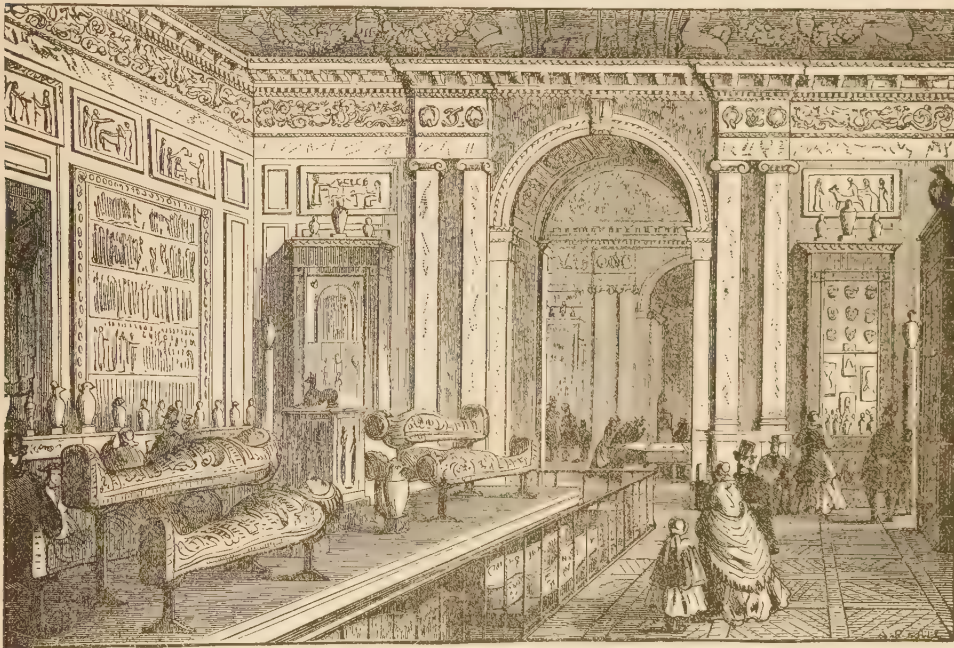
and mother and the courtiers for the removal of the cardinal grew greater every day. Finally, Richelieu, who had come to court in the meanwhile, became involved in an open quarrel with the queen mother in the king's presence. Louis ended it by quitting the palace and hastening to Versailles. The whole court now regarded the cardinal's ruin as certain, and his enemies were open in their exultation. Richelieu himself was confident that he would be disgraced, and was surprised to receive a summons to join the king at Versailles. Louis received him cordially, and assured him that he would not only listen to no charges against him, but would remove from court

all who had the will or the ability to injure or thwart him. The 11th of November, 1630, the day upon which these events took place, is still known in France as the "Day of Dupes."

The cardinal now proceeded to act with vigor against those who had sought to injure him, and caused Marshal de Marillac to be executed on a charge of peculation, and banished his brother, the keeper of the seals, to Chateaudun. He then endeavored to persuade the king that there would be no peace at court as long as the queen mother was allowed to continue her plottings. Louis was greatly averse to any se-

fled to Brussels. His followers were imprisoned or banished. Gaston continued his plotting at Brussels, and succeeded in drawing into his schemes a number of the discontented nobles of France, among whom was the Duke de Montmorency, one of the most illustrious men in France. Gaston invaded France in 1632 with a small force, but his army was defeated, and he was forced to fly again. The saddest result of the insurrection was the execution of Montmorency on the 30th of October, 1632.

The thirty years' war had been going on for many years in Germany. True to his policy of weakening Austria, Richelieu in



EGYPTIAN MUSEUM, PALACE OF THE LOUVRE—PARIS.

vere measures against his mother, but in 1631 a fresh rebellion of the Duke of Orleans, which was instigated by Marie, induced him to take a decisive step against her. She was exiled from court and sent to Compiègne. A few days later the king ordered her to retire to Moulins. She refused to obey, and escaped across the frontier to the Spanish court at Brussels. This act was fatal to her. Louis sternly refused to allow her to return to France, and in 1642 she died in exile at Cologne. Gaston's rebellion was put down, his estates were confiscated, and he took refuge in Lorraine, but being refused a shelter there, he

1631 entered into an alliance with Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, as has been related; promising him an annual subsidy of 400,000 crowns, and thus openly siding with the Protestants of Germany against the emperor and the Catholic League. After the death of Gustavus, the alliance was renewed by a treaty with Oxenstiern, the Swedish chancellor. The victory of the imperialists at Nordlingen in September, 1634, seemed to establish the success of the emperor; but Richelieu set to work with vigor to neutralize it. Treaties were concluded by France with Holland, Sweden, the Protestant Princes of Germany, Switz-

erland, and the Duke of Savoy, and France agreed to place four large armies, amounting in the aggregate to 120,000 men, in the field for the assistance of her allies. The events of the next three years were unfavorable to France. In 1636 the imperial army penetrated far into Picardy, and seriously threatened Paris, but was at length compelled to withdraw with loss. In 1638 matters took a more favorable turn. Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, who had entered the French service, captured several fortresses on the upper Rhine, and defeated the imperialist army in a great battle at Rheinfeld, on the 3d of March. In December of the same year he compelled the surrender of the strong fortress of Breisach, after a siege of nearly six months. The events of 1639 were equally fortunate to France, and the death of Duke Bernhard, who had established himself at Breisach in the hope of obtaining Alsace as an independent sovereignty, enabled Richelieu to annex it to France. The Count Harcourt, the French commander in Italy, defeated the imperialists in Piedmont and overran that country, and in September, 1640, captured Turin after a spirited siege of more than four months. In the same year the French expelled the Spaniards from Artois, and annexed that valuable province to the crown of France.

In the meantime the good fortune of Richelieu had attended him. He discovered a secret correspondence between the queen and the Spanish court at Brussels, and the queen, in terror at the discovery of her offence, confessed her fault to Richelieu and signed a solemn pledge never to be guilty of a like crime again. The cardinal on his part undertook to bring about a reconciliation between Anne and Louis, and succeeded to the entire satisfaction of both parties. The royal pair had been married for more than twenty years, but no children had been born to them. Anne now became the mother of a son, who was born at Saint Germain on the 5th of September, 1638, and who afterwards became Louis XIV. In 1642 the gay and brilliant Marquis of Cinq-Mars, whom Richelieu

had selected as the companion of the king, organized a formidable conspiracy against the cardinal, who had undertaken to check his ambitious schemes, and opened a treasonable correspondence with the Spaniards. Richelieu detected the conspiracy, and obtained a copy of the treaty between the conspirators and Spain. Cinq-Mars was arrested, together with De Thou, one of the conspirators, and both were executed at Lyons on the 12th of September, 1642.

In the same year Perpignan was taken, and completed the conquest of Rousillon, which was annexed to France; and the principality of Sedan became the property of the crown, having been confiscated as a penalty imposed upon the Duke of Bouillon for his complicity in the plot of Cinq-Mars.

Richelieu was now at the height of his power. In France he was supreme, and he had made his country great at home and feared abroad. He had humbled the pride of the house of Austria and effectually destroyed its ambitious schemes for advancement, and in every quarter he had beaten and crippled the enemies of France, which under his skilful guidance became the first power in Europe. All this while he was sinking under a mortal disease, and on the 4th of December, 1642, died in the fifty-eighth year of his age. Louis, who owed everything to Richelieu, received the announcement of his death with the cold remark, "There is a great politician gone." He made no change in the ministry chosen by Richelieu, except to appoint Cardinal Mazarin to a seat in the council. In less than six months Louis XIII. followed his great minister to the grave. He died at Saint Germain on the 14th of May, 1643, in the forty-second year of his age, having reigned exactly thirty-three years. He left the regency to his widow, Anne of Austria, and named the Duke of Orleans lieutenant-general of the kingdom. A council of state was also appointed by the will of the king, consisting of the Cardinal Mazarin, the Prince of Condé, Seguier, the chancellor, and Chavigny and Bouthillier, secretaries of state.

